

Anna
and
After

Mainstream

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Telangana In Turmoil

Battle of Banaskantha

Washington and Arabs

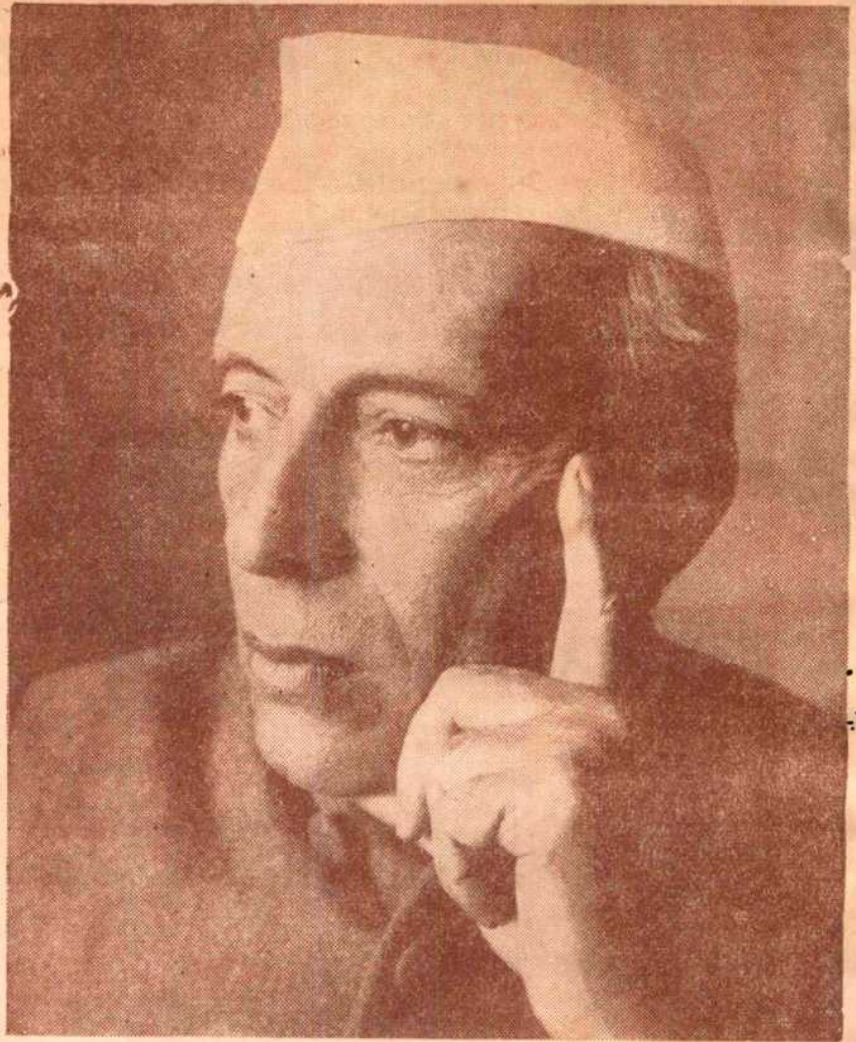
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Pakistan : Time for Dialogue

The Bitterness of "Sweet Life"

P. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR

Role of Indian Universities Today



No government can afford to ignore the urges of the common people. After all, democracy has its basis on those very urges and if any government flouts them, it is pushed aside and other governments take it over.

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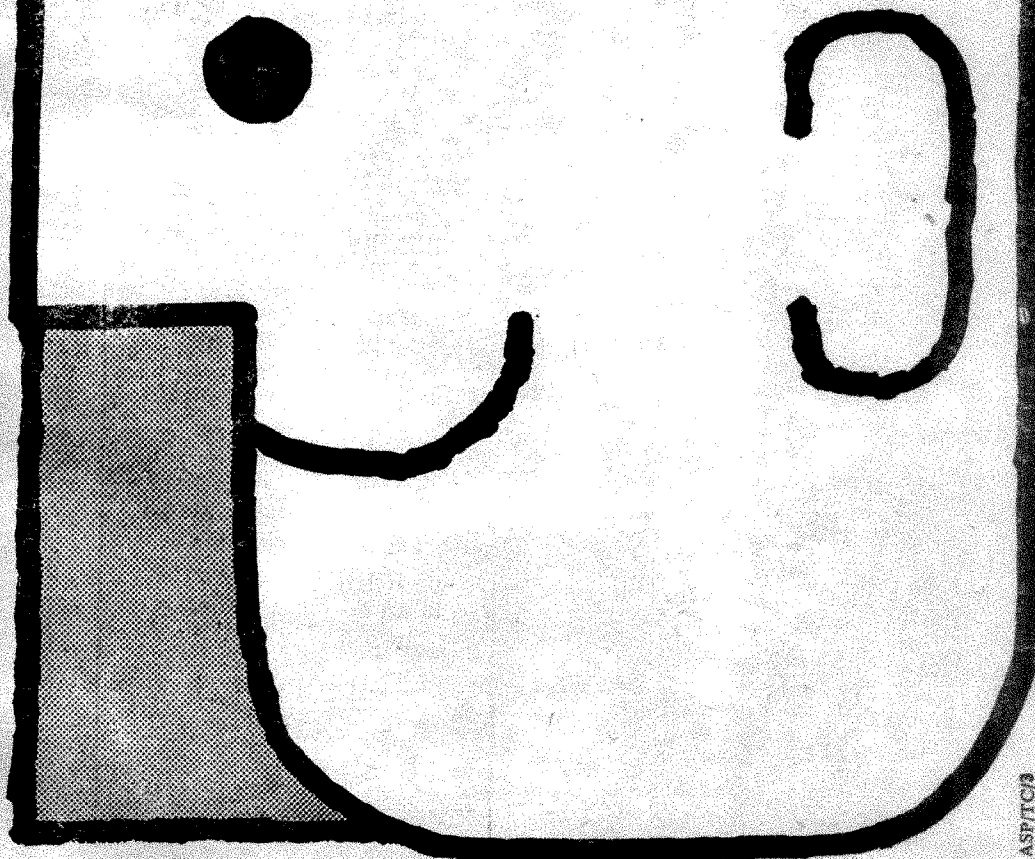
A single smile can mean so much.
Or a single act of courtesy.
To anybody. But especially
to a stranger in a new country.

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in ours nowadays,
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Yet when you help a visitor,
you are only carrying on the great
tradition of Indian hospitality.
Helping a guest to feel welcome
and enjoy his stay in India.
The India we are
privileged to call our own.

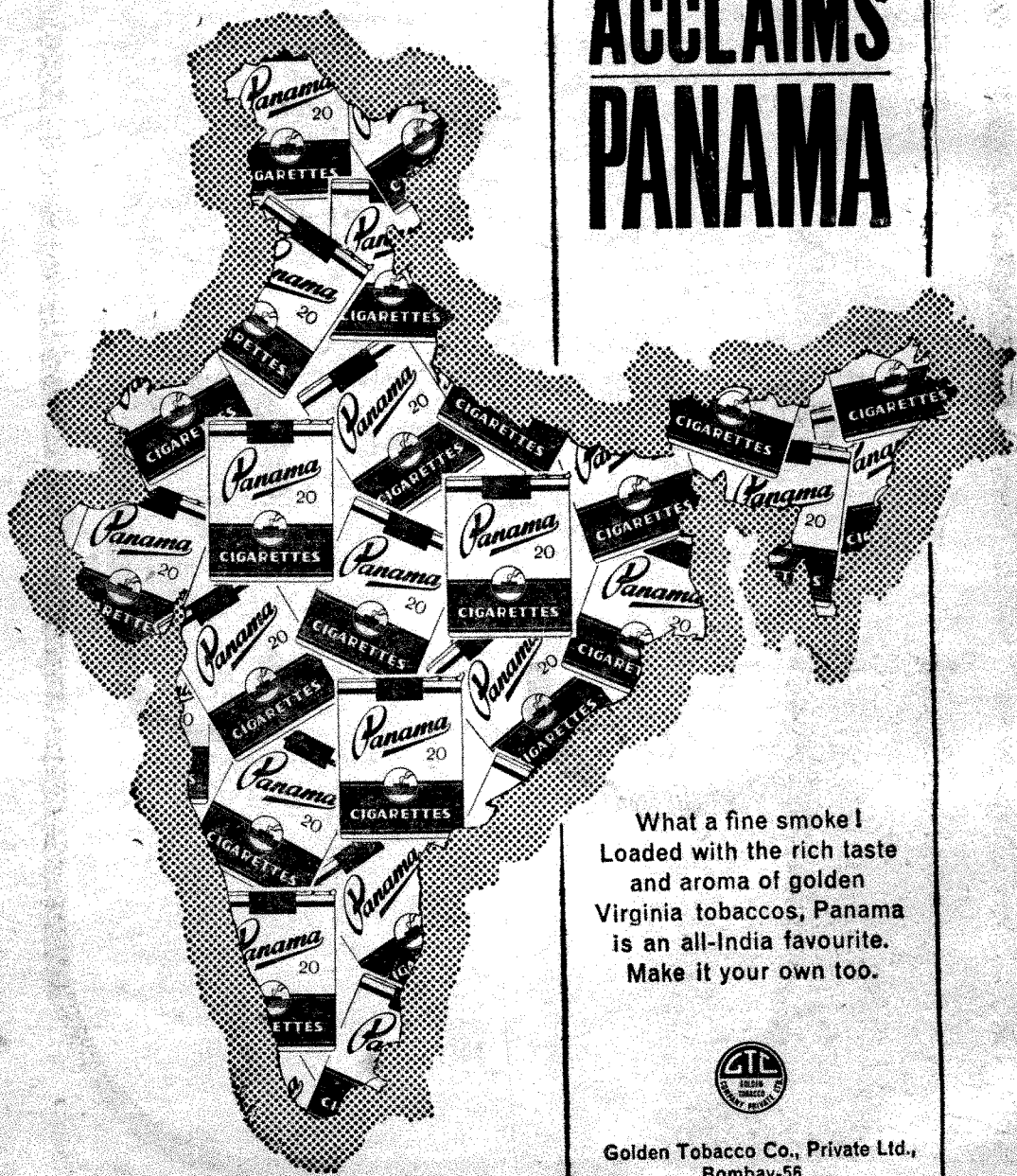
Welcome a visitor.
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NO MORE BACK-SLIDING

THE mid-term election campaign has no doubt thrown up many lessons for the democratic forces in this country, and it is only when the results are known that a proper assessment of the political situation could be undertaken.

Whether any party wins or loses, or a combination of parties in a Front or Dal is able to form a government or not, is of course important since the verdict of the electorate has to be respected if the politics in this country has to be run along democratic lines. At the same time, the more important question is the direction in which the democratic forces choose to take the country forward and the support that their line of action can mobilise among the masses. In this context, the performance of the Left parties is a matter of interest and concern for the entire democratic spectrum. Without claiming to be a prophet it is not difficult to come to the conclusion that the performance of the Samyukta Socialist Party in this mid-term poll has been poor and the party is about to enter a period of crisis following the setback in its position that has been noticed during the election campaign. In contrast to the conspicuous advance that the SSP could make in the 1967 General Election, there is little doubt that this time its position has been considerably weakened. It is therefore time for the SSP leadership to seriously ponder over the reasons for this turn in the fortunes of the party.

It will be incorrect to conclude that the tide has turned against the Left as a whole in the last two years. Rather the united stand of the two Communist Parties in most of the cases (barring unfortunate wranglings in Punjab) is expected to fetch better returns than their respective positions at the time of the last General Election two years ago. Besides, there has been a noticeable stir among forward-looking elements inside the Congress as well, particularly over such issues as the growth of monopolies and depredations on the economy perpetrated by Big Business.

It will therefore be unfair and unwise on the part of the SSP to pass off its own difficulties as part of the general decline of progressive forces in this country. The reason for the erosion in the Socialists' strength and influence is to be sought in the political line and strategy pursued by the SSP leadership. The Lohiaite thesis of a totally negative approach in the struggle against the Congress monopoly of power might have had an appeal in 1967 when the nation-wide frustration among the masses could be conveniently ascribed to the Congress misrule alone. Once the Congress monopoly of power was broken, it was the duty of the progressive

forces to demarcate themselves from reactionary elements camouflaged under democratic labels and to give a lead for a united left movement directed against all forms of reaction, both Congress and non-Congress. It is at this very point that the Left as a whole and the SSP in particular, failed to give the correct lead. Practically the entire Left was under the spell of Dr. Lohia's *mantram* of all-out anti-Congressism and this landed them in strange bed-fellowing with reactionary elements such as the Jana Sangh : the plea given for such a deviation from the Left line was that the mass mood at the moment had demanded the formation of alternative ministries to the Congress and would not have forgiven any Left party if that had stayed out or prevented the formation of such Ministries. However, the inexorable law of political growth ultimately asserted itself and the Communists were the first to repudiate this wrong line of ganging up with the Jana Sangh and other reactionaries in State-level Ministries. Their experiences in Bihar and UP particularly had a sobering effect and it is the sign of healthy progressivism in this country that in working out the election strategy for the mid-term poll, the Communists have turned their face firmly against the Jana Sangh and have not only made the Jana Sangh one of the major targets in this election campaign, but have disowned in advance any thought of

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compromise with the Jana Sangh in the formation of alternate Ministries in future.

It is however on this point that the SSP leadership chose to continue in the old ruts. Without drawing lessons from the rich and varied experience of the manoeuvrings and manipulations of reactionary forces during these two years, it stuck to the old strategy picturesquely sloganised by Dr. Lohia as joining hands with the devil if need be, to fight the Congress. In reality, joining hands with the devil was achieved without contributing in any sizeable measure to combating the Congress. It is significant that in the last two years the Left could advance and the Congress lose ground only in areas where the Left took up an unalloyed stand against reaction of all forms, both Congress and non-Congress.

The lesson of the last two years underlined by the mid-term election atmosphere is clear: the people have become disillusioned and frustrated with unprincipled alliances and opportunist stances in place of straight battle to the forces of reaction. The electorate's mood in West Bengal and even in Bihar has shown that whenever sections of the Left forces come together in positive defence of the

people's socio-economic interests, the response is definitely positive.

It is therefore clearly possible for the Left parties and genuine democratic elements outside them to rally forces on the basis of a minimum plan of administrative and political action: this challenge poses itself before the Leftist leadership in the country.

The first requirement for such a purposeful progressive alliance to take shape is firm refusal to have any truck with reactionary parties and groups allied to vested interests or dominated by communal elements. The SSP, like the other Left parties, has to make up its mind as to whether it places the united struggle along with the other Left forces higher in its calculations than mere anti-Congress alliances even with reactionary elements. In the coming weeks of ministry-making this question has to be faced squarely by all progressive elements.

Failure of the Left leadership to find ways of resolving their mutual contradictions speedily so as to forge a powerful united front and a national movement on such a basis will certainly amount to a betrayal of the people's vital interests. This would be unforgivable.

POLITICAL NOTEBOOK

Annadurai and After

THE death of C. N. Annadurai has clearly thrown the politics of Tamilnadu into the melting pot. The widespread anxiety in the whole country during his prolonged illness provided a measure of the goodwill he had built up for himself by his dignified conduct as Chief Minister.

The milling crowds at his funeral and the profound grief among the people of Tamilnadu have demonstrated that the affection he commanded was much more than that offered to the unquestioned leader of a party. There can be little doubt that he had established a mystic communion with the Tamil masses—something that none of his influential colleagues at the top in the party can claim to have done. His humility was transparent and provided the passport to the hearts of the common people. If the bleak performance of the DMK in office over the last two

years has not led to disillusionment, the explanation is perhaps to be sought in the enormous faith Annadurai had roused among the people of the State.

It is not easy to understand the kind of devotion he commanded among his followers. But it is obvious that this more than any other single factor contributed to the phenomenal growth of DMK in the course of the last two decades. The biggest contribution Annadurai made to politics in Tamilnadu may be said to be the way he helped to make the local language a powerful medium for the transmission of ideas even to the ignorant and the illiterate. The Tamil renaissance begun earlier in the century by Bharati, Kalyanasundara Mudaliar and others reached its climax under the leadership of Annadurai. The DMK's most powerful speaker, Annadurai easily collected a band of dedicated youth around him-

self and inspired young people throughout the State. It is difficult to attribute any political philosophy or ideological purpose to him, but it is undeniable that he roused the Tamil people to a consciousness of the need to cherish, preserve and foster their great language and culture. The Tamil masses appeared to find in him a symbol of their sub-national identity.

While his remarkable felicity in the use of words drew vast crowds and helped strengthen his party, his genius for compromise helped to keep the warring factions within the DMK in leash. In the earlier years his oratorical talent was employed mainly to rouse chauvinistic and parochial feelings: where his mentor, Sri E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker, had failed, Annadurai was successful beyond measure. But it must be said to Annadurai's credit that he effortlessly adjusted his approach

to new situations ; thus the anti-brahminism of old yielded place to acceptance of the right of all sections of the Tamil people to be involved in the regional movement, and the separatist slogan was dropped in recognition of the fact of Tamilnadu being an integral part of India. The way he overcame the Justice Party and Dravida Kazhagam angularities and sought to build his party as a secular democratic one was indeed remarkable. How far he succeeded in his efforts in this direction, only the future can show.

The task of holding his party together was far easier during the period when the DMK was not in power ; the recent unseemly public controversy between two groups of his lieutenants, led by Sri Karunanidhi and Sri Mathiahagan, demonstrated that the mettle of the party's leadership as a whole is not such as to withstand the compulsions of power. The significance of Annadurai's presence at the helm was underlined by the quick response of the two factions to his appeal to restrain themselves.

Annadurai's popularity among the people of Tamilnadu is too obvious to be minimised. But it would be a mistake to exaggerate its significance for the DMK as a whole, as many are prone to do. Not one of his lieutenants in the party commands anything like the universal respect and affection he did, although there is no dearth of effective public speakers in the DMK. The popular response to him can only be taken to have been the result of his gentleness and effortless restraint in the choice of words when he chose. While in the initial stages the DMK was deliberately built up on the basis of personality cult, in more recent times Annadurai alone of all the party leaders came to be recognised as the leader.

It would be hypocritical not to state at this stage that his popularity should not be taken as conclusive proof of the hold of his party on the people or its achievements. His successors' difficulty will lie chiefly in

the fact that the DMK is made up of a variety of elements with nothing like a recognisable socio-economic purpose. The equations at the top are largely personal ; the jealousies which Annadurai was able to keep subdued on the strength of his own personal popularity and his indispensability will undoubtedly surface sooner or later, and it is difficult at the moment to point to any one in the party who is capable of playing the role the late Chief Minister did. It is possible that his colleagues will for the present pay heed to his last appeal to keep together and evolve a collective leadership ; the stakes are high enough for such an effort to be made. But it seems clear that unity at the top forged in these circumstances, merely to enable the party to stay in office and prevent its disintegration, cannot be enduring. A "compromise" Chief Minister—Sri Nedunchezian, for example—can only help to postpone a showdown, unless in the coming months he can establish his own right to leadership.

There is indeed something strange and inexplicable about the fact that the people of Tamilnadu are not yet disillusioned by the bleak performance of the DMK in office. The party did suffer a major set-back in the Madras City civic elections, but by its record the DMK was not entitled to the substantial number of seats it has in fact secured. As for Nagercoil, the enormous personal esteem which Sri Kamaraj enjoys among the common people had more to do with the result than the record of the DMK. But at Nagercoil some in the ruling party showed a capacity to abuse power and use the administrative machinery for election purposes. That fact no doubt had some part to play in deciding a number of uncommitted voters to reject the DMK-backed Swatantra candidate.

The fact that the DMK is in power with a comfortable majority in the State Assembly should not blind us to the fact that in terms of votes secured in the elections, the DMK did not fare better than the Congress ; also that there was no steep dec-

line in the votes polled by the Congress although there was a big slump in the number of seats won. The truth is that but for the seven-party alliance the DMK would not have gained power for itself. That the alliance is made up of the most unlikely partners is all too obvious : they range from the reactionary Swatantra at one end to the CPM at the other. The contradiction that has arisen between the CPM and CPI on the one hand and the ruling party on the other was inevitable, for it has never been in doubt that in the higher echelons of the DMK Rightist influence is much more powerful than that of the Left.

The DMK by itself came to office with little by way of a programme for social and economic transformation despite the fact that it has been blessed with a mass base which is the envy of progressive parties. One theory is that the late Annadurai realised a little before the Fourth General Election that a clear-cut programme of action would have to be evolved but that he had calculated that the DMK would not be called upon to shoulder the burden of administrative responsibility before 1972. There are indications that he did try to bring into the DMK fold persons with knowledge of economics and social problems. But power came too soon, and the DMK leadership found itself facing tasks to which it was by no means equal.

It was natural in the circumstances that the party should have been subjected to pulls and pressures from opposite directions. It is no secret that a section of the DMK leadership, headed by Sri Karunanidhi, draws its inspiration from Sri Rajagopalachari and has been closer to vested interests than to the common people. This section has been quite powerful at the top because Sri Karunanidhi has over the years gained control over the organisational apparatus of the DMK and thus over a body of fairly disciplined youthful cadres. Those who resented his power as well as his ideological leanings were however largely dependent for their strength on the support of their leader. It is said that in the first place Annadurai decided to give

up his Parliament seat and assume the Chief Ministership of the State only because he could visualise the disastrous consequences of allowing a tussle for leadership to develop and of Sri Karunanidhi taking over on the strength of his organisational base. There is little reason to discount this assessment. His death-bed appeal to his colleagues to stand together and his reported refusal to name his "successor" appear to confirm it.

The DMK's record in office has been quite barren. The promise of rice at one rupee a measure (originally it had been three measures) has been reduced to a joke. The DMK Government has tried to adopt dramatic postures on the language question, but has offered little by way of constructive ideas calculated to resolve the difficult problem. Even the moves like the one on the NCC command words would have had little impact but for the help rendered to the DMK regime by the Hindi fanatics in the North who overtly and covertly tried to force the pace. It is not without significance that on crucial economic and political questions the DMK regime has carefully avoided a confrontation with the Centre. It made no positive effort to work out an understanding with other non-Congress Governments on a common attitude towards the Congress Government at the Centre. In respect of the Government employees' agitation, the DMK Government adopted an attitude calculated to please the Centre rather than invite Central wrath by taking an impartial stand. For the rest, the State Government has done little more than continue handling the administration from the point where the Congress Government had left off. On the Labour front the State's rulers adopted a policy of delay and drift, tacitly helping the employers. The setback suffered by the party in the Madras city civic elections was chiefly in the working class areas: the workers, who formed part of the mass base of the DMK and who therefore legitimately expected that DMK rule would mean a clear pro-worker orientation in the

administration, were disillusioned. The Kilavenmani outrage in Tanjore district—the burning of women and children who had taken refuge in a hut by goondas engaged by landlords—provided gruesome proof of the incapacity of the State Government to use its authority to secure a fair deal for the agricultural workers. Thus on all counts there has been nothing to enthuse the public in the performance of the DMK in power. On the other hand, it is universally recognized in Tamilnadu that corruption today is much more widespread and open than at any period during the long Congress rule. It is thus something of a phenomenon that the DMK does not yet stand discredited among the common people of Tamilnadu.

One reason may be that the people of Tamilnadu, sharing the general antipathy to the Congress in the whole country, find no other viable alternative and are unable to give themselves a government that can command their confidence on all counts. This is an unfortunate situation capable of producing instability in the future. Once the faction fights within the DMK come to the surface, it is difficult to say what twists and turns Tamilnadu's politics will take.

The Leftist parties have over the years failed to mobilise the masses as they could well have done: they were the only parties which could have offered a clear-cut alternative in terms of policies. The mass base which the DMK built mainly through flowery oratory and chauvinistic slogans was one that should have been won over by the Leftist parties on the basis of demands for radical social and economic changes. They were too busy with their own mutual quarrels and hair-splitting polemical debates to see and seize the opportunity. Only recently have there been hopeful signs that the Leftist parties—in Tamilnadu the only important ones are the CPI and the CPM—have come to realise that the anti-Congress alliance which installed the DMK in power is unworkable in the long run. They see clearly enough that

the DMK, lacking any policy of its own and dominated chiefly by persons without any background of struggle and sacrifice, can be and is being used by the Rightist parties and vested interests to maintain the status quo.

So far as the Congress is concerned, two major factors have come in the way of efforts to make it once again a mass party: the first is the in-fighting among its leaders at the State level; and the second, the opportunist equations between certain of the State leaders with the factions at the Centre. Both in the civic elections and at Nagercoil it became clear that the Congress is capable of mustering forward-looking youth; but a powerful section within the TNCC leadership is unwilling to take advantage of this new element which is obviously capable of assuming the leadership and taking the party once again to the masses on the basis of positive economic ideas. The danger is that vested interest in leadership may once again drive youth out of the party fold. Sri Kamaraj is aware of this, from all accounts, and is trying to resist the status-quo men with the help of this new section of Congressmen. Whether he will succeed remains to be seen; it will depend on his determination alone, for his popular appeal is big enough to enable him to rally the people around himself on the basis of radical ideas.

The confusion that is likely to arise in the ranks of the DMK in the coming months provides a great opportunity for progressive sections in the State, including a large number in the ruling party itself, to make a concerted attempt to give a direction to politics in the State. The question is whether all these sections owing allegiance to different parties are capable of coming together purposefully to prevent a Rightist "coup".

Will the leaders of parties in the State who believe in the establishment of genuine democracy in social and economic terms seize the opportunity? On the answer to this question depends much more than the future of Tamilnadu.

February 3 C. N. Chitta Ranjan

Telangana in Turmoil

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE people of Andhra Pradesh who blazed the path of struggle to achieve the ideal of linguistic states are today engaged in a fratricidal war, flying at each other's throats. It is a tragic spectacle, indeed.

What is happening today in Andhra appears to be the culmination of what has been going on in different parts of the country for quite sometime over the demand for either proper demarcation of borders of different states on linguistic basis or carving out new states, as for instance Vidarbha. The violence that is often associated with these agitations and the frenzy that is often injected by interested elements into them have led many honest persons to think that perhaps the very principle of the formation of linguistic states was really a folly committed by the nation's leaders and that the country is now paying for this folly.

But, the lesson of the present Telangana agitation, if any, is that it is not merely oneness of language and culture that cements the unity of a people of two regions, but something more. The very formation of linguistic states was necessitated by the historic necessity to undo the British policy of divide and rule, of bringing together people of the same cultural and linguistic groups separated from each other in different provinces. Having undone this, it was necessary to have undertaken the development of the State in such a manner that the unevenness, which was a legacy of the former regime, was done away with and an equitable development of all regions was realised.

The present tribal unrest in Andhra Pradesh can also be attributed to similar neglect on the part of the State Government, namely, failure to pay special attention to such areas with a view to remove the unevenness in development.

Prof. Gautam Mathur, speaking at a seminar on the economic development of Andhra Pradesh, said that behind the steel plant agitation in Andhra two years ago, lay the urge and awareness of the people to develop, to catch up with the advanced states, to find avenues of more employment and become a first-class industrial state. It was not a mere aberration just for giant industry or a thoughtless competition with other states for the steel plant.

In a way, this indicates a failure of the nation as a whole during the last three Plan periods to take note of the repeated warnings of the Planning Commission to remove regional imbalances and take measures to remove this greatest impediment to national integration.

II

THE scenes of 1946-48 in the towns of Vijaywada, Guntur and other places on the border of the then

Hyderabad State, with literally thousands of Telangana families crossing the borders in search of security from the atrocities of Razakars, and the Andhra people inviting them with open arms, are still green in memory. Vijayawada town was the headquarters from where the Telangana leaders of all parties directed and conducted that memorable struggle, laying the foundations for the present state of Andhra Pradesh. Men, money, material flowed across the borders into Telangana to wage the anti-Razakar struggle, which led to the intervention by the Indian Army and finally, liberation of the Hyderabad state from the despotic rule of the Nizam. Today, the same Vijayawada town is receiving scores of families of Andhra employees, petty businessmen and traders who went in search of living and settled down in the districts of Telangana. Today, an average Andhra in a Vijayawada street asks in agony: Is this the return for what I did?

Across the borders in the Telangana districts is another story. The common man there established links with his fellow Telugu-speaking countryman in the Andhra region in the fire of struggle, and these links would have proved abiding, if only that struggle was immediately followed by the carving out of a state in which both of them could have settled down. But it happened otherwise and Hyderabad state as such was allowed to continue, with the shrewd Sardar Patel holding the reins at that time and with Nehru, with his weakness for a cosmopolitan Hyderabad State, at the helm of affairs. The Congress leaders who stepped into the Nizam's shoes developed vested interests. By the time the movement for linguistic states struck the shores of Hyderabad state, and the question of formation of a single Telugu state with Andhra and Telangana people joining together came up, it was posed as a question of big brother embracing the smaller one; the question of safeguards arose. Had the union of the two regions come about at the time of the struggle, it would have been a union at the common man's level and the results that would have come through such a union would have been different. But, today, the union being at the top and that too, between the Congress leaders of two regions, who are primarily interested in safeguarding their political and vested interests, it has become a question of preserving their vested interests, their share of power, interests of those who have helped them to get into power, while the interests of the state and the people are relegated to lower priority.

The Gentleman's Agreement of 1956 between the Congress leaders of both areas was nothing but a document providing for safeguards

against the bigger brother grabbing the smaller brother.

The Agreement of 1956, which was a pre-condition to the formation of the present Andhra Pradesh

State, was preceded by a section of Telangana Congressmen clamouring for a separate Telangana State, led by Dr. M. Chennareddy, until recently Union Minister for Steel, Mines and Metals. It was not as

Terms of Agreement entered into by the Leaders of Andhra and Telangana Regions at the time of the formation of the Andhra Pradesh State, 1956.

A. Regional Standing Committee :

(1) There will be one legislature for the whole of the Andhra Pradesh State which will be the sole law-making body for the entire State and there will be one Governor for the State, aided and advised by a Council of Ministers responsible to the State Assembly for the entire field of Administration.

(2) For the more convenient transaction of the business of Government with regard to some specified matters, the Telangana area will be treated as a region.

(3) For the Telangana region, there will be a Regional Standing Committee of the State Assembly consisting of the Members of the State Assembly belonging to that region including the Ministers from that region but not including the Chief Minister.

(4) Legislation relating to specified matters will be referred to the Regional Committee. In respect of specified matters proposals may also be made by the Regional Committee to the State Government for legislation or with regard to questions of general policy not involving any financial commitments other than expenditure of a routine and incidental character.

(5) The advice tendered by the Regional Committee will normally be accepted by the Government and the State Legislature. In case of difference of opinion, reference will be made to the Governor whose decision will be final and binding.

(6) The Regional Committee will deal with the following matters :

- (i) Development and economic planning within the framework of the general development plans and policies formulated by the State Legislature ;
- (ii) Local Self-Government, that is to say, the constitutional powers of Municipal Corporations, Improvement Trusts, District Boards and other district authorities for the purpose of Local Self-Government or village administration ;
- (iii) Public Health and sanitation, local hospitals and dispensaries ;
- (iv) Primary and Secondary Education ;
- (v) Regulation of admissions to the Educational institutions in the Telangana region ;
- (vi) Prohibition ;
- (vii) Sale of agricultural lands ;
- (viii) Cottage and small-scale industries ; and
- (ix) Agriculture Co-operative Societies, Markets and Fairs.

Unless revised by agreement earlier, this arrangement will be reviewed after ten years.

B. Domicile Rules :

A temporary provision will be made to ensure that for a period of five years, Telangana is regarded as a unit as far as recruitment to subordinate services in the area is concerned ; posts borne on the cadre of these services may be reserved for being filled by persons who satisfy the domicile conditions as prescribed under the existing Hyderabad rules.

C. The Position of Urdu :

The Government of India would advise the State Government to take appropriate steps to ensure that the existing position of Urdu in the administrative and judicial structure of the state is maintained for a period of five years.

D. Retrenchment of Surplus Personnel in the new State :

The Government of India do not anticipate any retrenchment. The intention is that so far as possible, the service personnel from the Hyderabad State should be automatically integrated into the services of the Andhra Pradesh without any process of screening. Should, however, any retrenchment be found necessary, the entire personnel of the services of the enlarged State will be treated on an equal footing.

E. Distribution of Expenditure between Telangana and Andhra Regions :

Allocation of expenditure within the resources of the State is a matter which falls within the purview of the State Government and the State Legislature. Since, however, it has been agreed to between the representatives of Andhra and Telangana that the expenditure of the new State on Central and General Administration should be borne proportionately by the two regions and balance of income from Telangana should be reserved for expenditure on the development of Telangana area, it is open to the State Government to act in accordance with the terms of this agreement in making budgetary allocations. The Government of India propose to invite the attention of the Chief Minister of Andhra to this particular understanding and to express the hope that it would be implemented.

if they were unaware that a separate Telangana state, the economy of it being what it was at that time and even today, cannot stand on its own legs even for a single day, unless heavily propped by the Centre. In launching a movement for separate Telangana, they opened a bargaining counter at which they talked over many matters which were not provided by the Gentleman's Agreement, namely, who should be the Deputy Chief Minister, which major portfolios should be in the hands of Telangana Ministers and so on. The provisions in the Gentleman's Agreement were of secondary importance to them and were only intended to be a mere sop to the public giving the impression that they were interested in the development of the Telangana region, protection for Urdu and employment of Telangana personnel etc. The manner in which both the Andhra and Telangana leaders callously ignored the implementation of these provisions during the last twelve years is an irrefutable proof that they have been more concerned with the fulfilment of the provisions of the unwritten rather than the written agreement.

This Agreement was also used as a pawn in the group politics of the Congress party. It may be stated here that both the Andhra and Telangana Congress leaders were clearly aware that the provisions of the Gentleman's Agreement were not being implemented and that the backward region of Telangana was being neglected. The open statement of the Chairman of the Regional Committee in 1961 is a proof of this awareness of the Congress leaders. But, once there was a change in the political complexion of the leadership of the party at the State level (which was to the liking of the then Chairman of the Regional Committee), he coolly shelved his own statement and forgot about it.

This injustice to the Telangana region again became handy for a section of the Congress leadership of both the regions in the last two and three years; this would be seen in the statements issued now and then about the neglect of Pochampad project (in Telangana); the non-utilisation of Telangana reserves for Telangana development and so on. But this weapon was not pressed into service in a consistent manner, since there were other powerful missiles in their armoury, whose efficacy was not lost until recently.

There are however, other compelling reasons which prompted this agitation.

Economic Setback

The failure of the economic policies of the Congress Ministries, the surrender to the American pressure resulting in the devaluation of the rupee, the failure to arrest recession, the disappointment at the failure of monsoon for successive years, threw the country's economy out of gear and less funds were provided for development year after year. The State had drawn up yearly Plans not for undertaking new projects of developments, but to complete the existing projects on hand. This sudden drop in the tempo of developmental activities had a crushing effect on the social and economic life of the state.

There was retrenchment, unemployment, stoppage of all development works with its consequent disappointment among the masses of the people—all these led to agitations and undermined one's respect for law and established government.

The State was also witnessing definite manifestations of tribal unrest in the forest belt. The weakness of the Communist movement due to splits in its ranks has emboldened the landed gentry to launch an offensive on the people to crush them to the point of no return. They were however disappointed, for there was resistance and the districts of Nalgonda, Khammam and Warangal have become trouble-spots.

The ruling circles needed something very badly, firstly to divert the people's attention from the more urgent problems; and secondly, to split the ranks of those who are slowly but surely preparing for a struggle to assert their rights to live as human beings.

Not a day passed in the recent weeks without news about Naxalite activities in the State, but after this agitation, nothing was heard of it. This new agitation over Telangana's right was thought of as the fittest instrument to divide the ranks of the people and allow the embers of mutual hatred to glow for some years to come.

Students Exploited

The choice of students as the lever to start this agitation is also significant. With thousands of engineers on the streets and unemployment ever increasing, there was genuine apprehension among them about their future, which appeared to them very bleak. An inflammable raw material was therefore ready, only to be lighted.

One salutary aspect of the twenty-day old agitation was that no Opposition party was blamed by anyone including the Police and Government of being involved in this agitation or having fomented this agitation. To anyone in Hyderabad city or who knows student policies, it is clear that the section of agitators demanding only protection of safeguards was led by one who is very close to the ruling group, while the other section demanding separate Telangana was directed by another leader who is known to be a right-hand man of a former Union Minister. Whether those behind the scenes asked them to stage this agitation or whether anyone has got any proof to substantiate such a charge is a moot point. One cannot however prevent people, who see certain things with their own eyes, to come to their own conclusions. The only other section that was there behind the agitation was composed of some elements connected with the Jana Sangh and the Vidyarthi Parishad, though the Jana Sangh, as a party, dissociated itself from the slogan of separate Telangana.

The agitation started on January 15 in the city, though Khammam district was its venue a few days earlier.

—(To Be Continued Next Week)

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Pakistan :

Time for a Dialogue

DEWAN BERINDRA NATH

RECENT events in Pakistan can provide little solace to us. For one thing, such occurrences are not confined only to that country. Much worse has been witnessed by ourselves. For another, it is not known what sort of people would come to power if the present regime was replaced. According to available indications men like Mr Bhutto are not likely to make things happier for India. It is more probable that most of President Ayub's opponents hankering after inexpensive publicity might like to make use of the anti-Indian strategem. Field Marshal Ayub Khan has already tried this and has learnt the bitter lesson of failure. Others might have yet to learn it the hard way.

The only consolation India might legitimately claim is ideological. One could say that such events have shown that dictatorship is not an answer to the problem of political stability. Upheaval across the border has certainly shown that curbs on democratic functioning cannot be treated as a panacea for all the ills associated with democracy in an undeveloped country. Keeping in view the tone of the gleeful propaganda which Pakistan has been indulging in with regard to disturbances in India, many would like to say that Islamabad is now being paid back in its own coin. There is certainly some justification for underlining this aspect of situation in Pakistan. Disturbances there have definitely helped those of the democratic elements in that country who were always confronted by their rulers with reports of ugly situation in India. Thus it

was sought to be proved that democracy in an under-developed country is the mother of all evils. This claim of the regime in Pakistan obviously stands ridiculed and no eloquence is deemed to be wasted to show how ludicrous it has been. Nevertheless, it would be a folly of the first magnitude to succumb to the temptation of feeling jubilant or even satisfied over what is happening in Rawalpindi, Dacca and Karachi. It would not only be bad morality but would also indicate a myopic view of the situation.

The significance of the present happenings as far as India is concerned lies only in one object lesson. Unfortunately it is this aspect which seems to have been totally ignored by our political pundits and Pakistan-gazers. It is simply this that a time comes in every society when the bogey of external danger can no longer prove effective as a diversion for the people. In spite of the best efforts put up by the publicity machinery of Rawalpindi to the contrary, the people in Pakistan do not seem to worry much about the talk of 'Hindu conspiracy', 'External threat', and 'a mighty neighbour wanting for an opportunity to swallow Pakistan.'

Issues like Farakka barrage and Kashmir have assiduously been raised but have failed to click. This trend of the people of Pakistan to see inwards rather than outwards for the dangers facing their country is a healthy development. This shows that India could hope for an improvement in relations provided a proper approach was made. Significantly enough, for the first time in West Pakistan voices are being

raised advocating efforts for normalisation of relations with India. It is not a mere accident that Smt. Indira Gandhi's offer of a no-war pact coupled with the proposal for setting up a joint machinery for settling bilateral differences, has not been rejected off hand. Eventually, it might suffer the same fate as did our earlier offers. Yet, it should not mean a small consolation to feel that some effort, however insignificant it might be, is being seemingly made, to show that Pakistan too wants peace.

Why is it so? To those accustomed to the usual modus operandi of Pakistani politicians' behaviour towards India, would definitely be puzzled with this attitude. It seems intriguing that on the one hand, Islamabad is trying to give an impression that it wants to improve relations with India; on the other, threats have been doled out to raise the Kashmir question once again in international forums. There does not seem to be any marked lessening in the tone of hostility in the anti-Indian propaganda, yet however, puzzling it might appear to a superficial observer, it is nevertheless true that President Ayub Khan does not want to go beyond a certain optimum limit in his hostility towards India. The limit is the point up to which he can retain his manoeuvrability vis-a-vis war and peace. He would not like that a climate is created whereby he is willy nilly compelled by his opponents to take an adventurous step for which neither his Army nor his country is ready. It is not in his interest to go on harping on Indian danger to an extent where it starts reflecting upon the efficiency and adequacy of his foreign and defence policies. The talk about persistent danger from India is a double-edged weapon which could as efficiently be used by his opponents as by himself. At the moment, however, his opponents seem in a more advantageous position. They have nothing to lose and everything to gain if a misadventure against India fails. He on the contrary would run into the danger of losing both power and prestige if

any act of hostility or even of diplomatic offensive misfires.

On the contrary, if he can not go all out for a dialogue with India he is not only the prisoner of the campaign of hate which has been kept up in Pakistan for the last twenty years but is also feeling too weak to take a bold step either towards war or peace. But the international situation is such that he must do something to create an impression that the stalemate was going to be broken. Here lies some hope for India. If we play our cards well it is probable that the move which Rawalpindi might make would be towards peace.

Most Opportune Time

How to do it? In the first instance, it can be done through a well-defined statement of policy towards Pakistan which might underline our categorical attitude towards most of the issues. It is very probable that if we are able to convince that we are ready to talk on every issue which interests the other country, the offer would not be rejected off hand. In any case, the onus for rejection would lie on Islamabad. By itself, it will be a no mean advance. In actuality this offer has already been made by the Prime Minister. What is needed is to spell out the details about the proposal to set up a joint consultative machinery and other matters of practical interest. This could be done even without waiting for clarification from Islamabad. The Chances are that Pakistan would not ask for such a clarification in the first instance, but if India is able to show that it means business, the other side would be almost compelled to talk about the offer. From India's point of view, it should be considered a major step forward.

Leaving such steps of a minimum nature aside, one would do well to understand the inadequacy of the approach we have so far been making towards Pakistan. Barring a few exceptions, we have by and large tried to have a liaison only with the Government. As regards the people, few efforts have been made to make them understand that, peace will be

good for Pakistan. Emotionally and to an extent understandably so, we have been too much attached with movements of dissent like those of Pakhtoonistan and East Pakistan. One need not write them off as India's potential friend in the long run. But a shift in the emphasis is needed to talk straight with the most powerful element in the political and economic life of Pakistan. So far, the Indian image before the eyes of a West Pakistani, especially of the Punjabi, has not been too flattering. Thanks to a very efficient anti-Indian publicity machinery, the Punjabi who dominates business, politics, the Army and other fields of life, has been convinced that India wants the dismemberment of Pakistan. He is not perhaps inherently interested in grabbing Kashmir but he should be made to believe that occupation of Kashmir by India which was about four times strong than Pakistan, could spell a military disaster for his country once more extremist elements come into power in New Delhi. The ridiculous nature of this belief need not be discussed. It would, however, suffice to note that it is very much there and a good deal of effort is needed to dispel it. The stake the Punjabi Muslim has developed in the unity of Pakistan is both ideological as well as practical.

Ideologically speaking, the unity of Pakistan sustained by a belief in the supremacy of Islam has become a part of the ethos of the Punjabi Muslim nationalism. In the strength and unity of Pakistan the Punjabi Muslim sees his own glory and strength. After all, it is for the first time in the history of the sub-continent that an independent Muslim political entity has taken shape in West Pakistan.

Till the advent of President Ayub Khan to power, this area was either ruled by Subedars appointed by the Delhi Durbar or by Sikh rulers or the British Viceroys or by Muslim refugee politicians migrating from India after the Partition. It is for the first time that the Punjabi Muslim has come to realise that a vast field of expansion has opened up before him. His eyes are fixed

not only on the exploitation of East Pakistan but also towards the Middle East. He feels that technically, intellectually and educationally he is much superior as compared to any other Muslim country in the world. This feeling whether correct or erroneous need not conflict with our aims on the sub-continent. The time has come to appreciate that the most dominant element in the other country feels disturbed about the seeming interest, however, marginal it might be in the internal affairs of that country.

With a little effort and tactfulness we can dispel this impression.

The time was never more opportune than today for this effort to be made. The recent disturbance in Pakistan have underlined that the Punjabi element does not remain irrevocably committed to the stability of the present regime. Neither would it be unduly swayed by the propaganda machinery of President Ayub Khan. This provides the semblance of silver lining as far as India-Pakistan relations are concerned. It means that India could now talk straight with those who control the Civil services, the Army and economic life.

Bright Prospects

This can be done provided we could spell out a clear-cut plan for the economic development of the whole area. It would not be difficult to convince the other side that India is as much interested in maintaining the territorial status quo as are the Pakistani Punjabis. Far from being detrimental to the unity of Pakistan, the improvement in Indo-Pak relations can in fact help it. A resumption of train services between East and West Pakistan via India could go a long way towards the emotional and economic integration of the two wings.

It is also not difficult to show that normalisation of relations could bring tremendous boon to the two regions of Punjab which are now divided by walls of

(Continued on page 30)

The Bitterness of "Sweet Life" !

KHWAJA AHMAD ABBAS

It is cold outside in New Delhi, but there is warmth in a certain discotheque in a Connaught Place basement.

There is a glow on the young faces which is only partly derived from the use of cosmetics (there is rouge even on the cheeks of some long-haired boys !), partly from the psychedelic revolving light that throws the narrow room into macabre designs of light and shade, but mainly the glow comes from the self-conscious feeling of doing something "wild", something "off-beat", something "forbidden". They are supposed to be "with it", "turned-on"; this is the "in" crowd, and this place is absolutely "fab".

Self-Conscious

Actually, there is nothing "wild" or objectionable (even from orthodox standards) going on except that there are "crazy" decorations on the walls like an inverted broken bicycle, and a dozen young couples crowded on the wholly inadequate dance floor are seriously and self-consciously, simulating the slow, gyrating dance movements.

Their bodies do not physically, naturally, respond to the beat of the music, and (with very few exceptions) they are not enjoying the experience, but they have to make themselves do it, even to pretend to enjoy it, because they must be seen in the right (or the wrong !) sort of crowd, dress as oddly and exotically as they can dare, grow their hair long

(if they are boys) or short (if they are girls) and thus qualify to be properly initiated.

But the whole thing is so depressingly mechanical, so conformist in its studied non-conformity, so much lacking in youthful zest and verve, original invention and daring experimentation, so devoid of revolutionary ideas or iconoclastic ideals, that it seems only mildly amusing and totally pointless—like exotic tropical fish darting about, imprisoned in a glass aquarium ! If it is the excitement of sex these young people are after, the dynamic rhythm of Punjabi *bhangra*, performed in the open air, will provide them with more of it than all these smoke-filled discotheques in overheated subterranean cellars, decorated with inverted bicycles.

New Rich

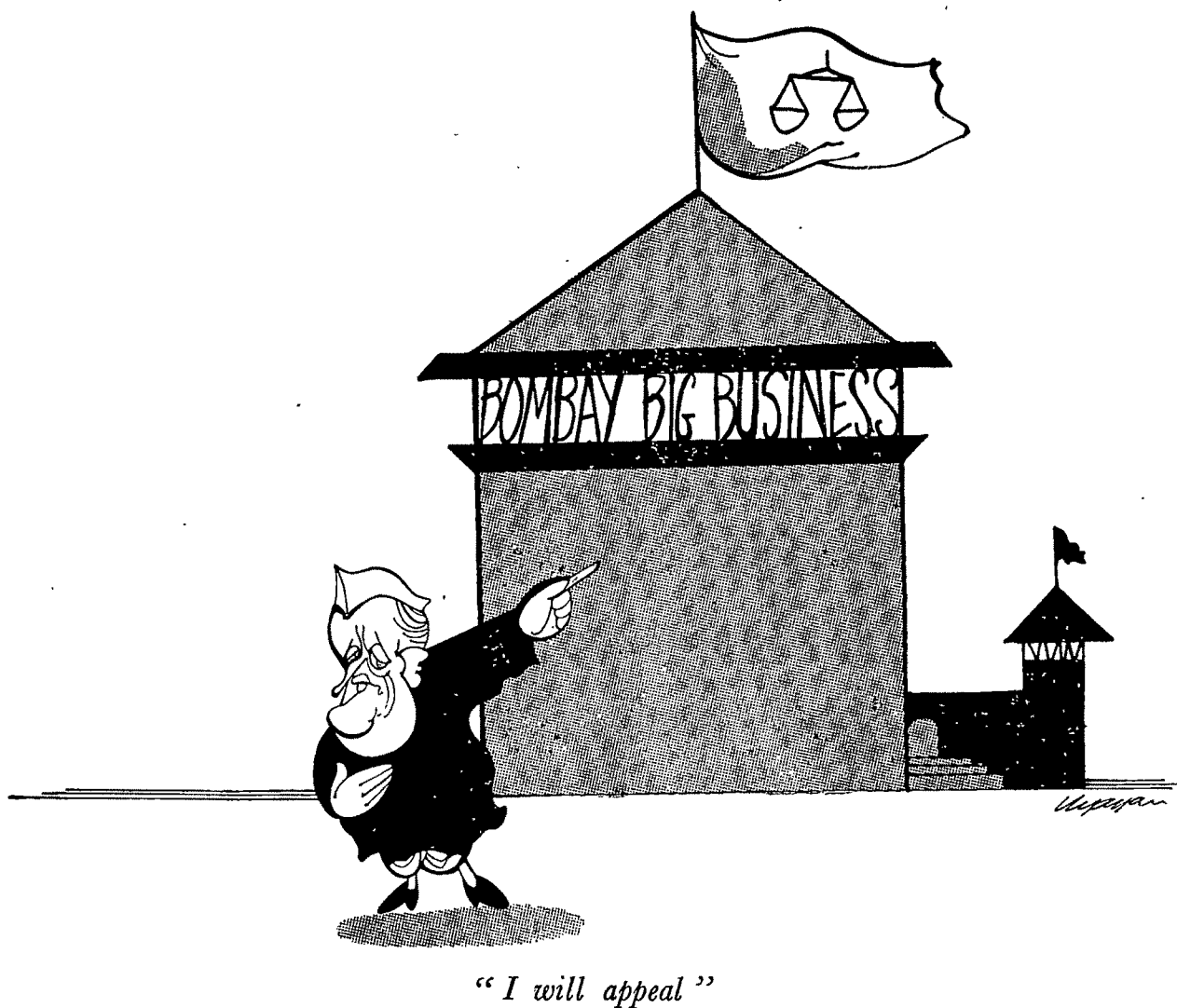
This is *not* the revolt of youth which similar movements symbolize in the West. In Greenwich Village, or in Soho, or in the Beerhalls of Berlin, or the side-walk cafes of Paris, the youth of the affluent society is raising the banner of non-conformism as a protest against the "Establishment" which has landed them in a state of spiritual vacuity in which the only reality is the threat of atomic extinction. The "Beatniks", the "Hippies", the "Flower Children", by and large, represent the revolt of the youthful intellectuals and the idealists who form the bulk of the Non-conformists.

What goes on in this discotheque and in similar hunts of the Non-conformist Indian youth, is not the Revolt of the young intellectuals or the idealists, but the attempts of the jaded young sophisticates, sons and daughters of the New Rich, for new forms of excitement which, too, they are too lazy or servile to invent out of their own milieu, and must borrow from the more degenerate exhibitionism of the West.

Out in the Cold

Outside the Cellar, in the cold, stand other young men who have not the money, or the compulsory girl-friends, to gain admission to the premises which, to them, symbolize all that life has denied to them. These are young men, often students, from lower-middle-income groups who brave the cold only to listen-in to the exotic music and glimpse the goings-on from a distance. Like air-conditioned flats, swanky restaurants, good food, fashionable clothes, streamlined cars, aeroplane trips—all these symbols of the gay and glamorous *Dolce Vita* (Sweet Life)—the discotheque, too, with its Minimum Cover Charge and the compulsory girl-friend, is the symbol of the unattainable "sweet life."

They—the young have-nots—are literally left out in the cold, and their hearts are filled with bitterness and resentment. Is it any wonder that they—or thousands others like them—throw stones and indulge in rioting and senseless destruction ?



Battle of Banaskantha

OBSERVER

BANASKANTHA, a remote and backward district of Gujarat, has suddenly hit the headlines overnight following the announce-

ment by the Congress President, that Sri S.K. Patil has agreed to contest the by-election in the area necessitated by the Supreme

Court confirming the setting aside of the election of the Swatantra M.P., Sri Manu Amarshy on grounds of appeal to religious sentiments of the voter.

Despite the categoric announcement of the Congress President, there is still confusion and uncertainty about Sri Patil entering the lists. Sri Patil had earlier said in Ahmedabad that he would like to contest from Banaskantha in case he lost his appeal in the Supreme Court against Sri Fernandes' election from South

Bombay ; but if he won in the Supreme Court, he would prefer Bombay apparently to rehabilitate himself there. Soon after the Congress President's announcement in the Capital, Sri Patil next day said in Bombay he was still undecided. Now that Sri Patil has once again lost in his litigation campaign against Sri George Fernandes, Banaskantha must come up in his priority list.

Meanwhile in Ahmedabad Sri G.G. Mehta, Sarvodaya worker of Banaskantha issued a statement after meeting State Chief Minister and Gujarat Pradesh Congress leaders that neither the Gujarat leaders nor he himself had given any assurance to Sri Patil.

It is on cards that the local Congress leaders want a local man to contest and Sri Mehta who fought Sri Amarsy would like to offer himself again for election. So far Sri Morarji Desai has kept silence but he would obviously support Sri Patil in the context of Congress politics at the Centre.

Sri Patil has his eye on this seat because the position of the Swatantra Party in Gujarat has weakened considerably after the Rajya Sabha by-election which split the party leading to Sri Masani's resignation. Following this open revolt some Swatantra Party members defected to the Congress thus strengthening the ruling party which after the time of the 1967 General Election could command a precarious majority of less than ten in the Assembly. The recent victory of the Congress in the Ankleswar by-election to the State Assembly has given added hope to the ruling party. The Congress has also improved its position in panchayats and civic bodies, except in Bhavnagar where the Communists have swept the poll.

Sri Patil was earlier offered Bhavnagar Parliamentary seat when Sri Jashwant Mehta shifted to the State as Minister. But Sri Patil was rather reluctant to take any risk in a by-election ; for Sri Mehta, who formerly belonged to PSP, used to win the seat on the strength of his

personal popularity rather than that of the Congress. Moreover, at that time Sri Patil was hoping to win the appeal over the Bombay seat and re-contest from there. He however lost at the High Court. When the Banaskantha seat felt vacant his friends again advised him to enter the contest and not lose further time on litigation. But he again preferred to wait.

Meanwhile, the Swatantra Party executive met in Ahmedabad recently and its Chairman Sri H.M. Patel officially announced that his party would contest the Banaskantha seat and if Sri Amarsy wanted to stand he could do so ; otherwise another candidate would be put up. This surprised many who had expected the Swatantra Party to support Sri Patil. But others alleged this is just a mere eye-wash and that secret assurance from the Swatantra Party is already in Sri Patil's pocket while some suspect that the Swatantra Party leadership is itself split on this issue.

Sri Amarsy is on record that he would contest despite his desire that Sri Patil should re-enter the Lok Sabha, but not from Banaskantha. He too wants to rehabilitate himself here though he is a Bombayite himself and a close friend of Sri Patil. He is a cotton magnate.

The outcome of the Nagarcoil by-election bringing Sri Kamraj to the Lok Sabha has made Swatantra bitter and that is one reason why a section of the party is against circles making a gift of a seat to Sri Patil. But if finally this lobby is defeated then only a dummy candidate may be put up. The party has no powerful alternative to Sri Amarsy locally and an outsider may neutralise the outsider label of Sri Patil.

Some observers fear revolt in the local Congress if an outsider like Sri Patil is given party ticket but ultimately it is Sri Morarji Desai's steamroller which works in Gujarat. Sri G.G. Mehta himself has said he would ultimately bow to the wish of the Congress High Command.

Sri Mehta secured a sizable section of votes against Sri Amarsy at the General Election

not because of the Congress whose prestige is constantly declining in this district but due to his personal sarvodaya work. Coming from an affluent family of Bombay Sri Mehta is a veteran Congressman and so is his wife, who is helping him in the sarvodaya work. They have record of service for the improvement of the lot of the common people. In Bombay he was active in the Congress Socialist movement and organised the BEST Workers Union and the Shop Assistants Union. He was a member of the Pradesh Congress and of the civic body. He is respected for his honesty and sincerity. Fed up of the Patil type politics which he fought along with his leader Sri Ashoka Mehta, he quit politics and Bombay too and migrated to Banaskantha and plunged himself into Sarvodaya.

There will be widespread resentment in Gujarat if Sri G.G. Mehta is not given the ticket. He was denied ticket by the State bosses even in 1962 but in 1967 they could not resist the pressure from local Congressmen.

One important factor which counts very much in Banaskantha is the Khedut Mandal or the Farmers Forum. In fact, it acts as the balancing factor and it has been exploiting this position by playing off the Congress against the Swatantra and *vice versa*. But the sympathy of its leader is known for Sri Patil though it would ask its pound of flesh in the bargain.

Gujarat press has warned the Congress leadership of ignoring local sentiments. If Sri Patil ultimately enters the field it would be a battle royal for Sri Fernandes has already threatened to make his presence felt anywhere Sri Patil chooses to stand.

Banaskantha was represented in the Lok Sabha for the first ten years by a Sarvodaya worker Sri Akbarbhai Chavda and when he was dropped because of the ten-year rule of Sri Sanjiva Reddy, his wife replaced him. The Swatantra Party which tried to capture this constituency improved its position gradually and finally won it in 1967.

Sri Chavda polled 65.24 per cent votes but it declined to

54.39 with the general decline of the Congress. His wife won with a comfortable margin of over fifty thousand votes and slightly improved the Congress poll to 57.26. In that election (1962) the Swatantra Party candidate Sri K.B. Mehta polled thirty per cent. Jana Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha candidates lost deposits. The Congress also captured six Assembly seats and only one went to an Independent. In 1967 Swatantra Party improved its position.

The Socialists had at one stage a good opportunity and polled 15 per cent of votes but they did not consolidate their gains thus allowing the Swatantras to come up. In 1962, the Swatantra Party failed to secure a single Assembly seat. The Independent who won was supported by the Khedut Mandal, which was annoyed with the Congress over the allotment of

tickets.

In 1962, the Congress and the Swatantra Party had strength of two-to-one in votes though the latter did not get a single seat ; but the Swatantras improved their position in the subsequent elections. In the forthcoming by-election, both the Congress and the Swatantra Party claim victory, but it is yet too early to say who has the better chance. That would depend on, first, who the candidates are on both sides ; and secondly, whom the Khedut Mandal supports or whether it puts up its own candidate. But the contest would no doubt attract all-India attention if Sri Patil appears in the field ; in that case, the all-India leaders particularly of the SSP and the Communists are bound to campaign against him.

The money bags of Bombay too would rush to their native

district which they visit only either for marriage or funeral of someone close to them. There are quite a few capitalists from this district in Bombay though the district itself happens to be one of the most backward and poor and frequently visited by drought. This year too it is one of the worst affected by drought. The local complaints of inadequate relief work too may go against Sri Patil. The district is on the Indo-Pak border and frequently menaced by Pakistani smugglers and cattle-lifters. It is the most poorly protected sector of the India-Pak border, even during 1965 conflict there were loud complaints of poor defence in this area. The Gujarat Government too has neglected this area, leaving it to the mercy of God.

Banaskantha is going to be no bed of roses for the desperate Sri S.K. Patil.

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assigned to him for administration was transferred to one Bharan, a Hindu administrator. It was Bharan who had really brought to the notice of the authorities the amount of embezzlement in Nathhu's land assignment. Nathhu and his brothers protested to the Sultan against the imposition of an infidel over them as administrator, and failing to dissuade the Sultan, they revolted.

There is no evidence, indeed to suggest that the State engaged itself in converting the Hindus into Muslims on a mass level, or in a ferment, zealous efforts to propagate their faith. (The only conversions, or suggestions of it by the state that we know of are conversions of politically important individuals or families but never at the mass levels; and this to strangely enough was not in the initial stages—when it would make more sense but at a much later stage of medieval Indian history.) One could perhaps argue that the *Jazia* was a compulsion on them to become Muslims. For one thing, that by becoming Muslims they would have to pay the *Zakat*; two, that the evidence regarding the *Jazia* is very confusing. Ibn Batuta, a 14th century traveller, tells us that in South India the *Jazia* was imposed by the Hindu ruler (the Zamorin) on his Jewish subjects. Outside India we know of the *Jazia* being imposed by Muslim rulers on their Muslim subjects. Also that the *Jazia* was not levied on the women, the children, the invalids, the Brahmins (except in the reign of Firuz Tughlaq) and the soldiers. Even if one were to concede the *Jazia* was a purely religious tax, did the Hindus really consider their religion so cheap as to exchange it for exemption (which is not even an exemption, for as Muslims they would pay the *Zakat*) from paying a paltry sum of money?

III

Similarly, the demolition of temples. It is obvious that the demolition of temples could not have been meant for winning over the Hindus to Islam. For, how can one imagine that the way to winning over the hearts of a people is to go and demolish its temples? Demolition could only have created hatred, if anything, but certainly not love for the Muslims in the hearts of the Hindu subjects. Therefore it could not have been meant for converting them. It is significant that generally the temples are demolished by a Sultan only in the territory of an enemy; they are not demolished within the Sultan's own empire. Thus the demolition of temples was a symbol of conquest by the Sultan. Incidentally, many Hindu rulers also did the same with the temples in the enemy territory long before the Muslims had been heard of (See *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, edited by R.C. Majumdar, Vol. V, pp. 70, 99). And one Howha, ruler of Kashmir in the 12th-13th century went and plundered the temples in his own territory when he needed money, without a word of protest being raised. And when he needed still more money and enhanced the rate of tribute due from his subordinate feudal lords he was dragged down the streets of Srinagar by the revolting lords and was done to death.

It is not denied that there was conversion. But mostly it was voluntary conversion or may be as a consequence of the popularity of the Sufi saints who lived among the people and talked their language. It is only suggested that the State did not engage itself in any mass-scale conversion. If the State had, then contemporary historians, who were very orthodox Mullas would have mentioned such facts with great fanfare and even exaggeration.

IV

It is not that simultaneously with conversion, voluntary or otherwise, the neo-Muslims were immediately accepted as full members of the ruling class. In fact, the lower-caste converts are utterly detested by the Muslims belonging to the upper levels of the society. Thus Barani in a firman which he fabricates and ascribes it to Caliph Mamun states thus (and what he says applies to the Muslims for the Firman is ascribed a Khalifa of the Muslims): "Teachers of every kind are to be sternly ordered not to thrust precious stones down the throats of dogs or to put collars of gold round the necks of pigs and bears—that is, to the mean, the ignoble and the worthless; to shopkeepers and to the low-born they are to teach nothing more than the rules about prayer fasting..." (See Barani's theoretical work translated as *The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, p. 65.)

Thus we might come back to the earlier question. Why was there no popular resistance to the Turkish invasion? Or, to the Mughal invasions later on? The only popular resistance movements we know of were in the 17th century when the peasantry revolted in the Maharashtra, Punjab and the Agra-Mathura region against the increasing economic burdens on them.

There might be two broad reasons for this: (1) the existing social and political system could not inspire the people to the defence of their Rajput masters who after all formed a bare eight per cent of the population. At any rate, the people were quite familiar with the Turks, through the latter's first cousins—the Rajputs—who originally belonged to the same land, to the same level of civilization as the Turks. And there was nothing particularly hideous in the Turks which they had not tolerated in the Rajputs.

(2) The Turks did not disturb the existing political and social structure; they only made marginal superstructural changes.

Thus, the region of the conflict was limited to the ruling class. There could be tension within the Imperial ruling class as is shown by the numerous revolts of the Jagirdars, both Hindu and Muslim; or, it could be between two ruling groups or classes as is shown by the heroic but futile deeds of Rana Pratap who, after all, was fighting not even for Rajputana, far from India, but for his own principality.

Significantly, even in the seventeenth century when great popular uprisings took place like the Maratha uprising, the Sikh and the Jat uprisings

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Role of Indian Universities in The Context of Today

P. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR

WHAT is the function of a university in democratic India and what should be the role of university education to-day? It is obvious that the first and primary function of university education must be to enable its students to reach peaks of excellence in the different disciplines of knowledge selected by them.

We all know that in the last three quarters of a century, knowledge in all branches has made breath-taking progress and so our university education must make a consistent and earnest endeavour to enable the university students to march onward in their search for truth in different disciplines of knowledge. Such a search on which the universities are continuously engaged, requires on the part of the teachers and the students alike a spirit of inquiry, a spirit of humility, a spirit of tolerance and a desire to know. Such a search also involves co-operation and partnership between the teachers and the students.

The process of teaching is not passive; it is dynamic. It involves a continuous dialogue between the students and the teachers on the subject of their study. "Work is worship" must be the motto both of the teachers and the students alike. Fear of ideas

must never invade the minds of the teachers and the students. And it is plain that in order to carry on this search for truth in different disciplines of knowledge, the university campuses must breathe a quiet, peaceful, harmonious atmosphere and must not be disturbed by any external pulls or pressures. Adventure of ideas and search for truth go together and it is this fascinating search for truth which gives the university life its place of pride in the affairs of the nation.

We often talk of university autonomy and, indeed, university autonomy is an important principle accepted by democratic countries. But university autonomy loses all its meaning when violence erupts on the university campus and angry students begin to break laws. The university community all over India must take active steps to see that pulls and pressures of partisan politics do not invade the the university campuses.

But search for academic truth and devoted effort to reach peaks of excellence cannot by themselves complete the function of the entire university life in our country and do not constitute the entirety of its role. It may sound platitudinous but is nevertheless true that the destiny of Indian democracy is being shaped in the class rooms of our universities. It is necessary to remember that university education is both a creation and a catalyst of social change. The content of education, its dimensions, its methodology must change from time to time so as to meet the requirements of changing concepts of education and the expanding horizon of knowledge. In that sense university education is a creation of social change.

University education must also function as a catalyst of social change. In a democratic country like India, university education has to act as a mighty instrument which assists the democracy in achieving its cherished ideal of creating a new social order.

Let me ask the university community, both teachers and students, to remember that the utility of university education would ultimately be judged by the Indian public by the service it renders to the community at large in its endeavour to reach the goal set before the country by the Indian Constitution. The Indian Constitution has promised that Indian democracy is a welfare democracy and is dedicated to the task of establishing justice social, economic and political. In this adventure, university education has to act as an instrument of Indian democracy and university men, both students and teachers, have to participate.

When I speak of the commitment of Indian democracy to establish a new social order, what do I mean? What are the basic postulates on which the new social order has to be founded? Amongst the basic postulates on which the new Indian social order has to be constructed, the place of pride must be given to the doctrine of secularism. The word 'secular' is not used in any article of the Indian Constitution; but it is universally recognised that the concept of secularism runs through the whole scheme of the Constitution. Articles 25 and 26 prescribe the main constituents of this concept. These articles guarantee the right to freedom of

This is a slightly abridged edition of Dr. Gajendra-gadkar's Convocation Address at the Aligarh Muslim University on January 28, 1969. Only those portions which have specific relevance for his immediate audience have been deleted here.

—Editor

religion is an illusion in India. Every Indian citizen is entitled to the fundamental right of free profession, practice and propagation of his religion.

There are two features of Indian secularism which need to be emphasised. It is not anti-god or anti-religion as it tended to be in the latter half of the nineteenth century in Europe. When the doctrine of secularism made its appearance in Western Europe, it was primarily anti-god and anti-religion. Indian secularism does not belong to that category. Indian secularism recognises the relevance and need for religion in human life. But it provides that all religions, whether Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Judaism or any other, which thrive in India must function within their legitimate areas. The two articles which guarantee to every citizen the right to freedom of religion specifically provide that the said fundamental right is subject to public order, morality and health and to the other fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution. In other words, Indian secularism insists that no religion should trespass beyond its legitimate bounds.

When Indian democracy is engaged on the task of finding adequate and satisfactory solutions to the complex and vexed socio-economic problems facing the country, the Constitution insists that in the discussion and decision of these socio-economic problems religion has no relevance and no scope. These problems, which are social and economic, must be considered and decided on a rational and scientific basis. That is how Indian secularism demands that the community must be taught to adopt a rational and scientific approach in dealing with secular problems.

The Task of Democracy

We must recognise the fact that the Indian community in general, whether Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew, is mainly traditional. It tends to look backward, rather than forward. It tends to lean on scripture, tradition and custom rather than on reason; and the task which Indian democracy is attempting to achieve is to convert this traditional community into a modern society. The task of teaching the traditional community to adopt a rational and scientific approach and come to terms with modernism is not an easy task. But Indian democracy is committed to the achievement of this task and in this process university education must act as a catalyst and educated men and women must join in the adventure as advocates of the doctrine of modernism.

The second distinguishing feature of Indian secularism is that all religions are entitled to equal respect; that no religion can claim the monopoly of truth. Did not a Sufi poet say that there are as many ways to god as there are human hearts? No religion should, therefore, claim to be the monopolist of truth and all religions should learn to respect each other. That is where the need for understanding, tolerance and a spirit of humility arises. It is the duty of university education to-day to develop in the minds of common men and women this spirit of tolerance, understanding and humility.

Let us remember that secularism is not merely a political doctrine. It is not a negative or passive doctrine. It is a dynamic, positive concept and it must inspire all efforts which Indian democracy makes to achieve its objective of establishing an egalitarian society in this country based on social equality and economic justice.

Let me illustrate what I mean by adopting a rational and scientific approach to social and economic problems. To the Hindus, secularism says that so far as untouchability is concerned or so far as the caste system and loyalties to castes are concerned, whatever Hindu religious texts may say, these notions must be discarded as inconsistent with democracy. It is no good a traditional Hindu trying to support untouchability on the strength of some obscure ancient Hindu text. Social equality is a secular matter and the Indian democracy has promised social equality to all citizens in this country.

Duty of Educated People

To the Muslim community, secularism addresses a similar argument. Take the case of polygamy or the need for a common civil code. It is the duty of the Muslim educated men to persuade their brethren who have not received the benefit of modern university education to adopt the view that in secular social matters like marriage, succession and others, what the Koran says is not relevant today. We have to decide this question by rational and scientific tests. The Constitution has specifically provided amongst its Directive Principles that a common civil code would be enacted. We have not still been able to achieve that objective because the task of educating the Muslim community has not been attempted by educated men as it should have been. Let us remember that traditional beliefs, communal feelings, obscurantism and chauvinism are the results of ignorance. These subversive trends are born in human minds which are not educated and so the task of fighting these subversive trends must be attempted with the help of education and propaganda. Law alone will not be enough to fight these trends. Public opinion must be aroused and public conscience must be awakened. If the public conscience continues to be atrophied on matters of this vital importance to the future of Indian democracy, the attempt to bring about the result merely by the process of law would be an exercise in futility.

Secularism says to the Christian community that in the matter of family planning, the Papal Encyclical has no relevance. That again is a social, secular matter and must be considered on rational and scientific grounds.

I have given these three illustrations applicable to three major communities in India to emphasise the point that secularism is not a negative concept; it runs through the whole philosophy adopted by the Indian Constitution. That is why I give a place of pride to the doctrine of secularism amongst the basic postulates on which the new Indian social order has to be founded.

Indian secularism recognises the fact that the different communities living in this country have

distinctive personalities of their own; have distinctive features—linguistic, religious, cultural, and these have to be and must be preserved. But over and above and beyond these individual characteristics of different communities, we have to evolve an Indian personality. In other words, loyalties to religions, languages and regions, which in a sense may be inevitable, have ultimately to be subordinated to the loyalty to India and a sense of Indianness has to be created. The creation of a sense of Indianness is another basic postulate on which the new social order must be founded. We must learn to develop a positive concept that on the last analysis we are Indians first, Indians second and Indians last. Having developed this consciousness in our minds without any mental reservation, we must make incessant efforts to develop the same consciousness in the minds of common men and women in this country. Unfortunately, communal forces are raising their ugly head to-day. So are narrow loyalties struggling for supremacy in the public mind. If university education does not prepare our educated men to fight these subversive and narrow trends and tendencies which pose a grave danger to Indian democracy and to the progress of India in social and economic fields, it will have failed in its main function in the context of to-day.

One Class

Social equality is yet another basic postulate of the new social order. Indian Constitution recognises only one class of citizens. There are no two classes of citizens in India. All citizens enjoy equal measure of the guaranteed rights and are absolutely equal before law. The majority community and the minority communities must recognise that they form constituent parts of a much larger community, which is the Indian brotherhood. Just as in democracy the majority opinion ought not to tyrannise over the minority opinion, so must the minority opinion not hold to ransom the majority opinion. Loyalty to India and dedication to the cause of social equality and economic justice on which the whole Constitution is founded are required from all citizens alike. Wherever chauvinism appears, whether in the Hindu minds or Hindu groups or Muslim minds or Muslim groups, or Christian minds or Christian groups, educated citizens must make a determined effort to fight these trends.

The problem of communal disharmony and communal disturbances has recently posed a very serious danger to the future of democracy in this country. Muslim communalists harp on communal feelings on the ground that some members of the Hindu community are showing trends of communal feelings, and communalists amongst the Hindus harp on communal feelings on the ground that Muslims are communal and occasionally show reluctance to join whole heartedly the stream of national life. This approach adopted by communalists in both the communities tends to create mutual distrust and leads to communal tension and sometimes even to violent disturbances. That is how this vicious circle works. I would strongly urge the cos-

topolitan university community of Angard to remember that the only effective way of meeting the challenge of communalism is not to participate in communal movements or to start communal organisations or parties, but to strengthen the forces of secularism in this country.

Economic Justice

Economic justice is the last important basic postulate of the new social order. It is no good our talking of socialism and a socialistic way of life so long as the problem of poverty has not been solved. A welfare democracy does not subscribe to the rule of *laissez faire* and is not prepared to allow the economic imbalance of social structure to continue. In the process of introducing economic justice, law will no doubt act as a mighty weapon of democracy. But even in this sphere the co-operation of the public is important. If political democracy is not, by the rule of law, converted into an economic democracy where all citizens are entitled and are able to enjoy life, liberty and happiness in equal measure, the promise made by the Constitution to the millions of Indians that justice—social, economic and political—will be established, will remain unredeemed. Let us remember that Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness raise a serious problem to the future of democracy. Unless the problem posed by these five giants is immediately solved, democracy itself would be in danger.

It is on these basic postulates that we in India are determined to create a new social order in democratic way. In this mighty endeavour, university education has to act as a powerful instrument and educated men must take a leading part. That is why university education to-day can be properly described as a catalyst of social change. In order that our universities should discharge their legitimate function and university education should play its legitimate role to-day it is essential that our education must create in the minds of our students and teachers alike a sense of ethos, a sense of purpose, a feeling that all of us are answerable to the larger community and owe a duty to it.

So far I have attempted to describe the part that university education has to play in the creation of a new social order. May I conclude with the impassioned, eloquent and inspiring words of Tagore which give a true picture of the new social order which India hopes and aspires to create in a democratic way. Said Tagore :

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high :

Where knowledge is free

Where the world has not been broken

Up into fragments by narrow domestic walls :

Where words come out from the depth of truth :

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection :

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of habit :

Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever widening thought and action :

Into that heaven of freedom, my father,

Let my country awake.

Crisis in University Education

ANJANI KUMAR SRIVASTAVA

THERE is perhaps no finer ideal of a University than what Jawaharlal Nehru adumbrated at the Allahabad University Convocation in 1948: "A University stands for humanism, for tolerance, for reason, for progress, for the adventure of ideas and for the search of truth. It stands for the onward march of the human race, towards even higher objectives. If the Universities discharge their duty adequately, then it is well with the nation and the people."

A University is an institution for higher education and research. The basic task of University education is to promote powers of the mind, acquisition of special skills, and advancement of learning; but above all, to generate in the young generation a sense of purposefulness and mission, dedication, confidence in themselves and faith in the country's future. Before the country attained Independence, Gandhiji had written in *My Experiments with Truth*: "I had always given the first place to the culture of the heart, the building of character, I regarded character building as the proper foundation of education." But do we agree today with what Gandhiji said then? Do we feel the need for moral and spiritual awakening among students? Are we not just drifting without any aim or direction? Is not the country passing through a phase of perplexity?

We all know that there is something radically wrong with

our University education. The frequent disturbances and closures of Universities and the inquiries held into their affairs are symptoms of deep-rooted maladies that afflict these institutions. Nor are the Universities which do not hit the headlines free from these maladies. They, too, suffer from them—may be in a less virulent, but in a no less, insidious form.

The defects of our higher education have been brought to light occasionally by various experts and commissions that have gone into University affairs. Our Universities are overcrowded with students, many of whom ought not to be there at all. Compared to the students, the number of teachers is relatively small. As a result, a student can never get the individual attention and intensive training so essential for high educational standards.

Poor library facility is another point. A library is the heart of a University since no academic work is possible without the assistance of a dynamic and well-organised University library. In other words, it is a focal point of study and research. The libraries of many Universities are little more than collection of standard works. They hardly offer facilities for research and specialization. They provide seating accommodation only for a microscopic number of students, and the library staff is generally not very co-operative.

The Universities prescribe standard courses in different subjects, but these are not framed with due care. Very often, the syllabi are faithful copies or a rehash, of the tables of contents of standard

books. The course of study in each subject is accompanied by a list of books recommended for study. These syllabi form strait jackets that effectively strangle education. The teacher has also to adhere to the prescribed course and cover it from end to end in the course of his lectures. He must acquaint the students with the contents of the prescribed texts and it is quite futile to acquaint them with anything else, for questions set at the examinations are always based on the recommended books. The teacher does not have much of an opportunity to work out his own ideas on the subject he teaches, for those ideas are not likely to be of much use in the examinations.

Our system of examination too is as faulty as the process of formulating courses of study. As a matter of fact, it aggravates the faults of the latter. A student is examined once a year, and in some Universities where semester system of examination has been introduced, twice a year. What counts in his performance in these examinations. What he does during the whole year is nobody's concern. There is no device for making a student work during the whole year and testing his progress periodically.

Jobs Without Men

Matters go from bad to worse on account of the limitations to which an examiner is subjected. Any drastic change in the nature of the question-paper is most unwelcome both to the students and to those who control the various examinations. Any stiffening of examination standards also gives birth to protests. The students do not feel like wasting a year and the authorities do not feel like having half-empty classes and meeting consequent deficit in finance. Our great Professor-poet Firaq Gorakhpuri is on record as having said: "Our youngmen seem to have lost the capacity to frame correct intelligible answers. Every year we are producing hundreds and thousands of not unemployed youngmen but unemployable youngmen. The problem today is not of men without jobs but of jobs without men."

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Another basic mistake has been that very little attention paid to the question of student welfare in general. While there has been much talk about University autonomy, opening of more colleges and Universities, etc. etc., very little thinking has been given to the question of student welfare and the problem of proper leisure-time entertainment for the student community. Many Universities have established the office of 'Dean of Students Welfare' as recommended by the Radhakrishnan Commission. But, in many places this office has only an ornamental value. In one University, it is reported, the main responsibility of the Dean of Students Welfare was to get railway concession tickets for students. In our Universities we do not have anything like mass facilities; of course, the Unions are there, but they are in reality nothing but electioneering societies.

I need not go here into the complex question of political youth-groups leading to student unrest. Many political parties in their efforts to get a future cadres for their party make efforts to bring University students within their fold. Launching agitations and trying to recruit student

leaders direct to their party ranks has been a normal feature of party work. Such agitations leading to the stoppage of all academic activities in the Universities harm the nation as a whole and do not bring any real gain to any political party. In the words of Gandhiji, "Students must not take part in party politics. They are students, searchers not politicians".

The real purpose of education is to educate man to live a free and harmonious life within and without. The failure of the present education precisely lies here. It does educate man and enables him to earn his bread or to cross lands and the seas and space. But he remains in his heart of hearts unregenerate. No doubt, man has acquired knowledge, but he lacks wisdom. He has knowledge of things and articles glutted in the market, the laboratory and the workshop, but neither has he the intelligence nor the art to understand or establish right relationship with life. Education today produces the fragmented, not the integrated individual.

In the light of these problems, all of us, boys and girls, men and women, teachers, parents, and

students, cannot but think that real education is not the mere acquisition of knowledge or a key to employment; it is self-realisation. The former is merely a means towards attaining the latter. Real education is the path along which the devotee can travel towards the realisation of the lofty objectives of a noble character and unassailable integrity.

It is, therefore, high time for the educationists and the Government to give adequate attention to the problem of education which is the backbone of the nation. India's future is in jeopardy, number of social and cultural evils are increasing rapidly. To cure all these maladies, the only remedy at our disposal is, to impart proper education which must enable the student to think in terms of national integration; and the spirit of emulation must be evoked so that he can work harder and harder for the progress of the country. Moreover, active co-operation of the intelligentsia should be sought in creating an atmosphere in which correct values can emerge. May we hope that right forces will begin to assert themselves before it is too late?

campus journal

The Temperate Untruth

By the time this goes into print perhaps, things must have happened in the Campus already. The students, the Karmacharis, and the teachers of the University are considerably agitated over the authorities' failure to redress a great grievance. Vinay Kumar, a lecturer in one of the consti-

tuent colleges, was sacked by the governing body on the ground that he did not know how to teach.

The University's representative on the Body had dissented. This placed the University in a rather difficult position. Since its own representative had dis-

sented, if it were to uphold his dissent, it would have to override the decision of the Governing Body and void the dismissal. In the present set-up the governing bodies have been given lot of leeway, ponderously called autonomy, and it would be incorrect for the University's executive authority to interfere in such autonomy.

This preamble would hardly bring out the sordid reality behind the pretences of the University. The institution of the private college is a gross anomaly. Such colleges are started by persons known as philanthropists. They make the initial endowment, which is then matched with a grant from the University Grants Commission or the state bringing the institution into being. From then on the entire cost of running of the

college is the charge of the University Grants Commission. The Governing Body is supposed to contribute only five per cent of the expenses while the remaining 95 per cent comes from the University Grants Commission. And for this five per cent the Governing Body is rewarded with almost indiscriminate authority over the teaching staff.

In itself, the position is anomalous. The power to hire and fire is justified only if you foot the cost of the entire operation. Here, however, it is the University Grants Commission that pays the lecturers, and it is but reasonable to expect the governing bodies not to have the last word in the appointment and the discharge of the teachers. Of course, the argument advanced in favour of the governing bodies is that the initial endowment has come from them.

Again, this is yet another factor which needs careful investigation. It is worthwhile getting a competent investigating agency like the Special Police Establishment or the Enforcement Directorate to find out how the entire mechanism of the endowment is worked out. It is possible, for instance, for a financier to hypothetically promulgate an investment and show the money as being endowed in a bank. The bank could be his and the endowment could be merely notional. *But the matching grant is not notional*, it is solid money coming from the government. It is the taxpayers' money being ploughed into a capitalist's speculative venture.

Apart from the notional endowment there is yet another factor to be considered, namely the authenticity of the estimate of expenditure on the building, etc. There have been instances of the contractors executing the project being the agents of the governing bodies themselves. And so would be the engineers supervising the work. In other words, the project comes to be operated within a closed circle, where considerable inflation of figures on the outlay is possible. And, it is said, by such clever manipulation of figures it is possible to complete almost the entire

construction *within the matching grants*.

So we are left with a situation in which a person is able to float a college without effectively investing anything. He is able to employ dozens of talented and highly qualified people, whose upkeep again is almost entirely met by the University Grants Commission. Yet, on the strength of a fraudulent statistical play concerning the endowment he is able to harass and take undue advantage of the members of the staff.

It might appear strange that the University should be a party to this injustice. For one thing the University is committed to the moral pretence of philanthropy on one side, and on the other, to an outdated concept of discipline which legitimises practically all the misdeeds of those in authority. It even invests in the members of the governing body the authority which ought normally to result from expert knowledge. For instance, the boards interviewing candidates for teaching jobs in the colleges are composed of the college chairman, the University representative and experts in the subject. The position of the chairman on the board is anomalous. There is little that he can do while interviewing the candidate except to assess his or her looks. Even the role of the expert is often restricted because all that is allowed to do is to put a few questions and assess the candidate on the spot. This certainly is a very shoddy method of assessment. If the candidate has done research on any specific field, to make a proper assessment the expert will have to spend considerable time going through the dissertation itself. This is rarely done. And to make matters worse, to make matters incredibly ridiculous, the chairmen of the governing bodies often ask questions that border on the fantastic. In a recent interview a certain chairman was reported to have asked a candidate who had a doctorate in Sanskrit Literature and volumes of post-doctoral work to her credit, if she could name a Sanskrit play which could be

made into a film !

The situation perhaps is unavoidable, because with green grocers and money lenders turning to national endowments and lucrative philanthropy, the University needs must become a passive partner in an act of debasement. Well, we come back to the case of Vinay Kumar. The philanthropists who have endowed the college with its initial funds have found Vinay Kumar a bad teacher. Vinay Kumar was selected to his post like any other lecturer is, after an interview at which the University is represented. He was also selected on the strength of his academic record. It is very rare for a person with a tolerably good academic record to fail as a teacher. Such failure could result only from some gross physical disability, which in any case could be detected at the time of appointment. The charge of inefficiency eventually becomes one of those vague allegations which the employer levels against a difficult employee whom it wants to do away with.

The Delhi University has fairly liberal traditions, at least when we compare it with many other Universities in the country. Summarily dismissals are very rare, but if this case goes unchallenged it might begin a process which will erode the intellectual freedom of the teaching staff. The Vice-Chancellor seems to be in great agony over the issue. The last week was full of tender happenings like the visit of Coretta King and the march to Gandhiji's Samadhi. Nothing is easier and more enjoyable than the indulgence in holiness. We are living in a society and a system of government where every one who makes a moral compromise within himself is busy sprouting wings and wearing halos. The kind of injustice which the University metes out to its employees is nothing more and nothing less than the injustice in which a proprietorial society is based. The critic here is bound to sound harsh. For, the language of truth is intemperate. Order and stability depends on the temperate untruth.

—Nalanda

Who is Bothered About Indian Science ?

P. K. NAIDU

THE award of the Padma Vibhushan on Dr Hargobind Khorana in this year's Republic Day Honours List may appear to many as an example of the Government's appreciation of India's science talents.

Such an assessment however will be far from the truth. In fact, the statement made by Dr. Triguna Sen, Union Minister for Education in the Parliament on November 26, 1968 explaining away the emigration of Dr Hargobind Khorana to USA reveals the smugness and complacency which bedevils governmental approach to scientific problems. The Minister seemed to be unable to appreciate the fact that when Dr Khorana returned in 1955-56 after completing his training under another Nobel Laureate, he failed to find the slightest response from any of the educational and research organisations such as the Delhi University, the ICAR or the CSIR.

The Government's approach appears to be that if scientists like Khorana want to migrate that should cause no worry; in any case the Government of India is not prepared to do anything in the matter. This official position is in striking contrast to the observations made by Prof S. Chandrasekhar who was recently in India to deliver the Nehru Memorial Lecture. Prof Chandrasekhar suggested that there should be no harm in persuading the Indian scientists to come back to the country. He also emphasised that Indian scientists were reluctant to return not because of lower emoluments in the country but because of lack of proper research atmosphere

and the bureaucratic and hierarchical setup in the research and teaching institutions.

While the Education Minister's views represent the sterility of current policies in Science, the pronouncements of his Secretary, Dr Atma Ram, in regard to the scientists abroad make the situation still more intriguing. For the last two years he has been consistently advocating that brain drain is an international phenomenon and hence nothing could be done about it in our country. He has pooh-poohed the idea of inviting the brilliant Indian scientists to return to serve the motherland. His pronouncements amount to the following :

1. India will do nothing to call back her scientific and technical talents to participate in the industrial development of the country ;

2. The Ministry and the CSIR will not bother to do anything to improve the research atmosphere in the teaching and research institutions.

Contrary to the views expressed by CASTASIA and the Scientific Organisations the world over, the Minister for Education and his Chief Executive in the CSIR have set their faces against all constructive approach and policies regarding science and technical personnel.

A somewhat humorous sidelight is provided by the initial denials of the CSIR that the former Director General had ever invited Dr. Khorana to return to India to head the National Biological Laboratory. A Capital daily of October 21, 1968 carried a letter to the editor which stated "there is no official

record in the CSIR to show that he was offered the post of the Director of a projected national laboratory in 1965". The same daily on November 19, 1968 opened its columns to an 'Onlooker' who stated that "the CSIR in early 1960 was more interested in proliferation than protein, the ASWI than Amino Acids, carpets than chromosomes". It was also stated that the former Director General knew nothing of Khorana and the only time he came to know of him was on the basis of a report in the *Science Reporter* of September 1968. There was flutter in the corridors of CSIR Bhavan on Rafi Marg when it was discovered that, notwithstanding the emphatic denials by the CSIR, a letter has actually been written by the earlier DG to Dr. Khorana offering him the Directorship of NBL in 1964. Fortunately, the letter was discovered before the Minister made a statement in the Parliament. That the present CSIR administration should appear as if it is a party to articles in newspapers against its former Director General and that 'Onlooker' should take it upon himself to defame the former Director General while heaping plaudits on the present Director General is an indication of the present deplorable state of morality amongst those who control the fortunes of research in the CSIR.

During 1967 the CSIR bosses were proclaiming day in and day out that the expenditure on salaries was so high that no money was left to buy the equipment needed to conduct research. Since 1966 there has been no expansion of the CSIR budget, yet they have surrendered recently Rs 2.09 crores as unspent money to the Government. The 'Onlooker' has gone on to describe how Smt. Gandhi was compelled to change her attitude in regard to science and 'brain drain' and accept the policies of realism advocated by Dr Atma Ram.

According to 'Onlooker', "her chief science adviser, Dr. Atma Ram has argued that if in the present stage of development of India cannot provide all that promising scientists need, we

should not stand in their way of seeking opportunities abroad." Who appointed Dr. Atma Ram as the Chief Scientific Adviser to the Prime Minister and if so, what is the position of the COST and its Chairman? In scientific circles Dr Atma Ram has come to be known as an advocate of recession and withdrawal in the field of science policy and planning. Do the Government of India, Dr T. Sen and the Prime Minister accept this position? Has the COST any responsibility for a positive approach to the problem of scientific and technical personnel who according to the Chief Executive of CSIR are to be considered a liability than a valued asset essential for the economic prosperity of the country? Is this thinking and policies of Dr Atma Ram in keeping with the Science Policy Resolution of the Government of India?

Want of Atmosphere

Dr. Chandrasekhar has pointed his finger to the real sore spot by saying that it is more the research atmosphere than emoluments which compels Indian scientists to stay abroad. When the Japanese scientists always returned to their country even with lower emoluments, is the Indian scientist less patriotic or is the research atmosphere in India so stagnant and frustrating that the creative Indian scientists can find hope only in a freer atmosphere of research abroad. Dr Chandrasekhar also said that things were very much different when he migrated from India forty years ago. The research facilities in India are now much better. It is the view of the most Indian scientists that excepting in some few highly specialised fields of research, research facilities in India compare favourably with those in other countries: what is lacking is an efficient and inspiring management.

It is about this that Sri Suri, the internationally known engineer and inventor, referred to in his letter of resignation to the Prime Minister. Sri Suri complained that there is "an atmosphere of suspicion, lack of trust

and confidence." All he wanted was less interference and obstructive tactics from the ill-informed bureaucracy at the CSIR headquarters. He built up a team and within three years of his stay, the contribution of the Central Mechanical Engineering Research Institute was hailed as outstanding by international bodies and the engineering industry in the country. His executive council has been completely changed, a retired civil engineer in indifferent health has been installed as chairman, the budget has been slashed; rules and procedures has been clamped down to choke out all industry-sponsored research.

This has been combined with day-to-day interference by the central administration and a completely hostile attitude, of lack of faith and trust by the Director General. Are these charges of Suri correct? If so, what has been done to investigate them and create proper atmosphere? Did the Prime Minister and Dr T. Sen have time to give some thought that they were permitting one of the outstanding scientists to be eased out of the laboratory?

There are reports that some more directors, with international fame in their respective fields and whose achievements were recorded as outstanding by the Third Reviewing Committee of the CSIR, are likely to be similar victims of the regime of the headquarters. But this is of no consequence to the bureaucrats at the Central Office who revel in putting the screws on efficient Directors.

The Selection Committees of laboratories are changed without any consultation or even knowledge. Retired scientists in indifferent health are appointed in the laboratories without consulting the directors. One scientist (who was to retire in three months time) was nominated to visit research institutes in Soviet Russia under the Indo-Soviet Scientific Exchange Programme in preference to a number of more brilliant and younger scientists. As if this was not enough to make things difficult for the Director, efforts were made to impose a retired Director on the laboratory as special in-

charge of a major section of the laboratory's work. One senior old retired scientist whose fossilised views and opinions are well-known in scientific and industrial circles has taken hold of the advisory functions to the Director General, CSIR. A handful of scientists, who do not possess any industrial experience are nominated by the Headquarters to all selection committees. Several brilliant and young candidates who have appeared before these selection committees have complained that the questions asked were not relevant to the subject but were meant to ridicule their professors, the directors of their laboratories or the former Director General. Are the selection committees meant to assess the knowledge and ability of the candidate or to browbeat him or to crush his personality?

The pettifoggery of the jealous, fossilized retired scientists sitting on all the CSIR committees does not end with harassing directors but percolates down to affect the scientists in the laboratories. Their jealous eyes are cast on any young scientist doing brilliant work getting recognition in their profession. For such reasons they want the Biochemistry Section at Regional Research Laboratory, Hyderabad to be wound up.

Conspiracy

So far as the scientists at the Headquarters are concerned, there appears to be a conspiracy to put them on the shelf and destroy the personality of the headquarters as a co-ordinating, liaison and policy-planning agency as decided by the Third Reviewing Committee. Dr. Atma Ram moved heaven and earth to downgrade the technical directorates at the headquarters to divisions on the plea that this would enable him to work closely with the scientists. For years Dr. Atma Ram has not even talked to scientists at the Headquarters. He has surrounded himself by administrative secretaries who exploit him for their nefarious bureaucratic purposes in the power-politics to humiliate the

scientists. The administrative minions at the Central Office expect every director to come and pay obeisance to them and crave for favours. The recommendations of the successive reviewing committees that the central office administration should completely decentralise itself, transferring all administrative work to the laboratories, that more powers should be given to directors and to scientists in the laboratories, that the central office should function as a coordinating and liaison agency, have been put in cold storage.

The worst sufferers have been those laboratories which have close links with the industry. In spite of protests from the industries, the rules which inhibit co-operation and collaboration between the research institutes and industries have recently been changed and every item is to be referred to the central office to be scrutinised by the Babus.

The result has been disastrous. During the last two years the number of research projects of industrial importance have come down rapidly. While there is lip service to identification of problems and co-operation with the industry, not a single problem worth the name has been identified during the last two and half year which could be considered as having impact on industrial development. The machinery set up to identify problems, establish liaison with the industry in co-operation with the

laboratories, build bridges with the government departments has been liquidated.

Is any one seized of the fact that this premier public sector research organisation under its present stewardship is moving towards disaster? It may be said that the Prime Minister has already set up a Committee under a former Chief Justice to enquire into the state of affairs. Here again the bureaucracy has won the day. Whereas the original terms of reference stressed that only the affairs of the CSIR should be inquired into, the detailed terms of reference have planned down the Committee to enquire into the alleged irregular appointments of 300 and odd personnel in the CSIR. It is understood that out of these 300 and odd, there are hardly a score of cases of people in the gazetted cadre, the rest being mechanics, operators, draftsmen, cost accountants, economists, technical assistants, personal assistants of the directors etc. Though in Parliament Dr. Sen said that an interim report could be ready in three months, it was reported that the Committee would make an interim report on some of these cases by the middle of 1969, and cover the first item by the end of 1969 and later would go into the question of sponsored research, consultancy etc. After two and a half years the Committee would have covered only two items of their terms of reference. By that time

the patience of the members of the Committee who are all busy people either in Parliament or in scientific research, would be exhausted. They would have hardly any time to go into the third item, calling for improvements, if any, in the functioning of the CSIR.

It is worth noting that the contract of Dr. Atma Ram is supposed to end by the middle of 1971. Thus perhaps the Committee will plod on with its labours while the bureaucracy and its tool Dr. Atma Ram continue massacring the creativity of the organisation. One is entitled to know whose responsibility is the promotion of science and technology in this country? Does anybody consider that if this instrument is blunted or broken, it will mean a set-back to all efforts for promotion of scientific effort, and the philosophy of self-reliance? Would Jawaharlal Nehru to whom the provision of science was the apple of his eye, have remained unconcerned in these circumstances or failed to act?

In this country everybody appears to be busy with the philosophy of survival! This leaves little time for thought of the fortunes or policies for the promotion of science and technology and building up India of Jawaharlal's dreams based on science, secularism and democracy. Who is bothered about Indian science?

PAKISTAN : TIME FOR A DIALOGUE

blood. There is no reason why the farmers of Indian and Pakistani Punjab who in their respective countries have wrought miracles in recent years, should not be able to reap the full harvest of their labours. In the event of a conflict it is the two Punjabs which are made to pay for the sins of the whole sub-continent. Even during a stalemate it is these two regions which have to pay a great deal in terms of insecure and unstable conditions in the Indo-Pak affairs. Opening of trade routes, linking up not only East and West Pakistan with the rest of the sub-continent but also accommodating the whole of the

land-mass of West and Central Asia brightens the prospects of prosperity. Such an approach has not yet been worked out. One could for example conveniently motor down to Kabul in about thirty six hours if there were no undue hazards on political grounds. One need not discuss at the moment what this could mean in terms of trade and commerce and economic co-operation. Cities like Ambala, Jullundur and Ludhiana on the one hand, and Lahore, Rawalpindi and Peshawar on the other, can blossom into international markets once the tension was eased. The level of technical

(Continued from page 14)

efficiency which has been reached in West and East Punjab can well provide for a man-power pool for the development of a large number of neighbouring countries.

A few years ago this project would have been sounded too utopian for any one in the sub-continent. It might even be so today for a large number of people, but there is no denying that a sizeable section of the intelligentsia on the other side of the border would respond to genuine efforts for friendship, provided they are made not only with sincerity but also appear to be sincere.

Washington and Arabs

K.M.P.

THE visit of Scranton to Cairo, as personal emissary from Nixon, had raised the hopes of the Arab world. Scranton had spoken a more even-handed policy, and this led the Arab leaders to believe that Washington would in future be not as pro-Israeli as in the recent past. Though diplomatic relations between some Arab countries, notably the UAR and the US remain broken, commercial and economic ties remain as before, and some American companies are even drilling for oil in the United Arab Republic. The Nixon administration has spoken of a thorough review of foreign policy. This, along with the fact that the Republican administration will be able to ignore the traditionally Democratic Jewish vote and that the powerful pro-Arab oil lobby will be able to exert pressure on Washington, have made Arab diplomatic circles feel that Nixon's West Asian policy will be favourable to them. They have drawn comfort from the growing rapprochement between Paris and Washington, and see in this a turn for the better.

Israeli leaders, on the other hand, have adopted a wait-and-see policy; Foreign Minister Aba Eban is visiting Washington to hold talks with Secretary of State Rogers and arrange for a meeting between President Nixon and Prime Minister Levi Eshkol. Tel Aviv, according to Eban, expects three things from the American Government: (1) prevent Soviet intervention and intimidation; (2) no withdrawal of Israeli forces from the cease-fire lines except to secure and agreed positions; (3) the strength of Israeli

forces and its superiority over the Arab armies must be maintained. An analysis of Nixon's election speeches clearly indicate that on all three issues the present American President's views do not differ markedly from that of his predecessor; in fact, Nixon was in some ways willing to go even farther than Democratic contender Humphrey.

Are Arab hopes of a democratic change in US policy justified? Are they not exaggerating Zionist influence in the Democratic administration and the power of the American oil lobby? Will not actions like the public hangings in Baghdad strengthen those elements in Washington who support Israel? Nor can one forget that the powerful Senate is controlled by the Democratic Party, and Nixon, who does not have a congressional majority, cannot afford to pursue a policy which is not popular with the majority in Congress. The compulsions of internal policies will tie the hands of even a pro-Arab politician in White House, and Nixon cannot by any stretch of imagination be called that.

American policy will be decided by what American policy-makers consider vital American interests, and though personal styles may affect such policies, broadly speaking a major shift appears unlikely. It is true that France under De Gaulle has carried out a reversal of alliances; it has abandoned its friend and ally Israel and ranged itself behind the Arab States. French policy towards the Arab world and Israel was the reflection of its involvement

in North Africa: with the Arab States supporting the Algerian national movement, it was natural that France should fully back Israel. The joint Franco-British intervention in the Suez Canal area was, from the point of view of Paris, an effort to strike a blow at the UAR which was the principal supporter in the Arab world of the Algerian nationalist movement.

With the Algerian problem settled, France, with wide interests in the Arab world, was free to pursue once again its traditional policy of friendship with the Arab countries. It has no permanent interest in the maintenance of Israel as the premier military power in West Asia.

The United States is in a different position. It has taken on the self-imposed role of gendarme of the world; its interests are worldwide and it requires allies in every continent. For Washington the real enemy in West Asia is not any individual State, but the radical Arab nationalist movement by encouraging the reactionaries and moderates, and even recognised the republican regime in Sana.

It was the failure to control the Arab nationalists that led the US to a policy of confrontation with the UAR, for Nasser was the only politician with sufficient prestige in the Arab world to lead the radical movement. He was the symbol of Arab radicalism and therefore the man to overthrow. For this purpose, Washington buttressed the position of the Saudi King, provided arms for the royalists in Yemen, encouraged anti-Nasser politicians, but above all built up Israel as the custodian of American interests in West Asia.

Israel is certainly not a puppet to be manipulated by Washington; the interests of Washington and Tel Aviv coincide. Both had similar objectives in West Asia, both felt that the real threat comes from Arab radicalism. Damascus and Algiers were not wrong in considering that the Arab people have to fight a two-front war; one against Israel and the other against Arab reactionaries. The diplomatic perambulations of King Hussain and his

willingness to negotiate with Israel, only show that Hussain was pushed into the war by his people, and he cannot make peace because it will lead to the overthrow of his regime.

The Arabs can only expect a shift in American policy if there is a marked change in their own policy. They will have to give up radical nationalism, give up the friendship of the Soviet Union and accept Israel, before they can expect a change in American policy. Large sections of the Arab people are opposed to any such shift in policy; they feel that the real cause of Arab defeat was the fact that a basic transformation of society had not been carried out. Acceptance of the American diktat would be acceptance by the people of a permanent state of backwardness; it will be national harakiri, for the Arab countries will be forced to remain in economic and social backwaters. Nor will acceptance of American domination lead to a settlement with Israel except on its own terms. Israel is determined to get its secure frontiers, it will no longer accept the 1967 frontier which brought almost every inch of Israeli territory under the threat of Arab guns; with Egyptian tanks only 80 miles from Tel Aviv. Any negotiated settlement, as Heykal in a recent article in *Al Ahram* pointed out, will translate into judicial and diplomatic terms the political and military reality as it exists today. Negotiations at the present moment will therefore be to the disadvantage of the Arabs. A four-power conference and an imposed settlement might be a face-saving formula, which might make it easy for the leaders to surrender. The basic requirement of the Arab people today is a social revolution, and for this some sort of patched-up peace may be required, for the present state of no peace, no war diverts attention from political and social problems to the military. It is for this reason that a settlement is required, but unless the Arab leaders deliberately accept the risks which such a step will involve, and take appropriate steps, it might lead to the strengthening

of reactionary forces. The internal struggle in the Arab world between the Left and the Right, which revolves round the question of a negotiated settlement, cannot be ignored.

There is no certainty that Washington is in a position to impose a settlement on Israel. The Phantom jet deal throws considerable light on Israel-United States relations, and according to the London Times man shows the influence Tel Aviv is able to wield over Washington. Laurence Beaton says in the Times on January 16, that Israel is now in a position to produce 6 tons of plutonium every year; the agreement under which France co-operated to build a nuclear reactor at Dionna is a secret, but the Israelis are free to operate it as they choose. Tel Aviv is able to get sufficient uranium to keep the Dionna reactor functioning as a byproduct of the fertilizer industry. A separation plant is being built, the equipment for this having been bought in the United Kingdom and the United States, for no licences are required for these equipments. The separation of plutonium goes usually with the desire to build atomic weapons. A significant fact is that Israel has refused to sign the non-proliferation treaty. True, Israel has no delivery system, but except for a Polaris firing submarine, the Phantom is one of the best vehicles for the delivery of nuclear bombs. The agreement to sell Phantoms therefore takes on a new meaning; it may have been the Israeli decision to press on with their nuclear programme that led the Americans to agree to the sale of Phantoms. Israel therefore will have planes to

deliver nuclear weapons and the kind of pressure it has exerted to secure the Phantoms can be applied again. It will be interesting to speculate about the kind of moderating influence which Washington can exercise on Tel Aviv.

Equally interesting has been Tel Aviv's reaction to the French embargo. This came as a shock and, though the first reaction of the Israeli Government was to demand repayment of the purchase price already paid, on second thoughts its action was more moderate. Obviously, Tel Aviv realised that any such demand would lead to total banning of cooperation between Israel and French arms manufacturers. Dassault is cooperating with the Israeli Government in the manufacture of missiles, which will place every Arab country at the mercy of Israel. Tel Aviv was in no mood to sacrifice this advantage by completely breaking off with France in a moment of outraged honour.

Israeli military superiority has increased rather than remained static; on the plea of atoms-for-peace programme it has increased its military potential. As the seniormost Israeli nuclear scientist Prof. Bergman said, "By developing atomic energy for peaceful purposes you reach the nuclear option. There are no two atomic energies." In such a position it is difficult to see what pressures the United States can bring to bear on an obstinate and intransigent Israel even if Nixon wanted to—and it is most unlikely that Nixon will want to put pressure on Tel Aviv. The Arab leaders who are gambling on a change in American policy are living in a fool's world.

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The Naxalites Again

THE Home Minister called in his Number Two man.

'Vidya Charan', said he, 'what does Namboodiripad say?'

'He says,' said No. 2, 'the Naxalites have been contained.'

'Are we to believe him?' asked the Home Minister.

'How can we?' said No. 2, aghast. 'This is a matter of free political beliefs. We can't afford to give in to the communists.'

'I don't understand,' said the Home Minister. 'I don't understand this, Vidya Charan.'

Number 2, sensing great despair in his Chief's words, said, 'What is it, Sir? Is there something I could do, or the Intelligence Bureau or somebody?'

'Little, Vidya Charan,' said the Home Minister, even more desperate, and sadder. 'I have a queer feeling that the Naxalites can't be contained. In fact the trouble is with the word itself. Doesn't it sound uncomfortably like the containment of China?'

'It does, Chief,' said No. 2. 'Now that you say it.'

'Look how tricky it gets,' said the Home Minister. 'Here is EMS telling us the Naxalites have been contained. We can't believe him, for obvious reasons. But our Intelligence Bureau says much the same thing. What do we do?'

'Disbelieve the Bureau,' said No. 2. 'It's simple.'

'It isn't as simple as all that,' said the Home Minister. 'It is terribly, terribly complicated,

Vidya Charan.'

'I don't understand, Sir,' said No. 2. 'We can always sack the Bureau. We can go in for American aid, collaboration or whatever you call it.'

'You mean we call in the CIA?' asked the Home Minister.

Number 2, priding himself in a new and offbeat idea, said brightly, 'I suppose so.'

'The CIA doesn't have to be called in,' said the Home Minister, with the mature wisdom of one who had lived longer and known better. 'But that's not what I'm thinking of. The Americans are having a dialogue with China, and sooner or later someone who is in the place of Katzenbach is bound to be here asking us to have a dialogue with Ajitha.'

'Would you let me go?' said No. 2. The next moment he was bashful, and realised he had given himself away.

'Young man,' said the Home Minister, smiling indulgently, 'do you realise what is at stake?'

'I wouldn't know, Sir,' said No. 2.

'The Image,' said the Home Minister. 'Not that I have any particular enthusiasm for Number One Party Person in Authority, but certainly, when it comes to a national calamity, I am with her. Already great damage was done to the Image by letting her confront the Naga Underground. The Nagas wore more tribal looking handwoven cloth than even the Cottage Industries Emporium

could provide. In other words, their Images came off tackier than our Image. Once was enough. Now, I dread to think of what might happen if our Image is made to go through a second confrontation—with Ajitha.'

'Let us intervene,' said No. 2.

'We can't,' said the Home Minister.

'Why, Sir?' asked No. 2.

'They'll infiltrate us if we go there,' said the Home Minister. 'We can topple EMS only through the export of Basmati rice to Europe. But, Vidya Charan, tell me, do you remember much of the Indo-Pak conflict?'

'I don't, sir,' said No. 2. 'It is his Defence Ministry subject.'

'Then listen to me,' said the Home Minister. 'In '65, a certain unit of the Indian Army attacked the Burki Police outpost. It was a Pakistani outpost, though. *But the wireless operator was killed.*'

'Heavens,' said No. 2. 'what are you suggesting, Sir?'

'Naxalites,' said the Home Minister darkly. 'The country is lost.'

Number 2 had recovered.

'Sir,' he said, 'this will convince nobody. You almost sound as though you are talking to an election audience.'

The Home Minister thumped the table.

'What else did you think I was doing?' he asked. 'I was rehearsing.'

—Charvaka

Revolutionary's

Quest for

New World

L. V. MITROKHIN

"THAT day marks the beginning of a new world, were the words of that 'little man' in the Kremlin—the ancient Palace of the Tsars—and that day was the 7th November 1917. The little man who made that day memorable in the political annals of the world was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, more popularly known as Nikolai Lenin and he was born on the 10th April 1870."¹

The keen eye of the historian will discover certain mistakes in this quotation. The date of birth of V.I. Lenin is wrong: Lenin was born on April 22. The name of Lenin is also wrongly given though some of his earlier works were published under the pen-name Nikolai Lenin. But this quotation is taken from the *Labour Kisan Gazette* published on January 31, 1924 in Madras. It was being printed clandestinely. The British colonial authorities were doing everything possible to suppress news about Soviet Russia. Against this background, these smaller inaccuracies do not seem to be of any consequence.

The issue was devoted to the memory of V.I. Lenin. The sad news of his death had spread all over the world with the speed of lightning. The working people of the world received the news with benumbed grief. The Indian workers were no exception. Condolence meetings were widely held. The *Gazette* carried the text of the telegram of the Labour Kisan Party of Hindustan addressed to the local

organisations of the Party. It read: "Labour Kisan Central Committee requests all its provincial workers' organisations to observe week-ending 31st January as days of mourning for the death of Comrade Nikolai Lenin, Chairman of the Federated Soviet Republic of Russian Workers. In his death, the world workers lost their great teacher and redeemer. Headquarters flying black flags half-mast."²

These lines on the paper, faded yellow with age, do not leave one untouched. The paper is priced half anna. It shows for whom the paper was published. It carried a sensitive obituary which shows a clear grasp of the significance of the role played by Lenin for the world working class movement. It read:

"Lenin the Great has passed away... The workers' world is today the poorer by the passing away of its great teacher and redeemer. Today the vested interests which are taking shelter under ignorance and greed are silent over the great loss which the humble workers of the world have suffered by the death of their great protagonist. It is the worker, the true salt of the earth who mourns and ought to mourn for him, who showed him the path of deliverance from bondage, privation and misery.. Today Nikolai Lenin stands unrivalled among the sons of men who have tried to alleviate human sufferings and it is now left to the workers to follow his method. While all others were indulging in vague speculations as to the cause of misery and its cessation, and preached charity, 'Dhana' as the Ultima Thule of social justice, Nikolai Lenin found that the true 'Hethu' or cause of world's sorrows lies in the exploitation of the many by the few and he succeeded in rendering the social wrong impossible in his own country. The Russian worker today can be deemed to be the happiest among the workers of the world, and this is due mainly to the indefatigable worker, whose death we are mourning."³

The editor of the Madras *Labour Kisan Gazette* and the author of this obituary was M. Singaravelu Chettiar, one of the outstanding political figures in the Indian liberation movement, a scholar and one of the pioneers of the communist movement in India. His passionately written articles on socialism and communism, about the Soviet Union and the international communist movement, his emotion-charged speeches about the tasks and needs of working people in India, his indefatigable activity among workers and peasants put this man in the front ranks of the brightest Indian revolutionaries, fighters for India's freedom, independence and social liberation. It is no exaggeration to say that a whole generation of true revolutionaries, activists of the communist movement in the South, was brought up on his writings.

I heard the name of Singaravelu for the first time in the following circumstances: An Indian peasant from Sivakasi (Madras State), who invited us, Soviet journalists, to visit his place, told us that his sons Lenin, Marx, Engels and Soviet Russia would be extremely happy to meet guests from the Soviet Union. For a moment we were surprised by the names, we asked him: "Are these the names of your sons?" "Is it news to you," he asked, "that the name Lenin is not a rarity in India, especially

in the South of the country. In Madras, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Mysore, dozens of Indians still proudly bear the names of Lenin, Marx, Engels, Gorky, Russia. I even know a lady with the name Krupskaya. The organiser of this movement in the South was Comrade Singaravelu Chettiar".

In the early twenties, Singaravelu Chettiar became an uncompromising fighter against feudalism, casteism and communalism. He worked for the creation of a Marxist party in India. A friend and disciple of Singaravelu, the Vice-President of the Madras Trade Union of Harbour Workers, K. Murugesan, told me: "Singaravelu did not live to see India become free. He died in 1946. I still preserve the issue of our paper *Jana Shakti* which published the last photograph of our teacher, his body bedecked with flowers, wrapped with a Red Banner with the Hammer and Sickle on it."⁴

One of the remarkable changes in the workers' movement in India as a result of the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the revolutionary ferment in India in 1919-22 was the spread of the Marxist ideology. Marxism ceased to be merely a fashionable word. Before that, there did not exist in India any political movement which bore affinity to Marxism-Leninism. A noted activist of the Indian National Congress, Singaravelu Chettiar, was one of the first in India who hailed the Socialist Revolution in Russia. In the twenties, with a small group of followers, he made efforts to establish a newspaper. This paper, later banned by the British was the bi-weekly, *Labour Kisan Gazette*. It was established in 1923. Singaravelu published in his paper articles about the successes of the first socialist state in the world. It was from this paper that the common people of the South first learnt about Marxism-Leninism, about the founders of the great teachings, Marx, Engels and Lenin. After eleven issues were published, the paper was banned. But Singaravelu did not give up. He raised funds and started a new paper which was also promptly banned. Tempered in the fight with British rulers, having many times been imprisoned, Singaravelu Chettiar strove to organise the spread of socialist ideas through legal means. In the thirties, he established contacts with leaders of the "Self-Respect" movement, started in Tamilnad by a fighter against casteism and for the equality of women, E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker. In 1931, he managed to go to the Soviet Union. He was the guest of the Soviet Atheist Society called "Bezbozhnik" and lectured in Baku, Tbilisi, Leningrad and Moscow. Returning to India, Ramaswamy Naicker established his own press and started a Tamil weekly "Kudi Arasu". From the very beginning Singaravelu started publishing his articles in that journal. His articles also appeared in the journal *Young TAMILIAN*, (Tuticorin, Madras State), *Hindu*, and other newspapers.

"To utilise the press for spreading socialist ideas was risky and difficult", K. Murugesan said. "But our main difficulty was to get Marxist literature. We had a continuous hunger for such literature. We could get it, especially classics of Marxism-Leninism

only from England. Our friends from among the emigrants smuggled in some literature but the problem did not end there. The main task was to give it the widest publicity. And what was more important, to make it available to the reader, which meant translating it into Indian languages. This work was done clandestinely and very often we utilised our terms in prison for this work. Not only communists, but members of the Indian National Congress also joined in the work of translating Marxist-literature. Just now it is hardly possible to state who translated this or that work by Lenin in Indian languages. They were translated in parts, re-written and then smuggled out of jails. It happened very often that the person who could not complete the translation handed it over to a new-comer."⁵

As an educated Marxist, Singaravelu took great pains to popularise the classics of Marxism-Leninism. From his pen came dozens of articles and booklets explaining the main principles of Marxism-Leninism and materialist philosophy. He has written a book in which he explains the salient features of Lenin's book *State and Revolution*.⁶ Under his guidance was published in 1933 the first work in Tamil containing Lenin's articles, with the title: "Lenin On Religion".

The extent of Singaravelu's influence on the writings of that period can be assessed from the following extracts from *Kudi Arasu*.

"There is only one way for the liberation of man. and that is the way of socialism. Socialism is the only way to destroy evil. Socialism is the way to world peace. Under socialism, we shall get all the fruits of labour. There will be no castes, religious differences and conflicts... Socialism will bring enlightenment".⁷

Demanding a re-trial of the Meerut Conspiracy case, *Kudi Arasu* wrote. "We should know that the Meerut trial was a trial against the people who were propagating communism. Some of the defendants proclaimed during the trial that their faith was communism. We should understand that people should not be afraid of communism, that pursuing the path of communism and propagating its ideas is not a crime."⁸

There were dozens of propagandists in India who were trying to explain in a simple and understandable form the meaning and character of the events and changes in the world following the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. Their object was to make the workers and peasants understand who the Russian communists were, to explain the greatness of Lenin and the Party of Bolsheviks. From issue to issue, the paper published material exposing anti-Soviet British propaganda in the country, showing the achievements of socialist reconstruction. An article, "Truth About Russia",⁹ criticised those who spoke of the "failure" of the 5-year plan in Russia. It gave facts about the achievements of the USSR in the sphere of economic development. Don't believe the hostile propaganda of the British, wrote the paper in an article, about Rabindranath Tagore's visit to the USSR and his

impressions. Russia is the only country which strives for friendship and cooperation in the world.¹⁰

In an article "V.I. Lenin", it was said that Lenin brought new life to Russia. "We cannot say that the Russian Revolution was a chaotic uprising without any preparation. Lenin took many years preparing for the Revolution. The Leninist policy was : 'To each according to his needs, from each according to his ability'."¹¹

The *Kudi Arasu* carried on an advertisement campaign of a book in Tamil, "Lenin on Religion".¹²

To find this book, which has become a real bibliographic rarity, was not an easy job. Neither Ramaswamy Naicker nor K. Murugesan had it. They advised me to approach the editor of a Tamil weekly *Kulusi*, Sri S. Guruswamy, a great book-lover and an antiquarian.

We approached a small house in the suburbs of Madras.

At the gate, we saw a legend reading "Here live S. Guruswamy and Miss Russia." Sri S. Guruswamy was very hospitable and kind to us. He introduced us to his charming daughter Miss Russia. "I and my deceased wife—she was a communist—" said Guruswamy "named our daughter Russia. Now she has grown up and is a doctor. As a participant in the 'self-respect' movement, I christened 200 children after Lenin. Many of them were to suffer as a result, facing much hardship inflicted by the colonial rulers, priests and all kinds reactionaries. Lenin's name, to us, was a symbol of freedom".

Sri Guruswamy also did not have a copy of the book. He promised to search for it in his library, but probably he could not find it. The book could not be traced in the catalogues of the Madras libraries ; booksellers were showing dozens of Lenin's works in Tamil, but these were published much later. The long search was finally ended by Mr. Viramani, Editor of the newspaper "Vidussetalai", who appealed, through his paper, to the readers asking anyone who had a copy to send it. A few weeks later, he brought me a small book with a green paper cover titled ; "Lenin On Religion" published in Madras in 1933. My thanks to an unknown contributor.

May Day in Madras

Singaravelu was one of the outstanding leaders of the workers' movement in India. With his name is associated the founding of the Communist Party of India. He presided over the conference of the communists in 1925 in Kanpur which was a significant step forward in the organisation of the Communist Party of India. In the history of the revolutionary movement in India, a significant role was played by the labour peasant parties. The lessons of mass movement of 1918 and 1922 showed to Indian revolutionaries that the main and decisive force of the national liberation movement are the working class and peasants. That is why the idea of creating labour kisan parties as mass organisations, symbolising the block of working class, the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie was receiving increasing support in different parts of India. The founder

of such a party in the South was Singaravelu Chettiar.

In the files of National Archives of India are references to Singaravelu's revolutionary activities. For example, in the proceedings of the Home Department in 1924 we find mention of a meeting between Singaravelu Chettiar and the famous Indian revolutionary who secretly came to India, Abbani Mukerjea, and about Singaravelu's Manifesto issued to the workers and peasants at that time. "Singaravelu and Dr. Manilal", the document reads, "has in April issued a Manifesto announcing a workers and peasants party of a modified communist nature."^{12a}

Singaravelu directed all his efforts towards uniting the workers, strengthening their class-consciousness, so that the organisation of workers "could achieve the maximum strength."¹³

Addressing a session of the Indian National Congress in Gaya in 1923 in support of the labour movement, appealing to peasants and workers of Hindustan, he said "I have come before you today as a representative of the great world interest, represented by that great order of the world, communists, and I have come to give you the message which communism offers to the world's workers. I come before you today to offer you the greetings of the workers of the world, of the communists of America, of the communists of Soviet Russia, of the communists of Germany and other world communists who are interested in securing you your liberty, your home, your food and your clothing." He said further that "the communists all over the world have faith in the justness of your cause, and the justness of your demands. Therefore you've to understand that they are here in spirit for helping you for attaining those rights and attain *Swaraj*". Underlining that, he expressed his faith in the method of attaining *Swaraj* which was outlined by Mahatma Gandhi, namely non-violent non-cooperation. Singaravelu Chettiar called upon the participants of the Gaya session "to go direct to the workers and organise labour unions in the country."

"Comrades and workers," Singaravelu continued, "you know not your own strength ; you know not your power. Once you realise yourselves, the ignorance that blinds your eyes today will vanish and the world will be yours. In the land of Ukraine, in the far-off Russia, there is a legend of a huge giant called the VEE¹⁴. But his eyelids were so long that they touched the ground. He could not see anything lying beyond him. His pendant eyelids are now being slowly lifted. In one place at least, his eyelids have been completely lifted. He has begun now to see beyond him. He now sees beyond the oceans. Through the workers of Russia, the workers of India, of Asia, of Europe and America and of Australia have become one in comradeship. They have all pledged themselves to work for that comradeship. We communists believe in the brotherhood of the human race. The workers of India also will help in effecting such unity of the human race".

On May Day, 1933, a mass meeting to celebrate the international day of Solidarity of Working People of the World was held in Madras. The Chairman of the Meeting was Singaravelu Chettiar. Revolu-

tionary songs were sung and speeches were made. The Red Flag of the working people fluttered. Opening the meeting, where more than 1000 participants had gathered, Singaravelu analysed the achievements of the workers' movement in India and told them of the persecution of communists by the colonial authorities. "Comrades", he said, "we have gathered here to celebrate 1st of May. On this day, we proclaim the demands of the working masses, their hardships." He spoke of the growing international tensions and denounced the statements of the bourgeois press that communists were war-mongers. "There is only one state in the world governed by communists. This state is Soviet Russia. After the First World War there were no wars. The main reason of this is Russia. As much as it can, the Government of Workers strives to help the cause of peace." Singaravelu spoke with anxiety about the growth of Fascism, about the Nazi provocations against the working class and communists. He compared the rude treatment of political prisoners in India by British administration with Fascist actions. In conclusion, he said, "Comrades, think about communism. Boldly read books about it. The liberation of mankind can only be brought by communists. The only way of liberation and emancipation of man is communism. Read books to understand what is communism!"¹⁶

Growth of trade unionism and workers' movement in the country forced the British Government in India to issue in 1926 the so-called "Ordinance About Trade Unions". Its main purpose was to establish Government control over the growing trade union movement in the country. But objective march of events and the logic of the development of class struggle were unavoidably leading to a situation in which workers, in spite of all obstacles, were more and more uniting their forces and rising to struggle for the betterment of their condition. Singaravelu was the founder of several trade unions in Madras State. One such was the Madras Labour Union. In 1927, this trade union, under his guidance, proclaimed a strike, demanding from the owners of the companies belonging to Western capitalists an increase in wages and improved working conditions. The owners tried to threaten workers by issuing leaflets under the title "Don't play with fire, oil is dangerous". Singaravelu replied: "You should be more cautious, workers are much more inflammable material than oil!"¹⁷ The workers did not call off the strike. Then the Governor declared an emergency. When Singaravelu Chettiar learnt of it, he warned workers to be vigilant and to be ready to set oil tankers on fire. The authorities finally managed to control the situation, only by calling in the troops and opening fire. The question arose, what to do, how to attract world public attention to the struggle of India's working classes, where to look for support and help. One of the most interesting episodes showing how the sense of international solidarity of the working people of India was growing, the faith which they pinned on the Soviet Union, is the story which begins with a telegram of Singaravelu Chettiar dated May 17,

1927, addressed to the All-Russian Trade Unions¹⁸. The telegram said: "Indian Workers of Anglo-American Oil Companies shot. Ten thousand people suffered. Situation serious. Help urgently." This telegram created a real stir in the Posts and Telegraph Department of India. In the name of the Director of the Intelligence Bureau of India, a telegram was sent by the Chief Post Master of Karachi saying: "Telegram by Singaravelu, President of Labour Party addressed to Moscow All-Russian Council of Trade Unions was stopped in spite of the fact that according to international rules, it should have been sent to the addressee." As a result of long-term correspondence between different British departments this telegram was never sent to Moscow under the pretext that it "threatened the security of the State". After that strike, the house of Singaravelu was constantly watched by the police, which continued till end of his life. But revolutionary activity of Singaravelu did not stop for a single day. In 1929, the workers of the South Indian Railway went on strike. They requested Singaravelu to lead the strike. In 1929, a new strike in Pudukkur was headed by Singaravelu. In both cases, under repressive British measures, he was imprisoned.

Library of a Communist

It was known that Singaravelu collected a very rich library of Marxist philosophic works, scientific works, science fiction and other books. It was also known that police raided his house often and confiscated books, letters, papers and newspapers. I was very keen to see what remained of that library.

We passed the beautiful Marina Beach of Madras, turned to a narrow by-lane and soon found ourselves in a house where once an outstanding Indian revolutionary had lived and worked. Distant relatives of Singaravelu received us with hospitality and took us to the second floor where in a small room papers and books of Singaravelu lay heaped around. Some manuscripts and books were so decayed with age that they disintegrated as we touched them. The humid climate of Madras had had its effect. We came across an instructor in Russian, with Singaravelu's notes on the margin, books of Russian scholars and scientists, Singaravelu's own manuscripts in Tamil, books of world classics, Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, books on philosophy and religion, court cases (Singaravelu was a practising lawyer). In one such file, by accident, I came across the only copy of the newspaper "Labour Kisan Gazette" dated January 31, 1924. On the first page of the issue was the famous international call "Workers of the World Unite" and there was the article "Comrade Nikolai Lenin, in Memoriam."

Now, when all the Soviet people, all progressive mankind, solemnly marks the centenary of V. I. Lenin, significant are the last words of this article. "The great revolution in political thought and philosophy which Nikolai Lenin wrought in his own country may be destroyed, may even be swept away by the selfish nature of a few among men but

it will revive again and again and ultimately encompass the world and finally render the life of the worker tolerable and pleasant throughout the world. To him who has done so much and who has given to the worker a clear vision of his glorious realm in which every human being shall have the right to labour and to live like all his other fellows, we lift up our hands in love, devotion and reverence."¹⁹

For more than 50 years, the country of Lenin followed the way of progress, exhibiting to the world the fact that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the achievements of the Great October will never be shaken or destroyed even as it is impossible to destroy life, truth, eternity,

The Soviet Union, the country of the Great October Socialist Revolution was always the guiding star for the people of East in their struggle for freedom, democracy and socialism. With it they always linked their hopes. The Tamilian poet Jivanadan wrote in the paper *Kudi Arasu*:²⁰

"Look at a new world and rejoice :
O Worker, look at this new world
Full of harmony and joy.

Today the followers of
Lenin are following Lenin's way.

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MEDIEVAL INDIAN HISTORY—A SYNOPSIS VIEW (Continued from page 21)

and these led to enormous conflicts between the Marathas and the Mughal State, the Sikhs and the Mughal State etc. but they did not lead to communal riots at the social level even in the worst days of Aurangzeb's 'tyranny'. The causes of these uprisings are economic political rather than religious, and the conflict remains at that level in spite of all the declarations on behalf of the respective parties to the conflict.

One last question before we conclude : while the Rajputs who had migrated to India much earlier than the Turks, have retained their identity to this day

and have no intention of losing it—the Chauhanas, the Pariharas, the Solankis, etc. these are all very familiar names to us even in our personal circles—where are now the descendants of the great dynasties which had ruled over India—the 'Slave' dynasty, the Khalji dynasty, the Tughlaqs, the Lodis and even the Mughals, who were the focal point of the great Rebellion a bare hundred years ago? Obviously they have all been submerged in the mainstream of Indian life and while losing their identity in it, have at the same time enriched it as nothing else has done.

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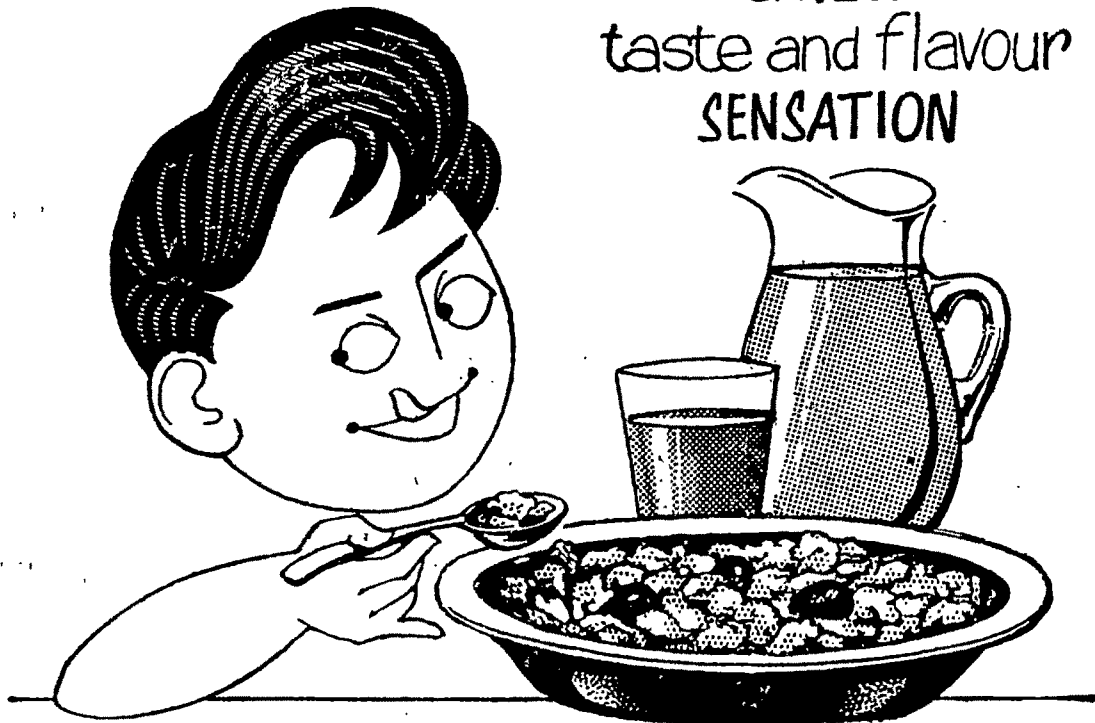
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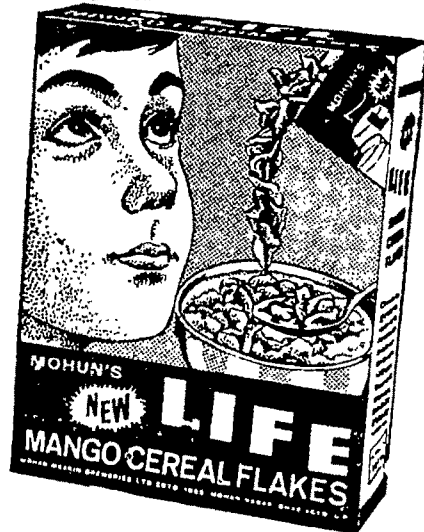
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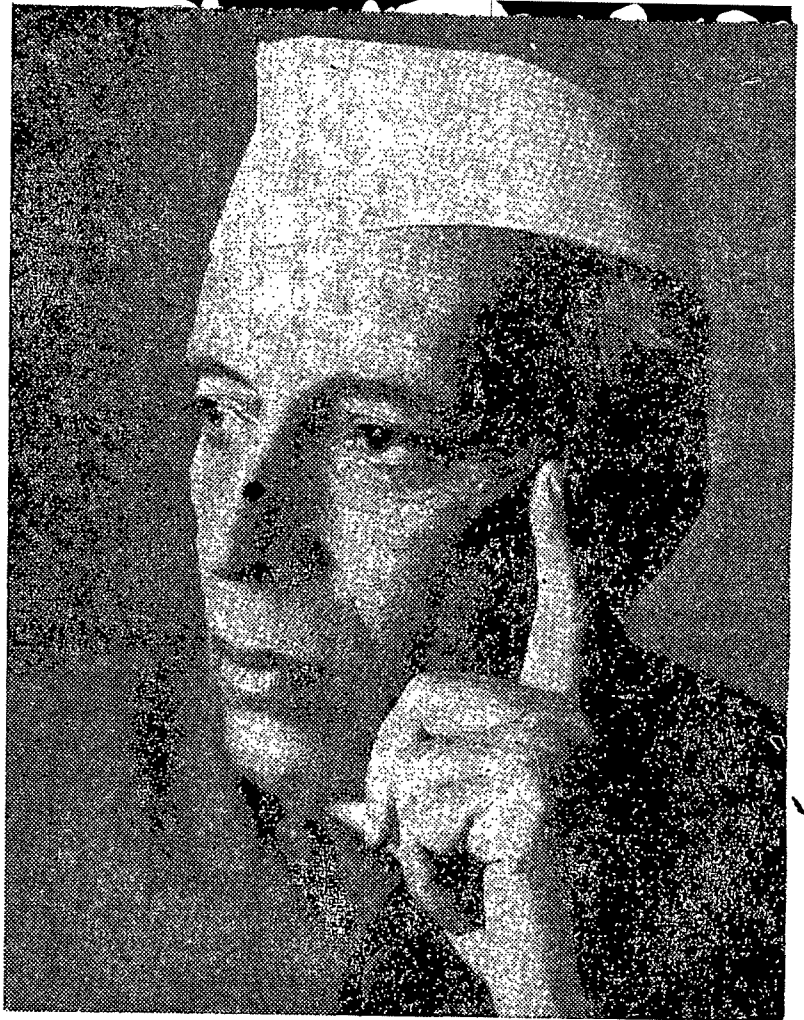
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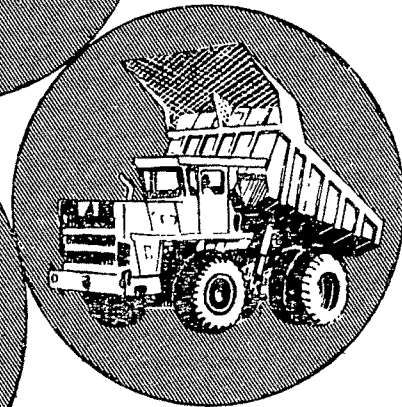
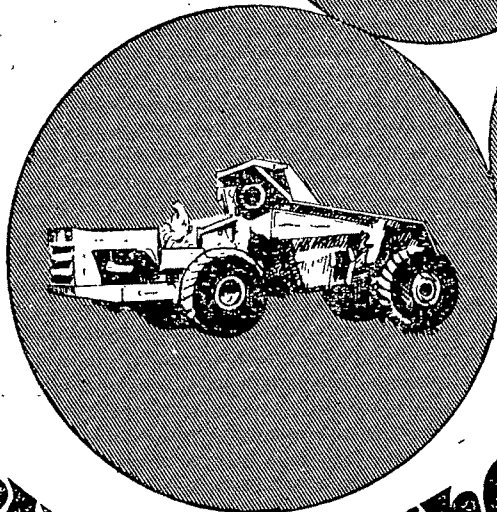
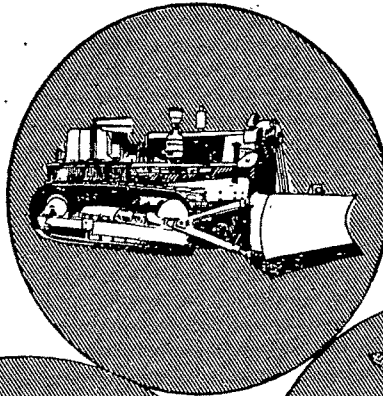


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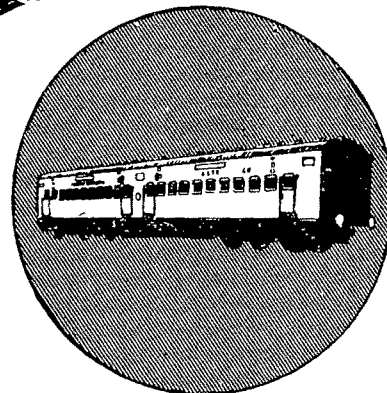


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COMBATING CASTEISM

THE mid-term elections in the four States of Punjab, UP, Bihar and West Bengal have many important lessons to impart for the democratic forces in this country.

What is perhaps most ominous is the direct appeal to caste and communal loyalties resorted to by political parties during the campaign particularly in the countryside. Caste politics which traditionally has been the bane of Bihar politics has raised its ugly head in a very conspicuous manner in Uttar Pradesh as well. The Chief Election Commissioner has rightly pointed out that the question of intimidation of voters can be tackled not by having new electoral rules but only by long-term economic and political measures. The intimidation of Harijan voters by powerful elements in village life, for instance, has got a direct economic implication, as it marks the domination by the prosperous rich peasantry over the mass of pauperised peasantry or agricultural labourers. If the tractor has begun to replace the bullock cart as the symbol of the affluent rich peasant, it also heralds the emergence of the bully in the rural political life.

What must be regarded as distressing is that the intrusion of caste considerations into political life has continued unabated despite the fact that the country has registered appreciable advance towards the building of a modern economy. Even if the feudal economic structure has disintegrated, the superstructure of caste consciousness has been kept up by the powerful forces of vested interests. It is important to note that caste politics has been given a fresh lease of life precisely in those areas where the struggle for power has been largely confined between the Congress in decline and the Right-wing elements or parties, such as the Jana Sangh. And it is no less significant that where the Congress has to meet the challenge of the Left, as in West Bengal, caste loyalties can hardly be exploited. It is thus evident that with the advance of progressive politics, the scope for reactionary politicking by whipping up caste and communal frenzy is more and more reduced, and it is only with the triumph of genuine Left that the curse of caste politics can finally be removed.

In this context, Dr Lohia's thesis about promoting backward castes and communities has proved to be a boomerang. The reactionary forces could beat him at his own game, and the result has been that

wherever the SSP has tried out Dr. Lohia's misplaced prescription caste politics has in reality been accentuated.

What the SSP leadership and all the Left parties have to bear in mind is that the best antidote to the persistence of caste consciousness particularly among the rural poor is to intensify the class consciousness of the working people, to organise and consolidate the strength of the masses. This way not only the ranks of the rural poor can be made invincible against the power of the vested interests but their awakened consciousness will help them to discard the last vestiges of the feudal society in the form of caste and communal distinctions. This way too the very foundations of national unity can be strengthened while the forces of socialism can be augmented in the struggle against reaction.

This mini-general election has thus presented a new challenge to the Left. The vast areas untouched by the Left have to be covered and this can be done not by mere excitement at periodic hustings but by steadfastly building up the class movements of the toiling masses. This is the most effective way by which not only the exploitation of the rich can be fought back but the back of Reaction can be decisively broken.

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This issue of Mainstream goes to press on February 11, when the complete results of the mid-term polls in the four states of Punjab, UP, Bihar and West Bengal are not yet available. Next week Mainstream will carry articles assessing the outcome of the elections in the four States as well as its implications for the Centre.—Editor

Shiv Sena : Whose Guilt ?

THE Maharashtra Government and the Congress bosses of Bombay must be held primarily responsible for the unprecedented orgy of arson, murder and loot organised by Shiv Sena gangs in India's leading city. It was inevitable that the kind of encouragement received by Bal Thackeray and his band of hoolums from the State authorities and the financial and other assistance secured from certain of Bombay's Congress bosses and a few business houses, should have emboldened the Sena thugs to imagine that Greater Bombay and its vast population are theirs to play with.

At one stage it suited vested interests in Bombay to build up the Shiv Sena to terrorise voters and fight progressive candidates in the elections ; subsequently it appeared to them to be an excellent instrument with which to divide the ranks of the city's powerful trade unions and denigrate their tried leaders who have dedicatedly served the cause of the working people for long years. It did not matter to these interests that the Sena was being built on hatred, that its methods were openly violent from the start, that its upstart leaders had never concealed their intentions or intended techniques. All that mattered to them was to ensure the defeat of Leftists in the elections and to break the solidarity of the working class.

Some of those who now throw up their hands in horror at the latest and biggest Shiv Sena orgy of violence should at least ponder over the contribution they themselves have made in the last three years to its phenomenal growth and its arrogant assumption of infallibility.

The role played by Bombay's Congress bosses in organising a massive publicity build-up for Bal Thackeray and his gangsters is not a secret ; the people of Bombay are fully aware of the close relations that subsisted between the two in 1967. Nor is it unknown that when groups of hooligans attacked non-Maharashtrians and looted and set fire to shops and hotels run by them, the police showed little concern. In many cases the policemen present either looked on as disinterested spectators when people were being beaten up publicly, or encouraged the rowdy element by their conduct during such incidents.

The Shiv Sena has throughout had well-wishers and supporters in the police force and among the State's officialdom, apart from friends and allies in the political leadership and among businessmen. The traditional goonda elements of Greater Bombay, who have always had close ties with certain political leaders, found a new and respectable medium for their activities. It would be unrealistic to lose sight of all these factors in assessing the growth and strength of the Shiv Sena.

There had been enough indications that the Shiv Sena was preparing for a major bid to wreck peace in the farflung city. The stoning of Sri Chavan's car was a mild sample. Following this the Sena's leading lights, including Bal Thackeray, made it clear that they had bigger plans to organise large-scale trouble throughout the city. Plans to obstruct Central Ministers visiting Bombay were patently only a pretext to let loose a reign of terror. The State's intelligence system is not so poor as not to

have known, in advance of these plans, especially as much of these was published without inhibition.

If despite all the evidence and the public announcements by the leaders of the goonda groups the police did not get ready to prevent mischief but allowed the looting of shops, destruction of railway stations, burning of buses and stoning of houses and citizens going about their lawful avocations, the conclusion is inescapable that the gangsters have powerful friends who prevented firm preventive action. In fact it was quite strange that the police chief should have entered into an "understanding" with self-proclaimed law-breakers that they would not break the law during Sri Morarji Desai's visit. This was perhaps the first time anywhere that a top police official and criminals entered into a poliee pact ! In these circumstances, Sri Chavan's good-conduct certificate for Bombay authorities sounds preposterous. They have clearly failed in their first duty of ensuring the security of the citizens who look up to them for protection from unlawful elements ; and they have failed to show courage in facing the monster of their own creation.

No doubt the extent of damage done and the pervasive sense of insecurity in Greater Bombay will induce the authorities to take measures to restore normalcy and maintain law and order. The belated arrest of the chief trouble makers may be taken as an indication that the State authorities have at least woken up to the dimensions to which they have encouraged and assisted hooliganism to grow, resulting in a major threat to the democratic way of life in the nation's foremost and most cosmopolitan city.

But what is even more important than immediate action to put down the Shiv Sena gangs and restore a sense of security among citizens is for those in authority, the Congress bosses and the businessmen who finance the Sena and its "leaders" to ponder over the immense harm they have done to national unity and peaceful life. The Maharashtra Mysore border dispute is not one that can be solved in the streets of Bombay, and the Shiv Sena bosses know this well enough. Their hidden supporters tacitly encouraged them to carry on the meaningless "agitation" for their own reasons which are limited to their small time political and financial operations in the City. At least now they must realise that encouragement of violence in order to terrorise their ideological opponents must inevitably boomerang.

Unfortunately our rulers do not learn from experience: the DMK extremists' activities in Tamilnadu bear little relation in size and horror to those of the Shiv Sena, but the lesson was provided by them all the same, namely, that those who instigate violence to secure short-term political gains will live to face it on a bigger and quite embarrassing scale.

The sort of violent demonstration organised in Calcutta over a newspaper article was the direct result of local Congress bosses' decision to use any handy weapon in the election battle. Reactionary and goonda elements are always available to be made use of for such purposes. By making use of them, Congress bosses in many states, have contributed to undermining the growth of democracy. They are as much responsible for the growth of communal and other anti-national organisations and for the pervading sense of insecurity in many areas of the country, as they are for the speedy rise of the Shiv Sena into a major menace to orderly democratic life in Greater Bombay.

It must also be said that other political parties, many of whom sense the implications of the growth of the Shiv Sena and the other parties and group of citizens against another, have failed

to counter these sinister elements effectively. The Shiv Sena is making use not only of goonds elements swarming Bombay and constituting its notorious underworld, but of impressionable young men carried away by parochial slogans aimed against non-Maharashtrians living and working in Bombay. It is the responsibility of all political parties which believe in parliamentary democracy, as also of intellectuals and others, to extricate such youth from the tentacles of organisations like the Shiv Sena.

The first task is to put down Shiv Sena hooliganism; but the long-term task is to make it impossible for such mischievous bodies financed by shady sources to mislead youth, and this can be achieved only by massive and joint campaigning on the political plane by all parties and indivi-

duals who believe that democracy should be preserved and nurtured in this country. In Bombay, where the working class is a powerful factor, the progressive parties and trade union organisations have a major role to play in this regard.

In the immediate future, the Centre has a big responsibility in ensuring that normal life in Bombay is not disrupted by organised goondalism. It must direct the State authorities to maintain law and order; and if it is found that the State Government is unequal to it, there should be no hesitation to take over the administration of Greater Bombay so that the Union Government can assume direct responsibility for the lives of the millions living in that vast city. Sri Chavan cannot shirk his responsibility on this score,

February 11 C.N. Chitta Ranjan

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MY AMERICAN DIARY

The author who is a Congress MP was a member of the Indian delegation to the last UN General Assembly session. Here he jots down his impressions of his visit to USA, where he prolonged his stay as the guest of a New York family actively connected with the Black movement.

The Light and Dark

K. R. GANESH

THE Security Council of the United Nations was having a midnight session. The Lebanese complaint against Israeli straffing of the Beirut Civil International Airport had activated the Security Council just on the eve of the end of the 23rd session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Hectic backstage negotiations were being conducted to hammer out a compromise resolution. India was playing a key role in this process of backstage diplomacy. It was December 31. Just the day after India was to retire from the Security Council. I was perusing a number of secret messages from Cairo in the office of Sri Mishra, Deputy Permanent Representative of India to the UN. The moment he took his seat he kept on incessantly dialling a number of ambassadors. This is one of the effective means of backstage diplomacy. That is how most things are figured out here at the UN.

I lighted my newly-acquired pipe. After a few puffs I felt thrilled to be in the very midst of high international drama. Sitting in New Delhi the news of an emergency meeting of the Security Council to discuss a matter of this nature one puts such an event in the halo of historical perspective. But here being involved in the very working of the UN organs it has the semblance of routineness and formalism.

My thoughts rambled. From one thing to other. The weather

was fine. A clear sunny sky with temperature ranging between 25-30 centigrades with very little cold wind. But the prospects towards the evening were bleak; with forecasts of a rapid fall, high winds, cloudy, and chances of rains. Tonight was the traditional New Year's Eve. There is something distinctive the way Americans celebrate it with wild abandon and formality, which I was to learn was the basic characteristic of the American character. What attracted me most was that this was reflected even in the big struggles of the people here—the struggles that constitute the basic essence of the American drama today. There are fantastic and milling crowds at the traditional Times square; the restaurants and bars are overcrowded inspite of special rates; there is gaiety and high spending; there is violence, traffic accidents, late nightly affairs running into late hours of next morning, jammed subways and scarcer cabs—in short a multi-millioned metropolis on the move to herald the incoming New Year.

* * *

WHEN I got the summon to go to New York as a member of the Indian Delegation to the 23rd session of the UN General Assembly, I had received the news with mixed feelings. Due to political reasons I had developed an allergy to the United

States. Never in my wildest imagination I had ever thought of visiting this country. Little had I realised that after three months' stay there I would be finding hard to fix a firm date of my departure. The thrill of representing a nation in the United Nations General Assembly had all the elements of an adventure. I was emotionally and intimately interested in the Black problem in the United States. Hollywood—that distorted mirror of the United States—had portrayed the Blacks as porters, dish-washers, maids, boxers, tip-top dancers and jazz musicians. But in recent years the Black upsurge had hit the world headlines. The prospect of studying this problem first-hand exhilarated me. I had conveyed this to a couple of intimate friends in New Delhi.

The General Assembly session had just got off to a limping start. The major trouble shooting problems of the world—Vietnam, West Asia, Czechoslovakia—were not on the agenda of the 23rd Session of the General Assembly. World peace and almost the fate of humanity and the civilisation man had built up through million years of toil and creation, depended so much on the peaceful solution of the two questions. Czechoslovak interlude in the otherwise troubled history of our times was of a different character.

But these matters were left for bilateral discussions and super-power diplomacy. During the General debate in the plenary session which lasted more than a fortnight all the delegations referred to these matters in their statements; much of which was a rehash of the well-known positions of their governments. To my mind the statement of the representative of Czechoslovakia was a refreshing piece of originality and ingenuity, which this little brave nation was to exhibit in abundance in the hour of its trial and strain.

The 38-storeyed glass structure, the United Nations building facing the East River was humming with intense activity. Within this imposing building is the microcosm of the world community. The United Nations still represent the hopes and as-

freer and peaceful world. But, in reality, I was to find as days passed the UN is the federal centre of 126 independent and sovereign States. Each of these States, big, small and tiny, have a mind of its own. Some of them are influenced by big powers, some by regional consensus, some by historical association and traditional ties, some by language affinity, some by geopolitics and some by ideological conformity.

I was in Stockholm in June 1967 as a delegate of the World Peace Council to attend the World Conference on Vietnam. There I was thrilled to introduce myself to some of the well-known world figures—Lord Fenner Brockway, who was the Chairman of the Parliamentarian's Working Group, Pier Cott, the French Left-wing leader who had acquired a legendary halo in the French anti-Fascist resistance movement, and a host of others—writers, journalists, intellectuals, academicians and peace fighters. At the UN I must confess I did not get the same thrill, the same feeling of being near someone, who had been one way or the other, now or in the past, a traveller in the caravan of history—except, in the case of Bouteflika the youthful Algerian Foreign Minister; although in the precincts of UN one rubbed shoulder with such well-known names as Gromyko, Dean Rusk, Jacob Malick, Riad, Ebban, and many others. The most distinguished visitor to the UN this time was the graceful Prime Minister of India.

There was a time when from the gilded rostrum of the General Assembly the voices of the makers of history were heard—the voices of Molotov, Kannedy, Anthony Eden, Jawaharlal Nehru, Soekarno and a host of others. Today, the UN delegations are largely composed of professional diplomats, international civil servants and foreign policy technicians. It is they who know the job, the rules of procedures and diplomacy. It is they who pull the numerous backstage strings of the UN. The ambassadors, unless they are of out-

sanding merit, have to lean heavily on them.

* * *

NEW York is a multi-millioned metropolis—too huge, too fast, too bustling and too glittering for an Indian visitor. New York never sleeps, is literally true.

In the cultural sense, it is a very rich city due to its multi-racial composition. It is a truism to say New York is a cauldron of many races. The city is dirty when compared to European standards. Bits of garbage can be observed even in the main thoroughfares. Only the most adventurous and daring can get into a cab during rush hours. There is no central cab stand, and one has to be on the street to hike a cab. Though very ancient in appearance the wide network of the subway system is highly efficient. The way it is packed like sardines during rush hours, one has to see and travel in them to believe it. It is worse than Calcutta buses and trams at their peak overcrowding.

This brings me dramatically to a feature article in *New York Times Magazine* (October 13 1968) on Calcutta, the City of Despair, contributed by Joseph Lelyveld, *Times* Correspondent in New Delhi. The learned correspondent is bitter about the hopeless and perilous transport system of Calcutta. His facts and description on this aspect of Calcutta's life is unassailable. But Calcutta is not the centre of the Western world, nor the greatest city of the richest country. It is the largest, fighting and living metropolis of an under-developed country. There can be no comparison between New York and Calcutta in a material and technological sense. But in a spiritual sense—in the sense of life within death, of growth within decay, of hope within despair—New York and Calcutta are very similar. One has to feel a sense of involvement in the spirit and soul of these cities to see and discern the growing from the dying. Joseph Lelyveld saw Calcutta from the cool heights of the Grand Hotel and the dust-proof windows of the limousine.

I have had to digress a little. The IND "D" Train is said to be the next fastest thing after the jet. Even this train is packed like Calcutta trams and buses during rush hours. One fateful day in early November I had ventured to travel alone in the D Train from 42nd Street to 161 River Avenue. Little did I realise then that this adventure would be the forerunner of my adventure later into the life breath of this rich city.

New York is situated between the legendary Hudson and the East River. Gigantic bridges scanning the skyline add a dimension of grandeur and fantasy to the city. At night, from the George Washington Bridge, the FDR Drive and the Harlem River Drive, the city looks like a dreamland—Baghdad on the River, as the Americans call it. It is a fantastic sight, a rapturously glittering multi-coloured mass of earth on the skyline.

New York has something or the other for everybody. If you are fed up with the tasteless American food you could always choose the Black soul food, or you could check in the large number of Italian, Chinese, French, Argentinian and Mexican restaurants. Most of these restuarants are very expensive by our standards.

But New York provided a chain of well-stocked cafeterias in almost every street and area. There are also small coffee shops where one can pickup a substantial snack. These cafeterias may be capitalist chains. However, the food provided there is clean and wholesome and cheaper in the context of American standards. Many of them are open 24 hours and one can eat a hot meal even in the early hours of the morning. I vividly remember the early hours of Sunday January 19 round about 4.30 A.M. when we had checked in Jerome cafeteria on this 161st Street for coffee and snacks after hearing Novella Nelson, the new Black star, sang the famous anti-Vietnam war song "Johnny I don't know You" at the village Vanguard in Greenwich Village.

I saw New York as it is—without illusions and without

rigidness, without fascination and without prejudice. I saw the glittering 42nd Street and Times Square, and the dark Harlem and Bowery Ghettos; the LSD generation and the fighting and militant youth movement; the strip-tease at Copacagama and Latin quarter and the soul-stirring music at Olatunji and the Village Gate; the glitter and sophistication of Broadway plays and the depth and down-to-earth mastery of plays at Lafayette Theatre at Harlem; the shameless pornography at the bookstalls and theatres on the 42nd Street, and the saga of the resurgence of the Black people in a nitely performance of music and dances; the political conservatism of the American working class and at the same time the sharpening class struggle; the endemic violence in the American political system as reflected in the Chicago riots during the 1968 Democratic Convention and the forthright conclusions in the Inquiry Report, which branded the incident as a Police Riot and blamed Governor Dailey for his complicity—and the threadbare national debate on it on the T.V and the Press; furthermore, I saw the depth and striking power of the world's broadest anti-war movement and the upsurge of the Black people for discovering themselves, and for political, economic and cultural equality in that land of racism.

What I saw was simmering stir, ferment and resurgence. That this was happening in a country like the United States was significant, and was an integral part of the world wide stir. Man's unconquerable and unquenchable spirit in search of new values cannot be imprisoned for long either by affluence and satiation or by conformism and rigidity.

* * *

BLACK — Black—Black—Black —Black—Black

Throughout New York,—the streets and avenues, the skyscrapers and the air polluted atmosphere, the bars and taverns, the coffee shops and restaurants,

the theatres and night clubs, the big chain stores and wayside stores, the schools and college campuses, from the heights of the UN and the Empire State Buildings to the museums, squares and parks, from the depths of Harlem and Bowery ghettos to the posh and modern apartments of downtown Park Avenue and York Avenue—in the very life-breath of this great bustling, dazzling living and fighting city—the word Black, the feelings that symbolises this once-despised word, the struggles that burst through the thinking processes of the Black consciousness—militant, soul stirring and draped in progressive imagery—is writ large, heavy and bold—like the awakened and unshackled Black man commanding attention and demanding affection.

Within a couple of days of my stay in New York this significant and revolutionary phenomenon of American drama seeped into the inner-most depths of my being. Coming from a country which though largely black and brown has an obsessive complexion consciousness, I was to learn here in New York, what it means that the Black today is in competition and confrontation with the White all the way—from ideology and strategy for capture of sources of state power, to such personal matters like beauty, charm, grace, music, art and cookery. The apartments of Afro-Americans are adorned with the sign "Black is Beautiful". I saw numerous cars with a clearly written bill posted on the back-window panes—"My colour is Black", "Black is proud".

The basic reality of the American life and social scene today is the revolt in the minds of significant sections of the people against the Establishment and the social order that breeds it. This is reflected in the militant and widespread struggles of the youth of the Afro-Americans, the anti-war resisters, the working class strikes, and the general articulate discontent felt in the very pulse of this once satiated society. One begins to get a feel of this the moment one is in New York. This revolutionary facet of American drama, full of idealism

and ingenious expression, coupled with the overpowering realities of the Black upsurge induced in me a feeling of involvement. This was the initial motivation which brought me in tune with the pulse and spirit of New York.

Just a week or so after my arrival in New York, I had checked in cab and asked the driver to drive me to Harlem. I could not give him the exact location—avenue or street. As an Indian brought up in the finest sector of the Indian upsurge—before and after freedom—the name Harlem was imbibed in my consciousness. We had read about this Negro City, and in my mind, was a picture of slums as we have come to know of them in India. In progressive literature, Harlem was sanctioned as a symbol of White racism and man's inhumanity. I had a burning desire to see this neighbourhood of New York.

The cab-driver was non-plussed. He looked at me with surprise and genuine concern. I was looking a 'gentleman' and was dressed in a fairly distinguished manner. He told me with pain in his expression: "That is a very bad neighbourhood", that violence, muggers, criminals and even death are to be found in the locality. Putting fear in my mind, he checked me out. Later on I was to hear the same panicky comment on Harlem from many other White cab-drivers.

As I got used to the city and felt its pulse-beat, I had realised New York was a barricaded city—between the Black and White, each fearful of the other, a city of two races and two camps.

As you drive uptown from the glittering, fashionable and posh downtown Manhattan, as the multi-coloured neon lights gets dimmer and dimmer, as the white multi-storeyed apartments give peace to red brick massive structures—some of them looking like old colonial jails—you have entered Harlem, the largest Black City within a city. This sprawling neighbourhood of New York, which has known neglect and discrimination, is today the centre of Black upsurge and resurgence.

What is so terrible and fearful about Harlem? The mere presence of Black everywhere ("Black—which is beautiful") may be one of the causes of embedded fear. One does come across here tough-looking youngsters waiting before apartments in a mood of sullen resignation and revenge, drunken brawls, occasional instances of violence, muggers waiting for their chance, drugged individuals walking—listlessly—sights common in any backstreet of any urban metropolis the world over (with the exception of the socialist countries). Such sights I have seen almost everyday even in the 42nd Street and Times Square. I had told to some American friends at a social meet that some of the backstreets of Calcutta are worse than Harlem.

I have already referred to endemic violence in the American political and social scene. Apart

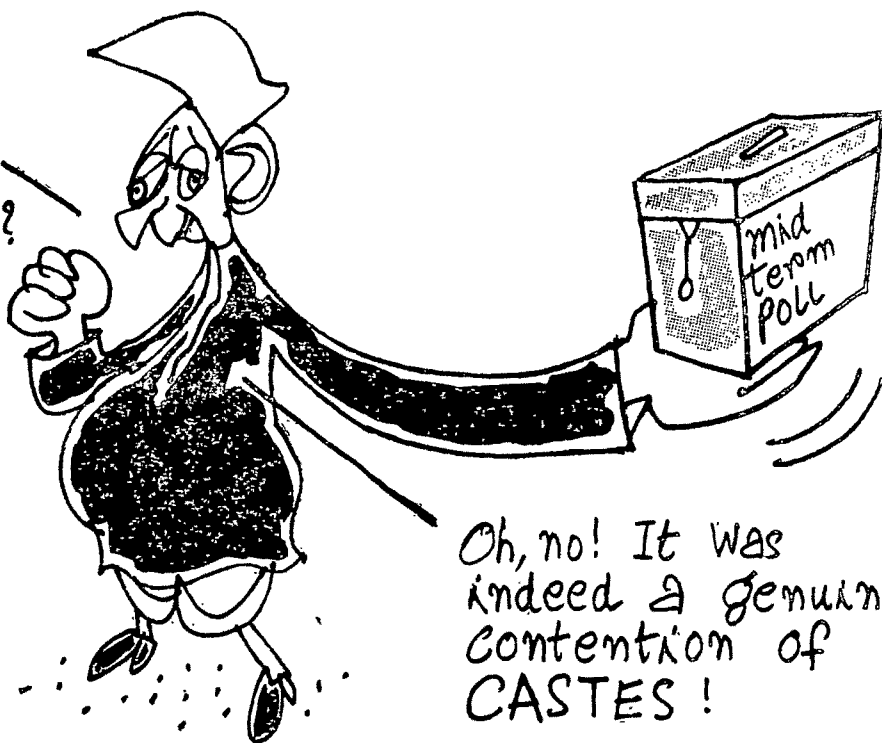
from the murders of Kennedys and King the American press carries each day numerous instances of individual violence. I was told women are scared these days to be alone in the later part of evening even in such glittering areas like the 42nd Street and Times Square. Most of the Black violence is against the Blacks. I vividly remember on New Year's eve, a Black cab driver bitterly complaining about this feature of the Black violence, and the excesses of White cops when dealing with the the Black offenders. It is not fortuitous that law and order had assumed such a key position in the last Presidential Election campaign. A substantial section of support gained by the Third Party Presidential candidate George Wallace in the November Election was due to this fear of break-down of law and order among the

conservative and status-quo minded American voters. Some of them are panicky in the way popular movements are breaking out—particularly their breadth and militancy. The November Election revealed graphically the national concern over the prevalence of violence in American life. It must be said to the credit of Hubert Humphrey that throughout the raging and tearing Presidential campaign he fought hard to make a distinction between individual or criminal violence and situations that might develop out of popular demonstrations.

In the American life, violence is not a Black phenomenon. It is not embedded in the dark ghettos of Harlem. The search-light should be turned inwards to x-ray the working of the American system.

(To be Continued)

Who said,
It was all
a clash of
personalities?



Oh, no! It was
indeed a genuine
contention of
CASTES!

W. J. P.

This week the nation pays its homage to the memory of Ghalib, on the occasion of the centenary of his death.

Ghalib as A Prose Writer

KIDAR NATH

THE name of Ghalib stands foremost among the authors who dominated the Urdu scene in the second half of the nineteenth century. His work, both as a poet and as a prose writer, is regarded as epoch-making. If his poetry is full of deep thought and meaning his prose is a model of simplicity combined with elegance of style and purity of diction. He writes as he would speak and there is a certain amount of flow and rhythm about his prose which is spontaneous and which is not easy for others to imitate.

Ghalib's fame as a poet has, however, so much eclipsed his work as a prose writer that few Urdu lovers other than litterateurs are aware of his invaluable contribution to Urdu prose.

Before Ghalib arrived on the scene, the emphasis in Urdu was mostly on the art of versification. There was little of prose literature in this language except a few books of fiction and theology written in an artificial style and much encumbered with Arabic and Persian words. A curious feature in the growth of a language is that progress in poetry has invariably preceded advancement in prose. This is as much true of Urdu as of any other language. The real strength of a literature should, however, be judged from the strength of its prose.

As a matter of fact, Ghalib too devoted the greater part of his literary energy to the writing

of ghazals, first in Persian and then in Urdu. The ghazal was the principal kind of literary product in demand at that time and a poet who did not write a ghazal drew little attention. Ghalib's highsoaring genius, however, broke through the restrictions which the ghazal imposes upon those who write it.

Ghalib took up prose writing as seriously as ghazal writing. He was the first to introduce a simple, natural and fascinating style of prose in the Urdu world. It proved to be the dawn of a new era for this language.

Ghalib did not set out to write books in prose as such. It is mostly in his letters that we find flourishes of his great genius. These letters have been collected and published under the title of *Urdu-i-Mualla*. They are addressed to his numerous friends, admirers and pupils. He was in constant touch with them and always willing to help them in any way he could. They too held him in high esteem and reciprocated his feelings in the most sincere and affectionate manner.

His pupils sent him their verses for correction in accordance with the prevailing custom. He promptly returned the poems after carrying out improvements in them. Even in his old age when he was sick most of the time, he used to take pains over this labour of love. He also offered monetary help to those

who needed it though he himself was none too wealthy.

Among his friends and pupils were several Hindus. One of them was Munshi Har Gopal Tafta. He admired his master to such an extent that he called himself Mirza Tafta. The two were in regular correspondence and in their letters they frequently discussed each other's problems. In a letter to Tafta, Ghalib tells us how greatly he enjoyed his correspondence with his friends and pupils. He says: "In my solitude I live chiefly on letters from friends. When I receive a letter from a friend I regard it as a visit from him. There is not a day on which I do not receive several letters from various places. In fact, on some days the postman brings my letters more than once, a few in the morning and a few in the evening. This keeps me busy as well as amused and I easily pass my day in perusing them and in having the pleasure of writing replies to them."

Another pupil nearest to Ghalib and a great poet and prose writer in his own right was Maulana Altaf Hussain Hali of Panipat in Punjab. His book *Yadgar-i-Ghalib* is considered as the most authoritative biography of Ghalib. It is the best help, to date, to the study of the greatest Urdu poet and prose writer.

Hali had the privilege of having come in close personal contact with Ghalib. He also had the advantage of hearing his master recite his verses and discussing the meanings of some of them with him.

According to Hali, Ghalib carried on his correspondence until 1850 in Persian. Perhaps he thought it below his dignity to write his letters in Urdu which had not yet been given the status of a court language. But once he began writing Urdu prose he perfected this art to such an extent that it even eclipsed his popularity as a poet for sometime.

Ghalib used simple and matter-of-fact epithets for addressing his correspondents. He discarded the use of verbiage and unnecessary appellations. He would call the addressee in the most intimate and informal manner to make it appear as if the two

were engaged in a friendly chat. After a word or two of greetings he would straight-away broach the subject matter of his letter. He disliked circumlocution. Humour and frankness mark his style throughout. He expressed his sentiments freely and fearlessly and called for similar candidness in reply.

Ghalib's best contemporaries tried to imitate the style of his prose and some of them did succeed in doing so to a remarkable degree. This he acknowledges in a letter he wrote to another great Urdu writer, Mir Mahdi Hassan Majruh (of Panipat). In this letter, Ghalib says: "All the wealth of Delhi in gold and pearls and jewellery has flowed into the Punjab as a result of the loot that followed the Mutiny, but this style of writing was my peculiar property. This wealth too has been looted by the cruel hands of a man from Panipat who resides in Ansari Mohalla. However, I bear him no grudge for his loot, May God bless him". The allusion in this passage was to the addressee himself, Mir Majruh who could not but take it as a compliment because few among his contemporaries could make Ghalib's grade in the style of their prose.

The ideal of prose writing set by Ghalib became the most popular and fashionable style of his period. None of the great Urdu writers who rose to eminence after him, like Sir Sayad Ahmed Khan, Maulana Mohammad Husain Azad and Maulvi Zaka Ullah, could remain uninfluenced by Ghalib's writings.

A few letters, not included in *Urdu-i-Mualla*, have been collected in another book entitled *Ud-i-Hindi*. Besides, Ghalib wrote some commentaries, a few prefaces and three treatises, namely *Tegh-i-Tez*, *Nama-i-Ghalib* and *Lataif-i-Ghalib*. There are also a few chapters of a novel which could not be completed due to his death.

Ghalib was a great literary reformer. He told his friends and pupils that quality rather than quantity should be their aim. He stoutly opposed exaggerations for which the Urdu and Persian writers of those days had

a great weakness. It was customary for them to send their books to their friends for writing eulogistic notes on them. Whether the friend to whom a book was sent thought highly of it or not, he was expected to write a review strongly recommending the work and it would be published along with the book as a testimony of its excellence. Much of it was undeserved praise. But the readers knew this and attached little value to such testimonials.

Ghalib abhorred this practice and tried to discourage it. He was moderate in offering praise. When his close friend and pupil Tafta complained about the mild praise his book had received from Ghalib, the latter wrote back: "I cannot give up my principles. I do not know that style of Indian writers of Persian in which they start praising one like the professional Bhats I may assure you that if I had written a preface to a collection of poems by a Nawab I would not have given him more space than I have given to the praise of your book."

Ghalib's letters have great historical value. They give us information about the condition in Delhi in the middle of the nineteenth century. Some of them give a graphic description of the happenings during the Mutiny. These letters also serve as the best introduction to Ghalib's personality. and if arranged in a chronological order, they tell the story of his life more faithfully than even the best of biographers could do.

In a letter dated August 25,

1867 when he was nearing the end of his life, Ghalib tells a friend (Saif-ul-Haq Sayyah) of his growing disabilities and apologises for being unable to write to his friends as he used to. He says: "I got both your letters but could not reply to them. Before now I used to write while lying in bed. Now I cannot do even that. My hands tremble and my eye-sight is weak ... You must take me to be one on the eve of his departure from this world."

In a letter to another friend written earlier in the same year, Ghalib traces the history of his ancestry and describes the adventures and fortunes of his forefathers who came to India from Samarkand in the time of Shah Alam. The Moghul Empire was then on its decline. Because of their association with the Delhi kings, Ghalib was deprived of his pension for three years following the Mutiny. It was, however, restored after his innocence had been established.

An incident that distressed him most is described in one of his letters of Tafta. Ghalib wrote a Qasida (long eulogistic poem) and sent it to Nawab Nasir-ud-Din Haider of Lucknow. The Nawab granted him a reward of Rs 5,000. The amount, however, never reached the poet as it was misappropriated by some greedy courtier through whom it was to be delivered to Ghalib. Before he could complain to the Nawab, the latter died.

Ghalib died on February 15, 1869.

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Breaking the Shackles

KARUNA BANERJEE

GRADUALLY, almost imperceptibly the Indian film audience is creating a demand for films with a different kind of theme. The mass audience has hitherto been successfully doped with the opium of the old formula—a cocktail of dance, songs, sex, adventure, villainy, sacrifice—all around a pair of hero and heroine and popular and expensive stars at that.

True, a few directors try to inject new blood in the old body, for instance *Anupama*, and more so in films like *Teesri Kasam* and *Balika Badhu*. But as a rule, it is against the interest of the vested interests to encourage films that make people think. It is a concerted, deliberate effort on the part of the producers and film organisations like *Sangraksan Samity* in Calcutta to thwart all attempts at making good, artistic films. They are on the warpath against film-makers like Satyajit Ray, Mrinal Sen and Ritwick Ghatak, for they are socially aware film-makers. No wonder the opposition of the vested interests is endowed with political overtones. For a socially aware film-maker can successfully convey a message to the masses through this powerful audiovisual medium, and that is exactly, what the vested interests do not want.

But the mass audience has definitely shown some considerable amount of restlessness. The 1967 statistics show that 70 per cent of the Hindi films were flops, in spite of their being enriched

with top-notch star-value. The industry has been going through some crisis or another ever since. The language squabble has made the situation worse.

It is high time, however, for the film industry to realise that the mass-audience cannot any longer be kept satisfied with the sugar-coated formula, for it is bound to reach its cloying point sometime or other. The money-bags among the Hindi film world however have been able to dull the sensitivity of the mass-audience who have not developed as a modern cinema audience, but their very restlessness shows that the saturation point is reached. Hollywood has faced a similar crisis of out-dated formula and has turned towards Europe for rejuvenation. Our film industry should be able to draw a lesson from this instance and look to the rising generation of modern and progressive film-makers.

Meanwhile, the distinctive trend of a few film-makers who look upon film-making more as an art than as business, has been able to create a discerning audience however small. A large number of film societies has contributed to this new outlook. The demand is there. But the directors who can meet the demand are themselves victims of the mercenary producer-distributor-exhibitor chain. To an experimental filmmaker in Europe, commercial films or the authorities behind them pose no problem at all. During his visit to Bombay last

year, Louis Malle, the eminent French experimental film-maker, said that he was never worried about the release of his film or his audience. The big commercial films have their own audience and big houses. And the low-budget films have small art theatres all over Paris, and their discerning audience. Unfortunately we have no such resources in India, yet there is a large number of potential audience for off-beat films 'all over' the country irrespective of the language barrier.

The only answer to this stalemate is to break the chain of vested interests. We may not have art theatres or the resources to build one or two at private expense. But we have a Rabindar Natya Mandir in every big city. These should be permitted to be used as exhibition centres for experimental films. By experimental films I do not mean films similar to the underground films in America, but experiments in artistic and purposeful films. These should be experiments with the potentiality of the camera and at the same time related to the receptivity of the potential audience.

It is strange that the Hindi films in general are still sunk in the morass of over-rated, dead values, and artificial stimulants that no longer seem to work. Yet we have no dearth of themes, particularly after independence, when rapid industrialization, urbanisation and increased literacy provide us with interesting relationships and conflicts between the old and the new. Here lies the possibility of stretching our mental vision beyond petty and rigid boundaries and evolving a new understanding of life. And that will again sharpen the receptivity of the audience and help to create a new cinema audience. Luckily, the Film Finance Corporation has recently been showing considerable interest in directors who are out to make off-beat artistic films. In fact, the Film Finance Corporation should sponsor only those directors who are creative and purposeful.

But with the existing hostility of the distributors, exhibitors and inter-ministerial conflicts in

Government, it will be difficult to market such films.

In this connection, it is heartening to watch the gathering momentum of the New Cinema movement launched by a few cinema enthusiasts, who observe in their newsletter :

"The demand for art theatres is quite old. Various film societies in India and their parent body, the Federation of Film Societies of India, have been for years making persistent representations to the Central and State Governments to do something in the matter. The utility of the National Film Archives of India continues to be curtailed because of the non-availability of suitable small theatres where its films could be regularly screened to academic audiences. The Film Finance Corporation too feels the pinch of the severely restrictive exhibition facilities available for its films.

"Thus the demand for art theatres is loud, strong and widespread. Its importance is recognised in the fact that the Fourth Five Year Plan provides for the establishment of such theatres in various centres"

This need is more acute because, I am told, the Rabindra Natya Mandirs are controlled by the Ministry of Education, who have made it a condition that films may not be screened in these halls. This is a strange regulation. I suppose the Education Ministry believes that artistic films do not provide the right type of education, while indifferent theatrical and even pop-music-dance shows are highly educative.

Smt Indira Gandhi, when she was the Minister for Information and Broadcasting had done a great deal to improve the activities of the Films Division. I would appeal to her to look into this matter. If the Rabindra Natya Mandirs can be used as Art Theatres, there will be no need to spend our slender resources for another round of construction activities.

This appeal will probably fall on deaf ears. The only sensible Secretary of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting we have ever had is, I understand, being transferred. Any expecta-

tions of further progress may soon be thwarted.

A word about the National Award given by the Government to the best film of the year, to encourage the making of artistic films. Very often we find our National Award Committee influenced more by the content of a film than its execution as artistic

creation. But the message of a purposeful theme cannot be projected unless it is presented as an artistic experience. Otherwise, it becomes equivalent to an entertainment piece, that is seen, enjoyed and forgotten, or pure propaganda that does not reach the deeper consciousness.

Eduardo Chivambo

Mondlane

OBSERVER

EDUARDO Mondlane, President of the Mozambique Liberation Front was shot by an unidentified assassin at Dar-es-Salaam, the capital of Tanzania, from where he was leading the war against the Portuguese.

According to another report, a time-bomb was placed in his room which blew up and killed him while he was working at his writing table.

It is strongly suspected that the assassin was a hired Portuguese agent and there is good reason to believe it with the

number of African leaders, starting from Patrice Lumumba onwards, who have fallen victims to White colonial terror and the activities of the mercenaries. A *Reuter* correspondent reported that the Portuguese had been hunting for him for the past several months.

Dr. Mondlane was 48 years old, married and had three children. He started life as a shepherd, left his country while young after an elementary education in Mozambique and travelled extensively in Europe and America. He took his doctorate

in sociology and law. He was offered a professorship by an American university, but he took up a job in the UN and would have probably built up a brilliant career. In 1962, however, he decided to return to Africa to lead the African struggle against the Portuguese and soon became 'one of the most highly respected leaders in Africa. He organised the Mozambique Liberation Front with its headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam in view of the Portuguese terror against the nationalist movement. From 1962 onwards he has been carrying on a bitter war against the Portuguese, and the liberation fighters had already seized an area larger than Portugal from the colonial masters. There is every reason to believe that the movement of Dr. Mondlane would have ultimately driven out the Portuguese from Mozambique. His death is certainly irreparable, but his movement has already gained in strength and organisation that it can continue to war to its bitter conclusion. If already controls the northern provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa.

A Volcano

Elmina, one of the first Portuguese fortresses in West Africa is not far from Accra in Ghana. It is a museum-piece today. The Portuguese kept the African slaves here in the heyday of slave trade before they were exported. The whole of Mozambique today is an Elmina fort. The country has been reduced to a colony of slaves by the Portuguese. As a result, Mozambique is like a volcano. The war against the Portuguese is bitter here. And the Portuguese themselves know it, and hence their crude resort to terror.

In 1965 the Portuguese brought a number of the Mozambique intellectuals before trial, of whom Dr. Domingos Arouqui, the editor of the most popular Mozambique journal, was an outstanding leader.

The Portuguese had been trying to hoodwink the world public by proclaiming that they are giving "Portuguese citizenship" to the natives. In fact, the Black people

are divided into "assimilados" and "natives". The "assimilados" are people with literacy, the natives "wild" and rightless. In actual fact, not one out of a hundred people knows how to read and write. About 5,000 people have been classified so far as "assimilados". This means that for the long centuries of their domination, the Portuguese who used to boast of their "civilising mission" in Africa and elsewhere brought the "blessings" of that civilisation to less than 0.1 per cent of the African population in Mozambique.

As the struggle against the Portuguese is being intensified, they have of late been importing the poor Portuguese and giving them land in Mozambique, as they are doing in Angola and other Portuguese African possessions. As a result, most of the land has been parcelled out among Portuguese settlers. In order to prevent the Africans' resentment, the Portuguese have resorted to the old slave system. They draft the African men for the mines of Rhodesia and South Africa and send them in thousands allegedly on a contractual basis. The sugar cane work, which is the main occupation in Mozambique, is carried on by African women and young children. More often the men who go to the mines of Rhodesia and South Africa never return. This new kind of slavery is a profitable business to the Mozambique administration for it brings 1,000 escudo for each African male.

Mozambique is vital not only for the Portuguese but for South Rhodesia and South Africa. Beira, the principal sea port of Mozambique, handles the oil supplies to Rhodesia as also war materials for the Portuguese war in Africa. The oil pipeline from Beira stretches out for 280 km. to a refinery in Rhodesia. The port has huge oil storage tanks which were built jointly by the Portuguese and the White racialist regime of Rhodesia.

The British made some efforts to blockade this port to prevent oil supplies to Rhodesia, but it was beaten by their lack of will.

The Portuguese colonies in

Africa have become rich sources for Western exploitation. The US has already invested vast sums in oil exploration in Angola (Cabinda area), a leading oil producing area in Africa, with an expected 7.5 million ton output by 1970. South Africa is to be the main customer for this oil.

West Germany has made a corner in the iron ore deposits. The Krupps have been given a concession over 220,000 square kilometres.

The Japanese Sumitomo consortium is preparing to exploit the iron ore mines at Namapa (Mozambique) with a reported initial investment of 40 million dollars. A consortium of many Western nations have planned to construct the biggest hydropower station on the Zambezi River in Mozambique and this is not without certain definite plans for the further exploitation of Mozambique.

After Salazar, What ?

The future of Portuguese Africa depends on the question : After Salazar, what ? Salazar's rule has apparently come to an end. Marcelo Caetano has replaced Salazar as Premier. His regime has not yet shown any change in the severity of Salazar's policy towards Portuguese colonies in Africa.

Lisbon is feverishly clinging on to its possessions in defiance of the various decisions of the UN on colonialism. Portugal continues to rely on the NATO, principally the US, to carry on the war against the patriots in Africa. This policy did not help France in Vietnam, where Dulles agreed to finance the French war. The story in Portuguese Africa cannot be different.

The Portuguese army in the African colonies already consists of 150,000 troops and it is the biggest armed force in Africa. Definite plans are being worked out to "internationalise" the war. This was made clear in a statement by the Portuguese Foreign Minister Alberto Franco Nogueira recently. Portugal is counting on the increasing economic interests of its American and European allies in its African territories.

Assam Hills Problem :

Historical Background

S. K. CHOUBE

EVER since independence the problem of the Assam Hills has been variously diagnosed by various Governmental agencies and personalities.

Thus, whereas the States Reorganisation Commission found its content to be "as much psychological as political", the Pataskar Commission (The Commission on Hills Areas of Assam) found it as one "of economic development for which the two regions of Assam—the hills areas and the plains—are inter-dependent".

Nothing can be more rewarding, however, than to recall the observation of the Bardoloi Committee in this connection :

"But in the hills of Assam the fact that the hills people have not yet been assimilated with the people of the plains of Assam has to be taken into account, though a great proportion of the hill people now classed as tribals have gone a long way towards such assimilation. Assimilation has probably advanced least in the Naga Hills and Lushai Hills, and the policy of exclusion has of course tended to create a feeling of separateness".

The roots of the continued separation, even after twenty years of independence, of the Assam hills are to be traced to a complex of cultural, economic as well as historical factors. It should, however, be made initially clear that the population of the hills is a mosaic of tassellated racial groups, possessing indigenous, cultural and linguistic distinctions. The apparent uniformity of the hills' situation is a comparatively recent and super-

ficial development. Even Christianity, which has covered about half of the total population of the hills, has failed to build a cultural uniformity.

The primary historical element or the hills' problem has been their geographical and administrative seclusion. Whereas the British never seriously tried to mitigate the geographical seclusion, they actively encouraged a policy of *administrative seclusion*, followed right from the beginning of their contact with the hills. This was initially due to their inability to cope with the "frontier" problem and later due to their desire to tackle the hills administration as a "special problem". For the hills, till recently, were never happy under the foreign rule. The Khasi States were the first to revolt against the increasing encroachment of these foreigners over their territories and forests. The revolt of the Nongkhlow Siem, U Tirot Singh, in 1829, within three years of the occupation of the Assam Valley, was the beginning of a chain of events. The revolt of the Zeliang Nagas on the border of North Cachar in the thirties of this century was possibly the last incident in this chain of anti-British struggles of the hills people.

From the beginning of this century, however, there came over an overall metamorphosis in this situation. Before the first World War, regular administration of the British was established in all the hills and substantial 'political control' was brought upon the Naga Tribal Area. A considerable number of hills people joined the British army during the war, and, as Sir Robert Reid, Governor of Assam (1937-42) noted, they included

several men from the Naga Tribal Area.

A great amount of confidence was certainly generated about the British, by their ability to almost stop the chronic inter-tribal clashes and raids. Yet, except for the construction of a few highways for strategic and administrative reasons, there was practically no developmental work in the hills; and the hills people always resented the imposition of regular house taxes, besides the occasional punitive tolls.

Keeping these common elements in view one may try to search the particular factors that contributed to the growth of the hills problem.

The outstanding particular factor is the lack of contact among the hill tribes themselves, chiefly due to geographical seclusion. There was not a single high-way connecting any two hill districts. Only recently a bifurcated road has connected Shillong with the Mikir and the North Cachar Hills. The Shillong Plateau, as it is geologically called, mainly contains the Garos on the west, Khasi-Jaintias at the centre and the Mikirs and Kacharis on the east. Contacts between the Eastern Garos and North Western Khasis, North-Eastern Khasis and hill Mikirs and South-Eastern Khasis and Kacharis have, indeed, been old and have led to the growth of somewhat mixed groups like the Linggam Khasis and Lalungs in the border areas. But, on the whole, the hills peoples had a greater contact with the plains of Bengal and Assam than among themselves.

The Mizo Hills, containing a variegated Tibeto-Burmese population, also had scanty contact with the Nagas and Kukis of Manipur hills, but have not at all developed a common nationality. The highway from Dimapur through the Naga hills is fairly old; and yet the Nagas of Nagaland and Manipur have maintained a thin contact only through the hilly roads on the difficult terrains. In spite of the racial affinities between the Nagas of Tirap (in NEFA), Nagaland and Manipur, their distance has remained all the same. The

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Manipur Valley, a predominantly Hindu region, has kept the Nagas and the Kuki-Lushais conspicuously separated.

Of all the hill-districts, the Mikir and the Garo hills have enjoyed the closest contact with the plains. Under the 1935 Act they were placed under the Partially Excluded Areas, though the Mikir constituted parts of Nowgong and Sibsagar districts. The political movements of the plains were partly entrenched in these areas. The British areas of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills were also Partially Excluded areas; but in spite of Shillong being the capital of Assam, the plain's political movements never got a root in the Khasi and Jaintia districts. The Excluded Areas, on the other hand, were carefully protected from the injection of plains politics. Political movements, however, began to grow in peculiar local ways.

Khasi Hills

The first growth of this trend was observed in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills, though it was preceded by waves of social movements. In the Khasi-Jaintia Hills, Hinduism came long ago, but was confined to sections of population on the fringes of the Khasi hills and in the Jaintia areas. Christian missionaries tried to establish themselves early in the British period, but were successful only towards the end of the nineteenth century. The Brahmo Samaj also came to Shillong in the latter part of the last century, and, in spite of some collaboration with the Unitarian Church, was successful mainly among a few Bengali families and a tiny fraction of Khasis. A somewhat stronger challenge to the ascendancy of Christianity was offered by a Khasi revivalistic movement through the establishment of the *Seng Khasi* in 1899. Of the total Khasi population now a little over half have adopted Christianity.

The strength of the indigenous Khasi religion is still a factor to count. One may even find its impact on the initial development of Khasi politics. For, till about the second World War,

most of the Khasi Chiefs (Siems) remained non-Christian.

It was in 1923, when Khasi nationalism took a somewhat concrete shape with the formation of the Khasi National Durbar, consisting of the Chieftains from the native as well as the British part. Right from the beginning, the Durbar attempted to regain the old position to the Khasi States. In 1925, it resented the promulgation of Sanads, which were being issued from 1859, to the Khasi Princes, in place of the original Anglo-Khasi agreements. It also codified the land-laws of the Khasi Hills.

On the eve of the visit of the Simon Commission, in May 1928, a conference of the Siems and other Chiefs, held at Shillong under the aegis of the Khasi National Durbar, pressed for the recognition of the Khasi States on the basis of the old treaties rather than of the new Sanads, which the Siems, being only elected heads, had no right to sign. (Indeed, the British failed to distinguish between the Khasi Seimships and kingships and in fact treated the Siems as kings.) In October, the same year, a conference of the Khasis of the British part, however, protested against the Assam Government's recommendation for *exclusion* of the British area of the Khasi hills from Provincial administration. The Simon Commission recommended partial exclusion and the grant of three seats in the Provincial Legislature, to the same area.

In the wake of the move for federation of the native States with India, in 1933, the association of Khasi Chiefs adopted the scheme of the "Federated Khasi States." During the visit of Viceroy Willingdon to Shillong (1933) the demands were raised for the recognition of the federation through the grant of representation to the Provincial Legislature and for the curtailment of the powers of the Deputy Commissioner of Khasi and Jaintia Hills as Political Officer to the States. The Federation was actually formed in early 1934, and, among other things, it declared its loyalty to the British Crown, though demanded a spe-

cial status for the Khasi States in relation to the Government of India and greater judicial power. The Khasi States' Federation was not recognised by the British as the federation of British and Indian India never came into being. Yet, the Khasi States' movement provided the foundation of Khasi politics.

Khasi States Federation

The second phase of the movement started in 1945-46, on the eve of India achieving independence. A Khasi States People's Union was formed with the Siem of Khyriem, Prof. G. G. Swell, Miss Mavis Dunn Lyngdoh, Dr. H. Lyngdoh and Professor R. R. Thomas as the leaders. It resolved to form a Khasi States Federation and began negotiations with the Imperial Government on the position of Khasi States in future India. On July 2, 1946, they framed a Draft Constitution for the proposed Khasi States' Federation and called for merger of the non-State areas (Shillong and the Jaintia Sub-division) with the federation. Relation with the Dominion of India and Assam would be determined by the Instrument of Accession, which would have to take measures so as to protect Khasi lands from being acquired or exploited by non-tribals.

The Federation of the Khasi States started functioning under the Instrument of Accession and Annexed Agreement, according to which specific provision had been laid down for the Federation's rights over land and water. In 1948, the Governor of Assam summoned a Khasi Constitution Durbar, for which open elections took place in the winter of 1948-49. According to Khasi customs female franchise was absent, except in Shillong. The Constituent Durbar met on July 11-21, 1949, at Shillong with 85 delegates including 22 Chiefs.

Meanwhile, significant developments had taken place in Khasi politics. The Indian National Congress was always very weak in the Khasi hills. Rav. J. J. M. Nichols-Roy, as a member of the Khasi National Durbar, was representing Shillong

in the Provincial Legislature, and held ministries under the Dyarchy as well as in the 1937 Government. When in 1938, due to a Congress manoeuvre, the Muslim League Coalition Government fell, there was actually an anti-Congress riot in Shillong. In 1938, Subhas Chandra Bose visited Shillong and the Congress was reorganised there, with MacDonald Khongor as President. Khongor was a Khasi Mukhteer and personal rival of Nichols-Roy. In the 1946 Provincial elections, MacDonald Khongor was an aspirant. But in another last-moment Congress manoeuvre, Rev. J. J. M. Nichols-Roy was given the Congress ticket, later taken in the Provincial Cabinet and sent to the Constituent Assembly, where he invented the Sixth Schedule. Khongor left Congress in disgust and formed a Highlanders' Union Party, starting the spade-work for the future hill-State movement.

In the Constituent Durbar, the Khasi States' People's Union offered stiff resistance to the plan for the District Council, and initially appeared to be in majority. Nichols-Roy who was now representing the Khasi-Jaintia Federated States' National Conference and whose chief passion was the curbing of the Siems' power, was, however, able to win over some of his opponents and the District Council plan was finally accepted, for the whole of Khasi-Jaintia areas.

NNC Formation

Outside the Khasi Hills, political movement first grew in the Naga District, and on a separatist note. In 1918 a Naga Club was formed at Kohima mostly with Naga officers, with British patronage. Of the Simon Commission it demanded the exclusion of the Naga Hills from ministerial administration. At the end of the second World War, the Nagas became apprehensive of the future rule of the Indians. In April 1945, Charles Pawsey, Deputy Commissioner of the district, established the Naga Hills District Tribal Council with a view to "uniting the Nagas" and taking up post-war reconstruction works. In

March, 1946, it met at Wokha and changed its name to Naga National Council. In no time the Naga National Council turned into a political party, though a large number of government officials remained its members.

The Wokha Conference, still dominated by the moderate Nagas, contemplated an administration "more or less like other parts of Assam". But soon the extremist section of the NNC, led by Phizo, gained ascendancy, and, on May 20, 1947, when the Bardoloi Committee visited Kohima, they were confronted with a new demand. Citing the Indian proposal at the UN over the position of Eritrea in relation to Egypt—a UN trusteeship over the former for ten years after which a plebiscite would decide its independence or merger with Egypt—the NNC demanded an 'Interim Government' of Nagaland under a bonafide 'guardian power' for ten years, and, subsequently, a plebiscite to decide the question of unification. The 'guardian power' was not defined, and could well mean India or Britain. There was practically a deadlock, admitted the Bardoloi Committee. Till July 28, 1947, the members co-opted from the Naga District did not sign the Bardoloi Committee's Report, though the Committee vainly hoped that Imti, the moderate leader of the NNC would do so in future.

On June 26, 1947 Sir Akbar Hydari, Governor of Assam, reached Nagaland and had talks with the NNC, and as a result, a "9-Point Agreement" emerged, in spite of the opposition from the extremists. The Bardoloi Committee put much hope on the Agreement as it represented the victory of the moderates in the NNC. The Agreement, in its Preamble, recognised the right of the Nagas to develop themselves according to their freely expressed wishes. The Nagas' disputes, according to the Agreement, would be decided by their courts, according to their customary laws. On the executive side, the NNC would control what they were prepared to pay for. Without the consent of the NNC no Provincial or Central

law, affecting the Agreement, would have force in the Naga district. Land and natural resources could not be transferred to a non-Naga without the consent of the NNC. The NNC had the power to impose land-revenue, house-tax and other taxes. The administrative divisions would be modified in order to restore all its forests to the Naga hills and unify the Nagas.

Controversial Agreement

The most controversial part of the Agreement was the ninth point, which provided: "The Governor of Assam as the Agent of the Indian Union will have a special responsibility for a period of ten years to ensure the due observance of this agreement; at the end of this period, the NNC will be asked whether they require the above agreement to be extended for a further period or a new agreement regarding the future of the Naga people be arrived at".

Whereas, the Government interpreted this article to mean that after ten years there might be mere administrative re-arrangements, if the Nagas so desired, the NNC was fiercely divided on the meaning of the same. Some members thought that it was open to the Nagas to secede from India after ten years.

In the NNC Conference, presided over by Pawsey, the majority accepted the Agreement, though a minority resented it and a deputation under the leadership of Phizo, was sent to Delhi to inform the Government of India of their intention to declare independence on August 14.

All these developments took place before the Report of the Bardoloi Committee, which claimed to have incorporated the substance of the Naga demands. But the District Council scheme apparently fell short of the 9-Point Agreement. Serious misunderstanding had meanwhile developed between the Government of India and Sir Akbar Hydari. Finally the moderate leadership of the NNC also sent a deputation under Imti, but was rebuffed by Nehru in what they called a "stormy interview". On his

return, Imti submitted an ultimatum of one month demanding immediate implementation of the original 9-Point Agreement. Phizo, indeed condemned the ultimatum as foolish, and the moderate leadership of the NNC was partly discredited and partly frustrated.

Mizo Hills

In the Lushai hills conditions were still different. Ever since Shakespear's "land settlement" (1895) there, the power of the Chiefs had become almost absolute. Their oppressive dominance had caused many Lushais flee their home and settle in new villages. Discontent among the educated Lushai youth had led to the formation of the Mizo Union, immediately after the second World War, with a radical demand for land reforms; whereas the Church was somewhat sympathetic to the Mizo Union's cause, the Government stood solidly behind the Chiefs. The number of Chiefs rose from 50-60 to about 300. Finally, the British Superintendent of the District convened, in 1946, a "District Conference" with the delegates chosen separately by the Chiefs and commoners. Towards October, 1946 the District Conference broke down and a new conference on the basis of a joint electorate but preserving the old ratio of the Chiefs and the commoners. So the Mizo Union in both the occasions boycotted the District Conference and challenged the representative capacity of the Conference. Mizo Union fell into official disfavour; its funds were seized.

The District Conference, with the Superintendent as its Chairman, demanded of the Bardoloi Committee complete freedom in local affairs and administration. There would be a defence agreement with the Government of India. The Governments of India and Assam would in turn subsidise the district's administration. The Bardoloi Committee, evidently, could not oblige the District Conference and rightly considered the Mizo Union as the voice of the majority of the Mizos. The Committee's con-

clusion was: "The main emphasis in the demands of the Lushais was laid on the protection of the land, the prevention of exploitation by outsiders and the continuance of their local customs and language".

Of the other hills, the Garo district was well-advanced, and rather restless on the eve of Independence. The traditional institutions of power were the Nokmas (Chiefs), though the Baptist church, acting in collaboration with them, had a great deal of influence. The social and economic contacts of the people, particularly on the fringes, with Kamrup, Goalpara and Mymensing, indeed kept them aware of the mainstream of national movement. There were a handful of devoted Congressites also. But, on the whole, the travel restrictions of the British time kept the Congress organisations out of the hills. The two independent Garo members of the Provincial Legislature of 1937 first collaborated with the Saadullah Cabinet, then joined Congress in 1938. Similar developments also took place in other hills.

In 1946 the Garo National Council was set up mainly with the Chiefs. The Bardoloi Committee could not visit the district on account of flood and damaged roads. Some witnesses were interviewed at Gauhati. The Garo National Council, the only non-Congress political party in the district, whose strength had yet to be tested, framed a Draft Constitution for the district which asked for all powers of government including taxation, administration of justice etc. to be vested in its "Legal Council" and the only link proposed with the Provincial Government was in respect of a few subjects like higher education, medical aid etc., other than the subjects of defence, external affairs and communication which were Union subjects.

Of all the hills, the North-East Frontier Tracts were undoubtedly the most backward in all respects. There was, according to the Bardoloi Committee, virtually no administration, not to speak of development. People practised primitive type of jhum cultivation, except in certain poc-

kets, like the Monpa area, where terrace-cultivation and poultry-farming were practised. The level of education was extremely low. Political consciousness was virtually absent, though the people had highly developed tribal organisations.

Because of a long historical connection with the plains of Nowgong, Sibsagar and Cachar, the Mikir and North Cachar Hills had a generally congenial attitude to the plains, in spite of the declaration of the Mikir hills as Partially Excluded and North Cachar Hills as Excluded Areas. The Inner Line was imposed on the North Cachar only in 1942 and could not very much alter the situation. In the thirties, wide areas of North Cachar came under the revolutionary spell of Rani Gaidilu. Christianity could not make much headway, because of the resistance of the village Chiefs. Understandably, the Mikir and North Cachar, almost like the Frontier Tracts, were generally less agitated, than other hills, at the time of independence.

Bardoloi Committee Formula

The attitude of the Bardoloi Committee towards the hills problem has so far been the most constructive and considerate.

Citing the distinguished anthropologist, Dr. B. S. Guha's evidence, the Bardoloi Committee observed that assimilation had to be slow and based on the local tribal institutions and social customs. Exploitation by the Plains people had to be checked: "Thus the hill people attach special value to the present system of 'Inner Line' to cross which non-tribals entering the area require a pass and the provisions prohibiting non-tribals from settling down or carrying on business without the approval of the district officer".

It was felt that even industries should not be started in the hills areas by non-tribals, lest that led to exploitation of the people and the land by non-tribals.

One feeling that was general in the hills was a suspicion about the people of the plains and their government. The Bardoloi Committee noted the fear of the hills

(Continued on page 38)

Indian Economy :

Basic Weaknesses

KRIPA SHANKAR

THE two hundred years of British rule had completely shattered the Indian economy. The deliberate destruction of handicrafts, the ruin of agriculture, absence of industrialisation had made India one of the poorest countries of the world when only two centuries back she was one of the richest.

With the advent of freedom the primary task facing the country was to liquidate the colonial heritage by removing those institutions and factors which lay in the path of her national rebirth.

With a view to creating a class of people who would remain loyal to their regime, the Britishers had created a new class of landlords that did not exist before and made land a commodity in so far as it could be freely purchased and sold. It may be mentioned that the organisation of the village community was based on the communal ownership of land and although land was tilled individually yet it was not subject to sale and purchase. This had given a peculiar stability to the village structure in which land disputes were unknown.

The transplantation of an alien system on the Indian soil led to total insecurity to the tiller and decay of agriculture. The prices of agricultural goods were depressed so that cheap raw materials might be available to the metropolitan countries. The poverty of the cultivators was accentuated by the activities of the trader-cum-money lenders who thrived on the misery of the toiling masses. The rulers were not interested in improving agriculture and the cultivators on account of their grinding poverty

and absence of security in land, were not in a position to make any improvement on their own.

The task in agricultural front lay in giving full security to the cultivator by abolishing landlordism, eliminating the hold of traders in agricultural commodities with a view to eliminating fluctuations in agricultural prices as also profiteering in it. In order that the cultivator may be in a position to make investments in his business, it was essential that the savings of the community should be diverted to agriculture by taking control of the credit institutions of the country.

The inability of the Government to face these problems squarely has resulted in a situation in which agricultural growth has failed to gather momentum of its own.

Landlordism was abolished but the landlords and the big landholders were allowed to retain vast tracts of land for which they had neither the inclination nor the resources to till. The result was that they lease the surplus land to tenants who have no security. According to the Census of 1961, about one-fourth of the cultivators in India are tenant cultivators. The National Sample Survey has found that roughly one-sixth of the land in the country is operated by tenant cultivators. It is worth mentioning that the belated ceiling laws have made no difference in the pattern of landholding in the country and the inequality in land ownership as it existed in British India continues. This has resulted in widespread leasing of land to the tenants who enjoy no security as was the case in the past.

The other important problem of giving reasonable prices to the cultivators by eliminating the seasonal price fluctuations and also profiteering has been completely overlooked. The traders remain all-powerful. Not only major agricultural produce are subject to seasonal fluctuations but their prices have risen disproportionately. An inordinate rise in the prices of foodgrains has led to a general price rise. This has distorted the economy to a considerable extent. Not only the people are finding themselves unable to maintain the old consumption level but our exports are facing difficulty on account of high prices. Even devaluation of the rupee has not helped matters ; on the other hand it has further added to the price spiral.

Holding the price line is a crucial factor in our economic development, and the key to it lies in checking the foodgrain prices from rising. The latter task cannot be accomplished so long as the bulk of the foodgrains trade is in private hands. As the Government has been forced to enter the foodgrains trade in order to run their fair price shops, it will be logical for it to extend the area of their operation by at least taking over the wholesale trade in major agricultural produce and to resort to monopoly procurement.

A very important factor limiting the growth of agriculture is the fact that cultivators have no savings to make improvements in agriculture. The cooperative credit has failed to make its mark because the cooperatives have very little funds to meet the credit needs of the cultivators. As the banks have kept away from the field of rural finance, the question of providing cheap credit to them has still remained unsolved. The Reserve Bank Survey on Rural Debt and Investment revealed that only four per cent of the cultivators are in a position to make investments in digging wells and in the creation of other irrigation sources. This is in a situation where 80 per cent of the land under cultivation is unirrigated. The gravity of the situation was realised when in the two drought years of 1965-66 and 1966-67 the production declined steeply.

The unwillingness of the credit institutions of the country to come to the rescue of agriculture has prompted the Government to acquire social control over the commercial banks but as no change is visible in their lending operations, the social control has remained more or less ineffective. It may be remembered that commercial banks in India advance less than one per cent of their funds—to be exact only 0.2 per cent—to the agricultural sector, as against between 10 to 15 per cent in the industrially-advanced countries. Agriculture constitutes one-half of the national income and three-fourth of the population is dependent on it. The gravity of the situation demands that the credit institutions be oriented towards agriculture. The failure of the measures hitherto undertaken points to the necessity of institutional changes in the credit structure ; otherwise the question of agricultural finance will baffle solution.

The net result is that agriculture has failed to grow steadily and our dependence on foreign food continues. Even last year when production reached 96 million tonnes, we imported eight million tonnes of foodgrains while the per-capita availability of foodgrains was much below the requirements.

Apart from reorganisation of agriculture, the basic task facing the country at the time of Independence was rapid industrialisation with a view to eradicate poverty. Industrialisation needs massive capital investment. The Western countries accomplished industrialisation by exploiting the colonies. Colonial exploitation not only provided the needed capital and raw materials but also the markets for the manufactured goods. Still it took about a century to industrialise those countries. India wants to accomplish this task much more rapidly without having colonies. It is obvious that India cannot reach this goal by the path adopted by the Western countries. Here the Government will have to mobilise the resources in a big way to accelerate industrial development. This could be

accomplished by eliminating all wasteful and unproductive expenditure in the economy to generate the necessary savings for investment. A beginning should be made by imposing a ceiling on income and expenditure as suggested by the eminent economist, Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, now a Minister in the Union Government.

It is well-known that the savings of the affluent classes instead of being utilised for productive works are being diverted to ventures where profit rates are higher. Investment in land and building, trading operations etc., give greater returns. The Reserve Bank Survey on Rural Debt and Investment revealed that one-fourth of all capital expenditure in rural India goes in the purchase of land. Similarly, the urban rich gives first preference to acquiring land, urban landed property and in other conspicuous expenditure which are socially wasteful.

A ceiling on income and expenditure will put a check on

wasteful and unproductive expenditure and will release funds for making productive investments. It will also go a long way towards creating a new psychology, for the people will find that a new order is being laid where income differentials are going to be narrowed down and everyone is called upon to make sacrifices and nobody is allowed to have an unjust share in the national pool.

Our inability to create the conditions in which rapid mobilisation of the vast human and material resources could be accomplished lies at the root of our slow economic growth. This requires certain institutional changes and laying down of certain new social norms. The set-up that we inherited from the Britishers could not be congenial for a new economic and social order. The predicament in which we are placed today is either we take measures to change the old set-up or remain content with the slow, painful and tortuous growth rate that we are witnessing.

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Hallstein To Willy Brandt

M. S. N. MENON

IT was the quest of Germany for national glorification and for a dominant place in European and world affairs which led to the First World War. Again, the quest for world domination by the Nazis led to the Second World War. In seeking its own greatness and advantage, Germany threatened to destroy the freedom of Europe and the world, and brought death, ruin and suffering on mankind on a scale not seen before.

Today, West Germany, the sole legatee of this imperialist legacy, under leaders trained with the Nazi virus, threatens to acquire nuclear weapons either directly or through proxy. It refuses to abide by the Potsdam Treaty and hopes to alter the existing European frontiers by force. With this aim, it has rearmed itself, built up the largest military force in Western Europe, continues to thwart all efforts to normalise life in Central Europe and uses its superior economic position to exact concessions from other states.

This situation is potentially dangerous. The existence of the two German states is a fact. That they should be unified into one nation is a cherished objective of all German people. But this can be brought about only by peaceful means, certainly not by war. The Soviet Union is committed to preserve the independence and integrity of East Germany.

Though there are many contacts between the two German states, especially in cultural and commercial fields, the Federal Republic is opposed to any political understanding with the GDR. As a result, the political estrange-

ment between the two wings is total.

Thus, Germany has become a problem again to the world, the very thing which the Potsdam Treaty wanted to prevent. The problem is once again how to maintain peace in Europe, how to prevent militarism and the growth of Nazism. History has repeated itself in no uncertain manner.

The people of the other Germany—the East Germans, have given up the Germany's imperialist legacy, built up a new social order and created a viable state. Their achievements are greater than that of the West Germans in comparison, if only for the simple reason that they started from scratch.

The world does not want Germany to emerge again as a menace to mankind. In this, even the allies of West Germany, are unanimous. But the difficulty is that Germany cannot remain a weak power in Europe. Its people are inventive and industrious and also highly civilised. But this high education and civilisation did not prevent their slipping to barbarism in the Nazi era. Historians have pondered on this phenomenon without giving any assurance that this will not happen again. A great deal depends on what is being done by the Germans themselves to prevent the infamy of the Nazi barbarism.

Here is where the difference lies between the two Germanies. While the East Germans have by their new social order and beliefs made the growth of militarism and Nazism impossible, the West Germans have systematically

engendered a climate of opinion and circumstances for the growth of these very forces.

In this context it is necessary to examine the German problem and developments of the past twenty years, which have steadily estranged the two German states, to enable an understanding of the historical setting and the relevance of the problem to the future peace of Europe and the world.

It has become fashionable in the West to call the last War as the "phoney war". Whether phoney or otherwise, the suffering of Europe and the world was immense. What is more, the problems created by the war are still with us. The agreed policies of the Allied Powers on Germany collapsed through the deliberate repudiation of them by the Western powers. The result was the establishment of the two German states—the German Federal Republic, linked with the West, and the German Democratic Republic, linked with the socialist countries.

The GDR came into existence twenty years ago, on October 7, 1949 after the Federal Republic was formed earlier in September in violation of the principles of the Potsdam Agreement.

At the Potsdam Conference, the Allies decided that "German militarism and Nazism will be extirpated and the Allies will take in agreement together, now and in future, the other measures necessary to assure that Germany never again will threaten her neighbours or the peace of the world." Thus, the principal aim of the Allies was to create a democratic and peaceful Germany.

But the end of the war saw the beginning of the cold war. The aims of a new war, primarily an ideological war, were already taking firm shape in the minds of Western statesmen. The aims to extirpate Nazism and create a democratic state in the Germany were sacrificed for expediency. The immediate objective of the Western statesmen was to draw West Germany into the cold war. The West German leaders, particularly the old Nazis, warmly embraced this opportunity, for

this not only presented them with an unforeseen opportunity to rehabilitate themselves but a chance to reverse the Potsdam decisions through American agency. They, therefore, became the boldest and greatest cold warriors of all. The immediate result was the revival of Nazism in West Germany under a democratic cover. The demand to revise the frontiers and to undo the effects of the Potsdam Treaty became imperious. In the meantime, amidst all these cold-war preparations, the plans to have a German peace treaty and the unification of the two wings were sabotaged by the West because such a process did not suit its plans.

Berlin, an island within the territory of the GDR, became one of the major points of conflict. The efforts of West Germany and of the Western occupation powers were directed to destroy the GDR. These were carried out at several levels—the declaration of the “Hallstein Doctrine” prevented the recognition of the GDR by other states, the economic boycott and the introduction of a new currency system had the clear objective of destroying the GDR economy, the subversive activities from West Berlin tried to stir up rebellion and disaffection among the GDR people.

The Hallstein Doctrine was enforced at first through American pressure; later the FRG was strong enough to impose it on other states by itself.

The entry of West Germany into the NATO was the culmination of this process. The rearmament programme, the total identification with US policies and objectives in Europe further aggravated the relations between West Germany and socialist countries. What is more, the two wings failed to become UN members.

The GDR, in its efforts to bring about better relations with the Federal Republic, proposed that a German Confederation be formed. Its aim was to achieve co-operation of both German states on the basis of peaceful co-existence for the purpose of preventing a further

estrangement of the two wings and to create the pre-requisites for final unification as a peace-loving democratic neutral state. But the GDR's efforts came to nothing, because the West German leaders had come to rely totally on the policy of John Foster Dulles to “roll back communism.” It was hoped fondly by the FRG leaders that either through internal weakness or other internal developments, the eastern wing would collapse or be “liberated”. This hope was to be falsified.

West Germany refused to accept the Confederation plan. It also did not accept the GDR proposal to convert West Berlin into a demilitarised neutral Free City as an immediate measure to prevent conflicts.

With the defence build up in West Germany a strident note entered in its demand for revision of the Potsdam Treaty and the annexation of the GDR. In fact, there were clear threats to the security of the GDR. In the circumstances, it was necessary for the GDR to safeguard its security. This was achieved by the Friendship Treaty with the Soviet Union.

It was claimed by the other occupying powers of West Germany that the Treaty was an effort on the part of the Soviet Union to stabilise the division of the two German states. West Germany opposed the Treaty.

However, there was rethinking in Washington in view of the obduracy of the West German leaders in coming to any agreement on the German problem. It looked as though America's European policy was being directed by Bonn. Thus President Kennedy, before his death, had come closer to the view that there was no such danger of a permanent division of the two Germanies. On the contrary, it was believed that normalisation of relation would speed up the process of integration.

But West Germany had no plan to normalise relations with the GDR. In the meantime, the GDR made great advance in consolidating its gains as a socialist state in spite of sabotage, provocation and the continuous

exodus of its people to the Western wing, so that twelve years ago the *Manchester Guardian* could write that “...in their own way, the East Germans too have brought off a minor economic miracle... they have made their rump state economically viable.”

The political and economic stability of the GDR became galling to the West German leaders. They found that the Western powers would not go to the extent of provoking a world war in order to satisfy their demands. This final reckoning with facts made them revise their policy. They realised that the GDR would not fall by subversion and that the key to reunification lay in Moscow, either by a show of force making Moscow give up its commitment to defend East Germany or by bribes. The demand for the possession of atomic bombs and the conciliatory gestures towards Moscow were aimed to achieve these objectives. But Moscow was firm. It was not prepared to whittle down the Potsdam objectives of the Allies.

It was in the face of this refusal by Moscow to make any concessions that the new “eastern policy” was formulated. Its architects were mainly the Social Democratic Party leaders. This policy however has long been in gestation reflecting Johnson's policy of “bridge-building” with Eastern Europe. Hence, it would be wrong and dangerous to assess the development of Bonn's eastern policy in isolation from the evolution of US global policy.

Bonn's eastern policy is also dictated by internal developments. The West German nation presents today a different picture from what it was during the Adenauer era. There is a polarisation of forces—the workers, students and intellectuals have come out in opposition to the barren policies of Bonn. On the other hand, the neo-nazi forces have emerged as serious contenders for power.

Bonn's eastern policy is a combination of the views of such men like Brandt, Strauss, Gutenberg, Shroeder, etc. Its essence was to detach the socialist

countries of Eastern Europe from the Soviet Union.

In 1965 Schroeder, the then Foreign Minister, wrote an article in the *Foreign Affairs*, a US magazine, entitled "Germany Looks at Eastern Europe" in which he expounded the policy of "reconciliation" with the East. Schroeder admitted here that old methods would not accomplish this task.

Strauss, the present Finance Minister and the strongman of West Germany, follows the same aims. He wants to create a united Europe excluding the Soviet Union, in which Germany (reunited by the exigencies of the new situation) would be the most dominant power.

The proposal of Foreign Minister Willy Brandt, as stated in an article in *Foreign Affairs*, does not appear to be different. He deals with the kind of "order" Bonn wants to create in Europe. His project calls for three elements (1) "agreed renunciation of force by (2) a guaranteed and balanced European security system, with the participation of both world powers for (3) a durable and just order in which can be found a solution to the German question." These innocent-looking proposals hide deep designs. If Bonn was sincere in its professions, it should have accepted the non-aggression pact offered by Moscow. But Bonn did not accept it, thus exposing the hollowness of its proposals.

One may well ask why Bonn has taken the initiative in Europe to open up a "dialogue" with the east and what is really behind the eastern policy? The answer is not far to seek and it is being talked about in Bonn's political circles. They say openly that "nothing more can be expected from the West" in the pursuit of Bonn's designs. In these circumstances Bonn has taken up the dialogue and announced its new "eastern policy". In a way, it also reflects Bonn's dominant position in Europe and NATO today.

But the leaders in Bonn are not united in their policy. While Strauss insists on a policy oriented primarily for the integration of Western Europe, Brandt and Schroeder are inclined to attach more importance to the task of

strengthening the alliance with the US.

What was the immediate change in the policy towards the eastern neighbours as a result of the eastern policy? While West German policy towards these neighbours remained static for twenty years, based on the inflexible laws of the "Hallstein Doctrine", in 1966 Bonn sent its Minister of Economic Affairs to Bucharest with the clear objective of establishing diplomatic relations. Dr. Kiesinger suggested that the Hallstein Doctrine could perhaps be reinterpreted and that his Government might find a way out for closer and better relations, in particular with Poland and Czechoslovakia. Why these two countries? This is based on Bonn's theory of the "outer" and "inner" ring of the Communist world. Poland and Czechoslovakia fall in the "inner ring" because these two countries suffered most from the Nazis, their memories are bitter. Similarly, most of the German refugees who are out for revenge also come from these two countries. Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria fall in the "outer" ring. They have not suffered so much from the Nazis, their memories are not keen and the Germans who have left these countries have no desire to return to them. Yugoslavia and the GDR are different categories.

Bonn's calculation is that relations with the "outer" ring can be established at any propitious moment. But the "inner" ring countries need special attention. And not only for the reasons mentioned above. The Czechs want Bonn to repudiate the Munich agreement by which the West betrayed them. The Poles, on the other hand, want Bonn to recognise the Oder-Neisse frontiers as the permanent border between Germany and Poland.

Bonn is neither willing to repudiate the Munich agreement nor recognise the Oder-Neisse frontier. Bonn holds that the Munich agreement is valid, though not in force, and that the Czechs should rely on good faith and on West German declaration not to resort to force to win back lost territories.

As for the Oder-Neisse, the

Potsdam agreement stipulated that the eastern frontiers of Germany would be fixed after a German Peace Treaty. The West Germans want to retain this trump card to bargain when a peace treaty finally comes about.

Some years ago, Heinrich von Brentano of the Christian Democrats, and Carlo Schmidt of the Social Democratic Party suggested that if Germany were "unified in freedom" then the present eastern frontiers could be recognised. Unfortunately, it found little support in Bonn.

It is being said in Bonn that the major political parties are anxious about the votes of the German refugees and would not take a stand against their wishes. But those who have come in touch with these refugees have found no desire on their part to return. Thus the "refugee question" is kept alive by a few professional politicians among the refugees. A pertinent question arises here: if Bonn is so much concerned about the wishes of these few million refugees, should it not show an equal concern for the wishes of the 17 million people of the GDR for a way of life of their own?

Any German "return" is now out of the question. Nor will reunification come about either by a policy of force or even by a mere "relaxation of tension." Times have changed. The Czechoslovak events showed the real nature of Bonn's "eastern policy". This will not be forgotten either by Moscow or by the socialist countries.

The "German problem" affects India and its foreign and domestic policy. Our Government has so far put off the recognition of the GDR. This policy is based on pressures and fears, something we should never accept if we believe in an enlightened foreign policy based on our self-interest and self-respect.

There are two factors which we should keep in mind. Unification of the two Germanies cannot be brought about except by peaceful means. It is sometimes argued that the recognition of GDR will not help the peaceful processes for an eventual unification. But, as we have seen, Bonn's policy is

(Continued on page 38)

Correlation of Politics and Economy

G. GLEZERMAN

THE dialectical understanding of interdependence and interconditionality of politics and economy ranks among the most important principles of Marxism-Leninism. As Lenin pointed out, it stems from the very foundations of our philosophy which recognizes the determining role of economic system in the development of society, and, at the same time, an active influence of politics on economy, their decisive significance, under certain conditions, for the success of socialist transformations.

From the emergence of Marxism to our time, the problem of correlation of politics and economy has been an object of a lively struggle of scientific communism against reformism and anarchism, against revisionism from Right and "Left." Absolutization of one side of this dialectical unity of opposites, the divorce of economy from politics or *vice versa*—herein lies the theoretical source of many vacillations and delusions in the Communist and Workers' movements and in the construction of socialism.

I

DETERMINING the role of politics, Marxism-Leninism proceeds from the premise that on no account can it be the primary factor of the transformation and development of society. The nature

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of a social system, transition from one structure to another, class composition and its changes—all this is determined, in the final count, by economy, by the development of relations of production.

But from this alone it does not follow that the role of politics is reduced to passive reflection of economy. Politics come out as quite a powerful instrument of exerting an active influence on economic development. In politics, Lenin saw a concentrated expression of economy. This definition points out simultaneously to the dependence of politics on economy and to their role as a force concentrating in itself the economic potentialities of one or another society or class. Not being an aim in itself, political domination comes out as a necessary instrument of the realization of their economic interests.

In a socialist revolution the role of a new state power not only grows but also acquires a qualitatively new character. Unlike bourgeois power, a new, proletarian, power has no ready forms of economic structure conceived within the old system; it is called upon to create, to build this structure anew, having for this only the material and organizational prerequisites that have been left to it by capitalism. Hence, state power appears in an entirely new role here, the role of an organizer of the construction of socialist economy.

Under these conditions, politics acquire decisive importance: on the correctness of the policy of the party of the working class and its state, the destinies of socialism depend, providing, of course, that necessary objective prerequisites are available. This is why Lenin said that politics decide the destiny of the republic and that politics are, actually, the fate of millions of people.

The decisive role of politics is well realized by the enemies of socialism as well. The history of the socialist revolution in the USSR and in other countries shows convincingly that all attempts to restore the old order of things started with attacks on the socialist state and the leading role of the party of the working class, for the purpose of either ousting it from the leadership of society or imposing false politics on it. Changing their tactics to suit the occasion, the anti-socialist forces bend their efforts today, too, towards undermining the leading role of the Communists, as has been shown by the events in Czechoslovakia, for example. The reactionaries know that in order to undermine the economic and social mainstays of socialism, it is first of all necessary to liquidate the basis of socialist statehood and remove the party of the working class from leadership, doing all this under the motto of "liberalization." These tactics of the enemy is another confirmation of the fact that the politics of the Communist Party play the decisive role in the destinies of socialism.

II

THE magnifying of the role of politics in transforming society at times gives rise to an illusion as to their self-sufficiency and independence from the economy. Such an illusion is spread by revisionists "from the

left" who are slipping to positions of the "theory of violence", alien to Marxism. They absolutize the role of politics in general and political violence in particular. Imagining that by using this weapon, it may be possible to rebuild society the way they deem it necessary. Thus, the Maoists preach that "politics—is a marshal," "politics—is a commanding force", etc. They present the inter-relation between politics and the economy as relations between a commander and an army submitted to the latter. Such an interpretation turns Marxism upside down and inevitably leads to the false conception of the omnipotence of politics, ignoring the determining role of objective economic development.

As presented by bourgeois ideologues politics is a sphere of arbitrary actions, in which success is determined by the dexterity of manoeuvres, the art of subterfuge, etc. In the West German dictionary of social sciences published in Tübingen in 1964 it is said, for instance, that the sphere of politics lies in the twilight between the light of the present-day and the darkness of the future: "it is in this kingdom of twilight that not the definite nature of cognition but the uncertainty of the struggle reigns. Uncertainty is an element of politics cannot base their decisions on truth." Thus, the possibility for a scientifically founded

It stands to reason that one cannot deny the fact that in a political struggle there is always an element of uncertainty, indefiniteness. Politics is an art. However, the politics of the working class, of its Marxist-Leninist Party, are also at the same time a science based on the foundation of the cognition of the laws of socialist development. And only such a policy ensures an effective guidance of life and the development of socialist society, the first society in history which is built on a scientific foundation.

Attempts to transform politics into a self-contained force lead to adventurism in practice which in the final analysis ends up in fiasco. Politics can be successful only when based on a sober evaluation of objective conditions, of the real correlation of class forces and not on subjective wishes, but on an understanding of the real processes of social and in the first place of economic development.

The results of the adventurist policy of the "Three Red Banners" ("the New General Line", "the Great Leap", "the People's Communes") advanced in China in 1958 vividly show what reluctance to take into account real conditions leads to. This policy represented a pretentious attempt of the Mao Tse-tung group, permeated with great-power chauvinist aspirations, to jump over necessary stages of socialist construction, to dictate employing political means arbitrary rates of development, to replace the material base of the socialist economy with political slogans. Naturally, such an attempt could not be successful; it not only failed to lead to an upsurge in China's economy but on the contrary, caused great harm to it.

The adventurism of the Mao Tse-tung group is also manifested in its completely ignoring of the task confronting the proletariat on winning power—that of proving in practice the economic superiority of socialism over capitalism, of achieving such a state where

socialism surpasses the capitalist system in labour productivity, in the economic efficiency of production and in the standard of living of the working people. V.I. Lenin as is known also linked the success of socialism in the world arena with the solution of this task, stressing that the main and decisive impact on the development of the world revolutionary process on the part of the socialist countries is in their economic achievements. Contrary to this, the Mao Tse-tung group considers concern for improving the well-being of the working people a hangover of "economism", belittling the importance of the political struggle, and conduct a policy not of developing and improving the socialist economy but of political adventures in domestic and in international affairs. This adventurist course is aimed at attaining the unimpeded domination of Mao and his group within the country as well as their hegemony in the world revolutionary movement.

III

THE Leninist principle of the unity of a political and economic approach to the problems of socialist and communist construction follows from the above correlation of politics and economy. This principle demands that all the problems of building up a new society be regarded both from the viewpoint of their political significance and from the viewpoint of their importance to building up and developing a socialist economy and culture.

The political and economic approaches cannot, of course, be combined eclectically, as Bukharin had recommended when he put them side by side in the discussion on trade unions in 1921. Objecting to this, Vladimir Lenin stressed the priority of political approach to the solution of all problems, including those of economy. The point is that ".....without a correct political approach to the matter, the given class will not be able to retain its domination and, consequently, will not be able to attain its production targets either". The priority of the political approach is due to the fact that the preservation and consolidation of the power of the working class is the chief condition for the successful solution of all problems involved in building a new society. But a correct political approach is not enough, a practical solution of all concrete—economic, cultural and other—problems is essential.

Naturally, after the political power of the working class has been established and this power has been consolidated and the correct political course has been elaborated, the centre of gravity of the Party's and socialist state's activity is shifted to the development of the economy. The building up of economy and culture becomes under these circumstances, as Lenin used to stress, the main sphere of struggle for socialism. In this respect "it is not politics, but the economy that acquires priority significance."

This, precisely, is what the Maoists do not want to understand.

The bourgeois opponents of Marxism and the revisionists who follow in their footsteps often regard the political approach to economic issues as

a manifestation of subjectivism and as the thrusting of alien voluntarist solutions upon the economy. Under various pretexts they have been championing, as applied to the socialist economy, the thesis that this must develop without interference on the part of the state. Some of them proclaim, for instance, the necessity of a "self-regulating economy", understanding it as giving up plan assignments to the national economy and handing the regulating functions over to the market. Others demand the decentralisation of economic management functions, which must reduce to naught the economic-organisation function of the socialist state.

The revisionist idea of "spontaneously developing socialism" underlay the project of the "new Czechoslovak model of socialism" set forth in the manifesto-article "On the Eve of Decision" published in July, 1968. Its authors demanded that "the economy of enterprises be divorced from the wardship of the state, that enterprises be patterned as an economic subject on the basis a self-management system...and that commodity relations be deployed in full..." No one will dispute the fact that today, in the conditions of large-scale and complex socialist production and of the present scientific and technological revolution, socialist enterprises are gaining ever greater managerial independence. In the organisation of production, the economic levers connected with commodity-money relations also play a more important role now. The comprehensive utilization of these relations with the purpose of boosting the efficiency of socialist production is among the important features of the economic reforms carried out in a number of socialist countries. But this does not diminish the economic role of the socialist state which performs the paramount function of planning and organising the national economy. Meanwhile, the authors of the above "manifesto" regarded the economy as being among the spheres which "do not come under" the activity of political bodies.

The state's interference into the economy, as depicted by Right-wing revisionists, looks like the main evil to be done away with by decentralising economic life. However, they do not tell us how to combine the "new model" of socialism mapped by them with the trends of scientific and technological progress of today. They seem to be ignorant of the fact that there can be no scientific and technological revolution in our time without the participation of the state.

With the present scale of socialisation of production, bourgeois economists admit that there should be a regulation of economic development even under the conditions of capitalism. Yet, with state-monopoly capitalism, this is being done in the interests of the monopolies, and by the virtue of this fact alone this regulation is restricted. It is also restricted (and this is the main thing) because the economic foundation of capitalism—private capitalist property—inevitably gives birth to chaotic market elements, and the bourgeois state is compelled to adapt itself to these in its interference in the process of reproduction.

On the other hand, socialism which is large-scale socialised production, with the domination of public

property on the means of production, cannot but subordinate the development of economy to the interests of the people. These interests are actually expressed in the policy of the Communist Party and the socialist state, in the state centralised planning and management of economy.

The actual meaning of the proposals of the authors of the afore-mentioned article is that the chaotic market elements should be given free play, and this can only bring about disproportions, lack of proper planning and other tendencies alien to socialism. These ideas were most clearly expressed in the speeches of Ota Sik who comes out for a rehashing of the Czechoslovak economy according to the Western pattern.

Planned economic management, based on the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, is one of the major advantages of socialist economy, and thanks to this advantage an opportunity is created for placing at the service of society all its resources, so as to ensure maximum rates of economic growth. Then, who benefits from the proposal to drop this advantage, and in whose interests is this proposal made? Certainly not in the interests of socialism.

In reality you merely have to sensibly use this advantage so that centralised planning would not turn into bureaucratic pseudo-planning, so that the activities of the socialist state, as the herald of the single will of the working people, would be effectively combined with the constantly growing economic initiative of enterprises and their workers.

Thus, the political approach is not something thrust upon the socialist economy from outside; it is a *sine qua non* of the very nature of the socialist economy, which cannot develop chaotically, without a plan. Naturally, the political approach, if it is a sound one, does not contradict the requirements and criteria of economic efficacy. Quite the contrary—it is aimed at achieving maximum efficacy of socialist production. At the same time efficacy as such should be assessed not simply from the stand of the interest of an individual enterprise (such an approach would be too narrow and restricted), but from the stand of the national interests, which are actually embodied in the policy of the socialist state.

The solution of any major economic problem in the conditions of socialism inevitably acquires political meaning. Whether it is a case, for instance, of the changes in the distribution of productive forces or in the rates of development of industry and agriculture, it is necessary to take into account not only the growth of efficacy of production, but also keep in mind what influence these changes will have on the solution of social problems—the approximation between town and country, the levelling out of the standards of development of economy in different republics, the relations between nations, etc.

In modern conditions, when there is a community of socialist countries, a whole system of states, when a socialist division of labour is being established among them, the development of national economy in each individual country should be effected with a view not only to the national but also the international interests of world socialism. All this shows that it is impossible to isolate the solution of concrete

economic problems from political issues, that is questions dealing with the relations between classes, nations and states. The fact is that politics are actually, according to V.I. Lenin's well-known definition, the relation between classes, as well as nations and states.

Consequently, the quarantining of economy from politics in the conditions of socialism is impossible in general, and the calls made by the revisionists for such an insulation merely camouflage their desire to subordinate the development of economy not to nation-wide, but narrow parochial interests, not to international, but nationalistic and egoistic interests. These theses of the revisionists are eagerly used by reactionary forces in the struggle against socialism.

IV

POLITICS is an important lever of influencing all public relations. On the one hand, with the help of legislative and legal decisions, organs of power and administration, the socialist state directly influences the development of public relations. On the other hand, the state regulates public relations indirectly, by influencing them economically. Thus, gradual rapprochement between collective-farm property and property of the whole people is a result of the growth of the socialist economy, the higher level of socialisation, the material and technical basis of collective-farm production, etc. Since the growth of productive forces is of decisive importance for the development of economic, and in the last analysis of other public relations, the state has an opportunity of influencing this development too through the working out and realisation of corresponding plans of development of production. Therefore economic development plans always set forth not only economic but also social tasks. All plans for the development of the Soviet national economy, beginning with the first one and ending with the present five-year plan express the unity of economic, social and political tasks. The economic tasks of the present five-year

plan, those of industrial development of entire social production and the raising of its economic efficiency, are closely connected with social and political tasks, that is, to continue to bring closer the conditions of life in the countryside and town, to strengthen the alliance of workers and peasants, to develop fraternal cooperation among the peoples of the Soviet Union.

In guiding social processes, various methods of management, which must correctly go with each other, are used. This first of all implies the combining of administrative methods of management with economic ones, conviction with compulsion, one-man management with collective forms of management, centralised guidance with local initiative, etc. Far from rejecting administrative methods, which remain necessary at the first phase of Communism, the socialist state ever more fully uses economic methods of meaning the national economy, ever more widely develops the initiative of millions of working people. In doing this it takes into account and uses the stimulating role of public, collective and personal interests of the working people, ensuring their most effective combination.

A scientific approach to the direction of the life of society requires an analysis of the degree of effectiveness of various methods of management and their constant perfection. An important step towards this is implementation and further perfection of the new system of economic management, worked out by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. As the 23rd CPSU Congress pointed out, this system creates more favourable conditions for the rational use of gigantic productive forces for the rapid growth of the people's well-being and the full unfolding of the advantages of the socialist system. Practical implementation of the principles of the economic policy, worked out by the Party, makes it possible organically to combine centralised planned management of economy with a wide development of working people's initiative everywhere and of socialist democracy. The Leninist principle of the unity of politics and economics finds here a new confirmation and practical implementation.

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Indo-Soviet Economic Cooperation

BALRAJ MEHTA

I have read with interest the comments and criticism that have appeared in *Mainstream* on my two articles on the important issue of Indo-Soviet Economic Cooperation (December 14 and 21). But I regret that they have failed to grasp the problems that I had posed and to deal with them objectively and seriously. Political or emotional commitment to the cause of Indo-Soviet friendship to which I readily subscribe can be no good substitute for an objective and informed examination of problems of trade and economic cooperation. For, unlike in political matters where slogans and general principles may work some time, trade and economic relations raise immediately concrete problems and can be tackled only on that basis.

I was a little disappointed to find that an underlying assumption in the criticism and comments offered has been that I had played down either the significance or scope of the Indo-Soviet economic cooperation in the past or I had painted a gloomy picture of its future prospects. I am sorry that anyone should have carried such an impression; for, it was far from my intention. On the contrary, I had been very clear and explicit about its importance in the past and had emphasised its role in the future. But precisely because I recognise

its great positive contribution in the past I thought it necessary to examine the problems it is lately facing and to try to discuss the best framework for its future growth. It does not appear to have been appreciated by the critics that I was discussing the *new phase* in Indo-Soviet economic cooperation, as the title of my article itself makes it clear.

A close examination of what the critics have said has not helped me to find out what exactly are they trying to contend against. They accept that the economic structure of India, particularly its industrial structure, has undergone important developments in the past decade. They agree that this calls for significant changes in the pattern and form of assistance and collaboration from outside agencies for the country's future economic development. They could not but concede that this has its implications for the Indo-Soviet economic cooperation too. But in the effort to delineate these implications they have landed themselves into utter confusion and even recklessness. It will be useful in this context to briefly examine some of their propositions.

Sri B.M. Gupta (*Mainstream*, Republic Day Special) has devoted himself mainly to a criticism of the present India Government's preference for economic

relations with the West and its failure in making a success of its plans of economic development. But he has not examined the problem that such a situation poses for Indo-Soviet economic cooperation in the concrete, except to nostalgically speak about its past achievements and its potential if Indian planning were to revive on the right lines and the Western aid were to dry up. Such an approach does not help in either assessing or solving the problems as they exist and is a mere exercise in wishful thinking.

But Sri Gupta has expressed views about the bilateral pattern of Indo-Soviet trade which should be more critically examined. This pattern provided a useful framework for the start and rapid expansion of trade between India and the Soviet Union (and other socialist countries of East Europe) in the first phase of our economic development. But the last three years of stagnation in this trade has clearly brought home the fact that this pattern is now under strain. To the extent our economy diversifies and the economic structure in the socialist countries sheds its rigid character and becomes flexible and decentralised (both these trends are under way) the bilateral, barter system becomes a constraint rather than a factor of expansion. This is being increasingly recognized both in India as well as in the socialist countries and efforts are being made on both sides to gradually introduce an element of multilateralism and convertibility to sustain the growth potential of economic exchanges between them.

The primitive nature of barter form of exchanges need not be glorified in the growing complex forms of modern economic relations. The diversification in the volume and composition of trade exchanges, the accent on price adjustments, quality and competitiveness cannot function within the straitjacket of barter form and have to step out of it to become effective. If elements of barter have still to be retained for some time more, it is because of the weakness and deficiencies of the economies engaged in such a system of exchange and may

be necessary, to provide protection from the competition from more advanced economies. Free convertibility and multi-lateralism are a sign of the strength of an economy if they can be supported and are a goal to be striven for.

Saral Patra (*Mainstream*, January 11) is much more understanding of the issues that I had raised. But even he stretched the point in an effort to gloss over them when he suggested that I had contended that "there is no scope for further economic cooperation with the Soviet Union". I had done nothing of the kind. For the same reason he pinned his hope on the trade protocol signed between India and the Soviet Union for 1969 as the conclusive answer. For one thing, it is all right to sign a protocol and quite another to achieve its obligations. 1968 showed rather a large shortfall in the achievement on both sides and more particularly on the side of the Soviet Union. For another, the 1969 protocol buttresses what I pleaded for—that for the trade exchanges between the Soviet Union and India to expand will have to be diversified in their composition and to the extent that the 1969 protocol provides for that, it is to be welcomed. This trend will have to go forward in the coming years and should be fully supported.

Saral Patra's observations about the reasons for under-utilization of steel and other metallurgical capacities built with the assistance of Soviet Union are, however, irrelevant. He says "The fault, obviously, lies not in the Soviet inability to import their products which would make for full utilisation of their capacity but in our failure to continue the investment programme—". I am in full agreement with this and I had nowhere suggested that the fault was of the Soviet Union. On the contrary, I had said that it was not even the Soviet responsibility and it would be "naive" to rely on the Soviet support either for running or the disposal of the products of heavy engineering and metallurgical complexes

which have come up in the country. They are entirely Indian problem and responsibility.

What disappointed me most was the contribution of Sri M. S. N. Menon (*Mainstream* January 4). It makes a whole host of misplaced assumptions and betrays both gullibility and ignorance of the issues under discussion. He starts by warning against any complacency about India's industrial progress even while going into ecstasies about the contribution of the Soviet Union to this development. The lack of logic in this is quite clear. Those who really appreciate the contribution of the Soviet Union to India's industrial development in the past, as I do, should have a better respect for the achievements of the advance of Indian industrialisation so far, whatever other distortions and strains might have emerged in the country's planning process in its first phase.

Another interesting observation made by Sri Menon in this context is that in spite of its "50 years of planned and concentrated effort" the Soviet Union is still placing emphasis on heavy industries. I have no quarrel with the Soviet Union on that account. Its responsibilities as one of the two Super Powers has its own compulsions. Nor do I suggest that India does not have to go on with its programme of industrialisation including building of heavy industries. But this has nothing whatever to do with the problems that have arisen in the pattern and composition of the Indo-Soviet economic cooperation. The issue here is the tempo, the forms and direction of the effort in future and the extent and the manner in which the Soviet Union can contribute to it. Incidentally, it is necessary to mention in this context that the concept "heavy industry" should not be vulgarised to mean merely mild steel and heavy engineering in the modern world after mid-sixties (even if it had some limited validity 20 years ago). Heavy industry concept in the midst of modern technological advances includes many more areas and higher sophistication than the far too limited connotation applied to it by some.

It is interesting that Sri Menon himself mentions the rather instructive fact that in its efforts "to catch up with the USA", the Soviet Union is importing at present one-third of its total imports in the form of machinery and equipment—but "they are mostly for the new lines of technology which have been developed in the post-war period". The whole argument of my discussion on the Indo-Soviet Union cooperation precisely was that India too, after having achieved a certain capacity in traditional heavy industry sector such as steel and metallurgy is now in need of importing newer technologies to develop in new areas of economic activity and to fill up gaps in our industrial structure. I suggested that to the extent the Soviet Union can provide assistance in this it will be most welcome and since I believe that the Soviet Union can do so at least in part, the prospects of Indo-Soviet cooperation are bright. But it will be extremely frustrating for this cooperation if it is argued, as Sri Menon does, that "the Soviet Union, unlike any other economy, is a self-sufficient economy" (contradicting his own earlier observation that it too has to import new technologies in some areas) and then expectations and pressures are built up which will achieve no worthwhile results.

It is precisely because of such contradictory positions in his elaborate discussion of the possible areas of future industrial and economic collaboration between India and Soviet Union, Sri Menon steps on slippery ground. For instance, he glibly assumes that the Soviet Union will carry on Bokaro Steel Plant construction in its second and third stages and will also build new power plants. This comes easily to one who formally accepts the achievements of India's industrial development in the first phase, to which the Soviet Union made a signal contribution, but who clings to the idea that we remain dependent on outside support for further developments on the same lines. The most disconcerting feature of such thinking is that while there is passionate opposi-

tion to the Western moves for supplanting Indian capability and talent in India's economic development on self-reliant basis—a worthy thing to do—critical judgment is allowed to be blunted in discussing the Soviet economic assistance. This does injury not only to the cause of self-reliant development by India but to the Soviet Union too and its positive contribution. The fact is that in mild steel, aluminium and power generation and a whole host of other branches, India today has the capacity and the ability to develop further entirely on its own and there is no need for foreign help of any kind for that, either from the Soviet Union or the West.

Another interesting idea put forward by Sri Menon is that the Soviet Union will help us in creating internal raw material resources, production and marketing for our existing industrial capacity. Undoubtedly, we can take some help from the Soviet Union in training technical cadres and designing capability. But here too the area will be confined to some specialised and not traditional branches. In the matter of exploiting our mineral resources, ferrous and to an extent even non-ferrous metallurgy, oil exploration on land, oil refining and fertilizer technology India has made great strides forward. Only specialised equipment and machine parts are required to be imported for growth in these and related fields.

Most amazing is the suggestion to get the Soviet help for organising sales of the products of Indian production capacities. I am not aware that the Soviet Union has developed any efficiency in sales organisation in capitalist or mixed economy markets such as of India. In fact, the Soviet Union is still grappling with and not without any outstanding success with sales efficiency within the highly integrated and centralised market under its socialist system itself. To talk of inviting the Soviet assistance in such areas is to indulge in an amusing make-belief which neither helps India nor the Soviet Union in tackling the problems of economic cooperation between the two

countries, so different in their social and political structures as India and the Soviet Union are.

It is imperative today to examine objective realities both in India and the Soviet Union, to take into account the possible lines of future economic growth of both and to explore areas of cooperation on that basis. I attempted to do precisely that. I am sorry that the critics have not cared to do that and offer any worthwhile rebuttal. I will be glad if it can be done.

Here I would like to caution against a temptation which arises from political considerations and ideological sympathy or antipathy. In economic matters, given the political friendship that undoubtedly exists between India and the Soviet Union and which must be upheld, the issues will have to be examined on the basis of mutual advantage and exacting requirements of profitable economic exchanges between the two countries. There can be no lasting expansion in this area except on that basis. Non-commercial considerations, political pressures and momentary gains will make the area of economic cooperation patchy, uncertain and shaky. This applies to thinking both in the Soviet Union and in India.

A major issue of interest, for instance, these days is the big

wagons deal negotiations between the Soviet Union and India. Inevitably the negotiations are hard and bargaining is tough. The deal will be clinched if both sides find economic advantage in it and not because one or the other side is making a largess to the other. To say, as it is sometimes done both in political circles in the Soviet as well as Indian side, that the Soviet Union offered to place the order to lift Indian industry out of recession and not because it needs the wagons, is to take the issue out of the realm of reality and dooms it to frustration.

The wagons deal which is to operate in the next ten years obviously can have no relevance to the industrial recession in the last two years which is already passing. It will go through if it offers tangible economic advantage arising out of the principles of international division of labour both to India and the Soviet Union and for no other reasons. This is true of not only the wagons deal but of all areas—present as well as those which will develop in the future—for economic cooperation and trade between the two countries. The problems of Indo-Soviet economic cooperation should be examined on this basis if such an examination is to be worthwhile and is to offer their solutions.

The Wrong Focus

M. S. N. MENON

AM I gullible? It looks I am, so says Balraj Mehta, and ignorant too. But didn't I refuse to gulp down what he wrote? See the "contradiction", Mr. Mehta? But let me spare more of those adjectives he has used. I started as a satirist in *Mainstream* and I haven't forgotten that old trade. But, enough...

I still cannot get the drift of his argument or the justification for

his views. Two propositions clearly emerged from his two articles—that India is already industrialised to an extent that all that is needed is to fill in some blanks, and that in future there is less scope for Indo-Soviet economic cooperation. I do not agree with either of these views and I gave my reasons for it which I do not wish to repeat here.

I will take up only one point from his reply. He writes that

"political and emotional commitment...can be no substitute for objective and informed examination of problems of trade and economic cooperation." And he makes much ado about this. I am sorry that he has perhaps forgotten that the study of economics began as the study of "political economy" and it remains so today. There is no economic policy without a political motivation. Hence the "objective" situation is the political framework, not the logic of "purely" economic compulsions. And if we examine this "objective" situation, nothing has changed. The world remains the same; the West wants India to give up its goal of economic independence; the socialist countries want India to keep it. Their help and cooperation will depend on our future policies.

I have no desire to repeat the history of India's industrial development, how it came about, the difficulties we had to face, our surrenders to Western pressures and so on. In fact, Sri Mehta himself presented some of these problems in the columns of *Mainstream*. He ought to know. But now he sings another tune—that of the "objective" situation. Does he think now that we can expand the public sector through Western assistance? Or, is it that he has lost faith in the public sector and wants the further development of India to be undertaken by Western private enterprise?

I see another underlying assumption in his writing. He thinks that the Soviet Union and the socialist countries cannot provide us the know-how on the latest technologies. I think he is underestimating the capacity of Soviet industries as also of countries like the GDR, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. They are catching up fast in every line.

I am afraid Sri Mehta, like many of the Congressmen who swore by socialism, has given up the original quest. Does he still want planning for radical advance? If so, the West will not promote it. The help must come from the socialist countries. And we need a great deal of help more. I am quite familiar with this kind of conversion of people—they start

by arguing that human nature cannot be changed and so decide to let it follow its course; that the public sector breeds bureaucracy and hence conclude that it is bound to remain inefficient or that private profit is the spur to enterprise and hence prefer capitalism to other forms. In this process of evolution, they forget the people, their condition and needs.

Another point Sri Mahta has taken up is about the problems of Indo-Soviet trade, which he characterises as "primitive barter". I cannot understand how any form of exchange can be called "primitive" when it satisfies the essential conditions of trade, namely mutual advantage. In any case, this particular form of ex-

change was evolved because of our inability to make the rupee convertible. This position has not changed today. It is not only the government which was eagerly seized this form of exchange, but many economists have praised the system. And it is not only India which has bilateral system of exchange with the Soviet Union but other Western countries. Sri Mehta completely ignores both the circumstances under which this system was evolved as also its merits.

Shri Mehta may do well by recollecting some of his earlier articles in *Mainstream*. These might yet restore to him the political perspective which he seems to have now lost of which he had a keen awareness then.

Telangana in

Turmoil-II

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

III

THE Telangana agitation is not a product merely of political developments: it is essentially and basically an economic problem. In a way, the present agitation deserves to be welcomed, since it has brought into limelight the problem of regional imbalances and the discontent of the people living in regions which have remained backward, underdeveloped and even neglected.

It would be treading on controversy to quote figures of expenditure in the Telangana region, how much was under-spent, what were its surpluses

and so on, for, these ranged from Rs. 31 crores as quoted by the Government sources to Rs. 70 crores, as given by the Telangana leaders. The figures rolled out by the Regional Committee, which consists of the Telangana legislators, were themselves contested. At the moment, an auditor-general deputed by the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India is going through the files to ascertain the actual surpluses of Telangana.

But, the all-round backwardness of the Telangana region was an accepted fact. According to the working paper prepared by the Planning Department of the State Government, the index number of development in all the Telangana districts excluding Adilabad, Nizamabad and

The first part of this article appeared in last week's Mainstream (February 8, 1969).

Hyderabad (because of the location of large industries) is below the State's average. The level of development of the coastal districts of Krishna, Guntur, East Godavari and West Godavari has been approximately 50 per cent higher than the State average, the development in Telangana has been about 27 per cent less than the State average. Among the districts, the index number has been the highest for the Krishna district (165) and lowest for Mahbubnagar in Telangana (39.5). The position of Telangana has been much worse than that of the traditionally backward Rayalaseema. The total index of development for Rayalaseema is 90.5, while that of Telangana is only 72.7. Even including Hyderabad, which is developed in all respects, its index is only 78.4.

The index of per-capita gross value of agricultural output in the coastal districts has been 129.5, while in Telangana, it is only 84, which is again less than in Rayalaseema (95.0).

The index of literacy as percentage of the total population in the coastal districts is 134.9, as against 65.6 in Telangana. In Rayalaseema, the percentage is 99.5.

The index of percapita income is Rs. 188 in Telangana as against 292 in coastal districts. Comparing with the districts, it is Rs. 336 in Guntur and Rs. 302 in Krishna as against Rs. 147 in Warangal and Rs. 175 in Khammam.

The number of hospital beds per lakh population in Telangana is only 18.6 while it is 55.6 in the coastal Andhra.

The total road mileage per 100 square miles in the coastal districts is 37 miles as against nine miles only in Telangana.

These indices are not merely indices of development or under-development but indices of callous neglect on the part of successive Ministries starting from that led by late Burgula Ramakrishna Rao, followed by the one led by Sri B. Gopalareddy, Sri N. Sanjivareddy, Sri D. Sanjeeviah and presently Sri K. Brahmanandareddy, to develop the backward region not with any additional funds,

but with the funds allotted to that region.

It would, however, be unfair to say that all the allotted funds, unspent in Telangana, were expended in the Andhra region and that it has become prosperous at the expense of the Telangana people. Hardpressed by financial stringency and growing administrative expenditure, it had to spend the amounts of the Telangana surplus on items like increase in pay and dearness allowance from time to time. (Expenditure on administrative services alone has risen from Rs. 19.15 crores in 1964-65 to Rs. 28.66 crores).

While the State has been demanding of the Centre to take immediate measures to remove regional imbalances between States, the State Government itself failed to remove the very same regional imbalances within the State. The failure is all the more unpardonable, since it is not due to lack of funds, but due to failure to spend the allotted amounts.

IV

LOOKING at the problem conversely, had the Centre come to the assistance of the State on the lines suggested by the successive planning commissions to invest more in the state with the limited purpose of removing these imbalances and if the federal relations in the State finances were allowed to remain truly federal and not unitary, had the Centre not discriminated against the State in the matter of industrial development, in treating Nagarjunasagar as a national project, the State Government's hands would not have been tied in this fashion and the story might have been different. To this extent, Central Government also should share its responsibility for the current developments in the State.

However, the recession in the country's economy during the last three years proved the last straw on the camel's back. The impact of this recession was acutely felt in the State and the results were deleterious.

The Plan outlay in 1965-66 was 105.23 crores, dropped to

Rs. 94.97 crores in 1966-67, Rs. 71.15 crores in 1967-68 and further dropped to Rs. 72.13 crores in 1968-69.

This steep drop in plan expenditure prevented the Government from taking up any new development schemes which particularly affected the backward region of Telangana. Let alone taking up any new scheme, even the schemes under progress could not be financed adequately. The failure of the Government to provide sufficient funds for the Pochampad project—the only major project to be taken up in the Telangana region—kept the project limping and the allocations were not enough even to pay for the administration. That this should happen when Telangana surpluses were there, had seriously shaken the confidence of the people in the Government.

A series of economy measures were implemented since 1965-66, like reduction of staff by ten per cent, no fresh recruitment of non-technical staff, slowing down of the pace of building construction, no new construction, three per cent cut in revenue expenditure, five per cent cut in capital expenditure, fifteen per cent cut in civil works, keeping vacancies unfilled, postponement or slowing down of all plan and non-plan schemes, abolition of all temporary posts and so on, resulting in a saving of Rs. 10 crores. The year 1968-69 saw a wholesale retrenchment of junior engineers and supervisors.

The effect of these measures was catastrophic. Additional unemployment coupled with no prospects of fresh employment avenues had a particularly depressing effect in the backward region of Telangana. The few Telangana youngmen who were slowly coming up and qualifying themselves for occupying posts allotted to them but occupied by non-domiciles, were frustrated. There was an all-round gloom.

It was exactly during this period that the Central Government announced a series of increases in the dearness allowance to its employees, giving rise to similar demands by the State government employees. The State Government tried in vain with the Centre for financing such

increases consequent on rise in the cost of living index. As the subject of price control was in the hands of the Centre, the State Government rightly felt that the Centre should pay for it. Let alone payment, the Finance Minister did not agree even to consultations on this question. This increase since 1965, excluding the latest increase, cost the State exchequer as such as Rs. 39.05 crores. It is perhaps this that compelled the State Government to eat away into the Telangana surpluses.

It was these bankrupt economic policies of the Centre and State Governments as also the policies pursued for narrow political ends that lay at the root of the present agitation.

V

WHILE the above economic causes have either remotely or presently contributed to the present agitation, the immediate causes that sparked off the agitation are different. The Telangana NGOs Union, which remained largely a paper organisation after the advent of Andhra Pradesh, slowly started joining the mainstream of the movement of Government employees including teachers; and the agitations started under the joint auspices of all these organisations for pay rise or increase in dearness allowance were almost unprecedented and shook the Government to the roots. Fearing the magnitude of this movement, Government resorted to its usual divide and rule tactics and the topmost administrators at the political and administrative level—one need not name them—were *personally* responsible for trying to wean away the Telangana NGOs Union from the mainstream of NGOs movement and pamper it with some minor concessions. Emboldened by official support, the leaders of the Union went about in Telangana districts, encouraging division between the Telangana personnel and the Andhra employees posted in the Telangana region. These Andhra employees came to hold the posts reserved for Telangana personnel mostly because qualified personnel

from the Telangana region were not available. The middle-class employees thus sparked off the simmering discontent and the fireball of anti-Andhra feeling started rolling down and gained speed very soon.

It is no secret that the ruling group inside the Congress party aided and abetted its followers in the Usmania University students' elections held recently. Despite the monetary and transport support given, this group suffered a Waterloo, the pro-Jan Sangh elements having captured almost all key posts. When the students started the agitation for strict implementation of safeguards and declared indefinite strike during the second week of last month, it was everyone's assessment that, being patronised by the ruling group, it would wend its way along the course charted out by those behind the movement. The pro-Jan-Sangh elements, fearing that the movement might become the handmaid of a section of the Congress party, gave the opposite slogan of Separate Telangana in order to retain their identification and to see to it that at the beck and call of those in power, the movement was not withdrawn. Those who gave the green signal for the safeguards movement in the first instance, perhaps did not anticipate this new turn. The devil was let loose, but it turned out to be a Frankenstein, beyond the control of its own masters, let alone others.

The anti-Andhra sentiment let loose by the students in the city and by the Telangana NGOs in the districts towns soon became a force and swept off the gains of the democratic movement.

VI

ALL the political parties and those who were interested in the unity of all Telugu people were unnerved by this unfortunate turn of events. They were anxious to do anything to stem this rot that has set in. It was at this psychological moment that the Chief Minister convened an all-party meeting. He too realised that the situation was going out of hand and felt that joint efforts of leaders of all political parties would

achieve the desired result. The joint statement, which is a product of this meeting was undoubtedly conceived in all sincerity. In any case, at that particular moment, there was nothing more that could have been done by any political leadership. It was with this sentiment that they signed the statement, but it had quite the opposite effect. In fact, it was after the joint statement that the movement took a virulent anti-Andhra turn and led to loot, arson, rape and a mass exodus of the Andhra families to the Andhra region.

One of the points in the joint statement which was immediately followed by a Government order related to the ousting of an estimated 4,000 Andhra employees from their posts in the Telangana region and their transfer to the Andhra region. There was no doubt that they were occupying posts reserved for the Telangana personnel and therefore a decision to relieve them might not be technically incorrect. However, the decision to relieve them within forty days was so sudden and swift and the hardships to four thousand families so badly overlooked that it was but inevitable that the reaction to such a measure in the Andhra region was underestimated. This was not all. To concede to send away thousands of Andhra employees in principle was a green signal for the extremists in Telangana to carry this principle forward a little further and take law into their own hands to send away a few thousand more Andhra personnel settled in business and other occupations in the Telangana districts and even burn alive an Andhra employee. It was only an invitation to the Army to help the civil authorities that could bring the situation under control. Today, the situation might look quiet and calm on the surface, but deep suspicion and hatred continue to simmer underneath. It will certainly take years to undo the damage done.

Incidents of counter-violence against the Telangana people were too few and far between to be taken cognisance of, for the simple reason, there were only a handful of Telangana employees or officers working in the Andhra region. There was such a frenzy

that revolutionary Communist leader Sri T. Nagireddy, while addressing a meeting in his home town of Anantapur and where he is always heard with respect, was booed and hooted down by the students, when he made the simple suggestion that this quarrel between the Andhra and Telangana people was only to the advantage of the Government and the right thing would be for the people of the two regions to unite together and fight against the Government, whose economic and political policies were at the root of the present unrest, creating unemployment and misery to the people.

It is accepted on all hands including the Chief Minister and the Inspector-General of Police that no Opposition party nor Communists of any hue are behind the agitation. If at all anyone in the opposition has to be accused of, it is only the students' wing of the Jan Sangh, the Akhil Bharat Vidyarthi Parishad, and its followers were active in the agitation for separate Telangana. Jan Sangh itself as a party dissociated itself from the demand for separate Telangana. At least, that is their declared stand.

It is true that the ruling party has done nothing. But what were the Opposition parties doing all these years when injustice was being done to the Telangana people? Perhaps, all of them are guilty to some extent or other for having failed to prevent the perpetration of injustice on Telangana people. Perhaps, it is this weakness that the Chief Minister successfully exploited and wangled them into signing the joint statement, which almost gave him a clean chit. What happened was just "lapses" only.

To conclude, the agitation is an occasion for the ruling party at the Centre to draw its lesson, namely, it can continue to ignore regional imbalances between the States at the peril of the very unity of the nation. Similar lesson has to be drawn by such States like Maharashtra, where certain regions within their own States have been allowed to slog in backwardness.

CZECH GOVERNMENT SCHOLARSHIPS, 1969-70.

APPLICATIONS are invited from Indian nationals and subjects of Sikkim for seven scholarships offered by the Government of Czechoslovakia for 1969-70 for higher studies/research in the subjects noted below :

Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Civil Engineering, Chemical Engineering, Metallurgy, Pharmaceuticals, Geology, Medicine, Mining, Economics, Ceramic Art, Puppeteering and Choreography.

DURATION AND VALUE : Scholarships are for about three years and carry the following allowances :

(a) Maintenance allowance of Kcs. 1,100 to Kcs. 1,600 per month ; (b) Exemption from tuition fee ; (c) Free medical treatment ; (d) Free lodging ; and (e) Clothing allowance Kcs. 500.

AGE : Not more than 35 years on September 1, 1969.

ELIGIBILITY : (a) For Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Civil Engineering, Chemical Engineering, Metallurgy and Pharmaceuticals : At least a first class Bachelor's degree in the subject concerned with two years' teaching/practical/research experience in the line after acquiring the above qualification. (b) For Geology : At least a Master's degree in Geology with first class at Master's or Bachelor's level with two years' teaching/research/practical experience in the line after acquiring the above qualification. (c) For Medicine : M.B.B.S. with M.D./M.Sc./M.S. or a post-graduate diploma with two years' teaching/practical/research experience in the line after acquiring the above qualification. (d) For Mining : At least a Master's degree in Applied Geology with 1st class at Master's or Bachelor's degree level or at least a IIInd class Bachelor's degree in Mining Engineering or an equivalent qualification and at least two years' teaching/research/practical experience in the field of mining after acquiring the above qualification. (e) For Economics : At least a IIInd class Master's degree in Economics with at least two years' teaching/practical/research experience in the line after acquiring the above qualification. (f) Ceramic Art : A degree or diploma from a recognised Art Institute with a working knowledge of Ceramics and two years' practical experience in the field after acquiring the above qualification. (g) For Puppeteering and Choreography : At least a Bachelor's degree with two years' experience in the field.

NOTE :—There will be no relaxation in qualifications or upper age limit.

LAST DATE for receipt of requests for Application Forms is March 20, 1969 and for completed Applications, March 25, 1969.

For prescribed application forms and other particulars please write enclosing a self-addressed unstamped envelope (10 cm x 23 cm), superscribed "GOVERNMENT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA SCHOLARSHIPS 1969-70, to

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, GOVT. OF INDIA

Section E.S.I., Post Box 445, New Delhi

The Application Forms and Information Circulars will also be available with this Ministry's Regional Offices noted below on requests with similar unstamped envelopes :

1. The Deputy Education Adviser (T), Western Regional Office, Ministry of Education, 2nd Floor, Industrial Assurance Building, Opp. Churchgate, Railway Station, Vir Nariman Road, Bombay-20.
2. The Assistant Education Adviser (T), Northern Regional Office, Ministry of Education, 7/164-Swarup Nagar, Kanpur-2.
3. The Deputy Educational Adviser (T), Eastern Regional Office, Ministry of Education, 5-Esplanade East, Calcutta-1.
4. The Deputy Educational Adviser (T) Southern Regional Office, Ministry of Education, 1st Floor, Block 5, Shastri Bhavan, 35-Haddows Road, Madras-6.

Completed Applications should, however, be sent only to the Ministry of Education, Government of India, Shastri Bhavan, Section E.S.I., Post Box 445, New Delhi.

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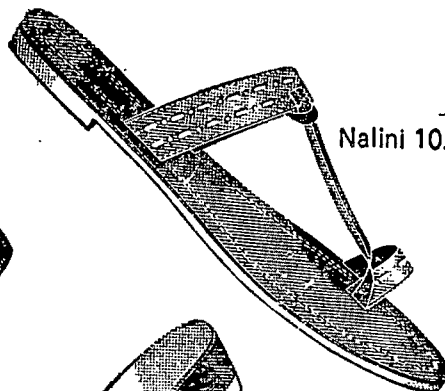
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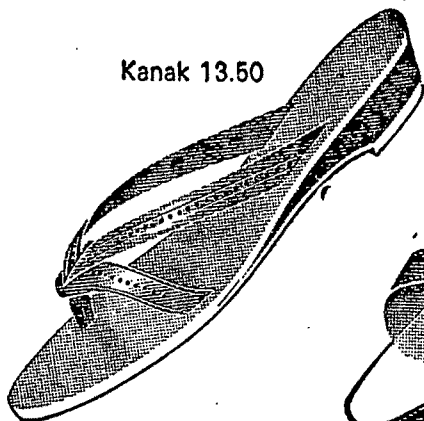
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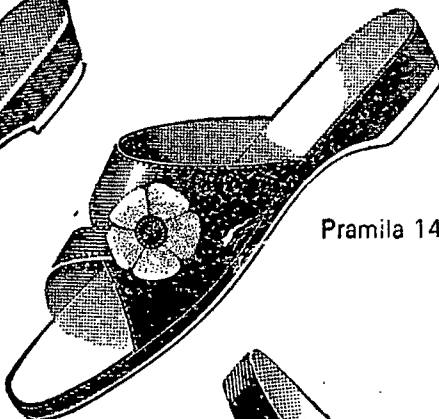
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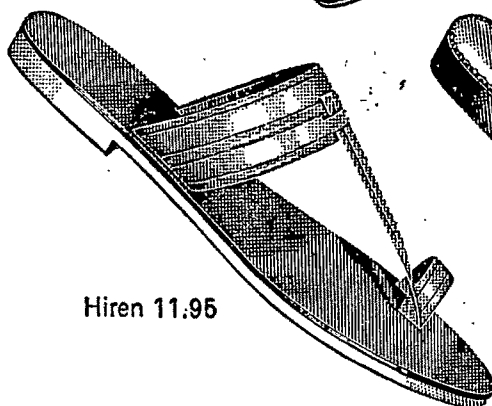
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ASSAM HILLS PROBLEM

(Continued from page 20)

people that the Provincial Government might not grant them money for development.

The Bardoloi Committee's diagnosis, though generally correct, was too general to prescribe accurate remedial measures. The Sixth Schedule, a brain-child of Rev. J. J. M. Nichols-Roy, a brilliant and shrewd Khasi politician, offered a mere stereotype for the administration of all hills and ignored the local political peculiarities. The Report of the Bardoloi Committee thus, was able to satisfy only the Mikir and North Cachar Hills. Other hill districts remained dissatisfied to various extents.

HALLSTEIN TO W. BRANDT

(Continued from page 25)

not based on peaceful methods in spite of all its contentions to the contrary. In any case, who among the allies want a reunification of the two wings—certainly not France and Britain. Even the USA will not stake its neck out to go to war on this question. But the Western Allies are not interested in unification even by peaceful ways.

The East Germans have always made it clear that they would not give up the social gains achieved during the past several years through immense sacrifice for the sake of re-unification. And the West Germans are as much determined to make the East Germans return like prodigals, repentant and demoralised. But these rigid positions will alter once East Germany can meet West Germany on an equal footing, that is economically. The GDR is steadily moving towards this direction. A powerful economy, backed by the socialist community, will remove whatever lingering attraction there is for the German people to maintain the present status quo. They would see no difference between the two wings in their material achievements. The rest they may want to sacrifice for the sake of peace among themselves. If this is the only possibility, then our policy should be to recognise the GDR, to have far greater economic and trade relations.

Communication

Mahatma Gandhi and Indian Muslims

SRI Mohibbul Hasan's article on Gandhiji and Indian Muslims published in *Mainstream* (Republic day number 1969) provides ample materials for thought and further discussion on problems connected with the Hindu-Muslim relations. It has been brought to the notice of readers in the said article how Gandhiji failed to understand certain aspects of this problem which ultimately resulted in handing over of Muslim masses to communal leadership.

The partition of India is the worst result of communalism in this country. Recently Sri S. K. Patil in one of his speeches in Bombay pointed out that he had asked Gandhiji as to how he had consented to the partition of India. The reply from Gandhiji was that he was too old to go against the wishes of Patel and Nehru. This can hardly be explained on the ground of old age. The fact probably is that nobody had sufficiently foreseen the consequences of Pakistan. Some of the leaders were opposed to partition but people came to know about their opposition after twenty years. Maulana Azad's autobiography, *India Wins Freedom*, was published after his death as per his instructions. Dr Lohia too has asserted that Patel and Nehru who were keen on accepting power were to a large measure responsible for the partition of India. The point is, why others were silent on the eve of Partition?

Gandhiji has been blamed for not having achieved settlement on the Hindu-Muslim problem before launching political struggles. In the whole discussion, Nationalist Muslims have been completely exempted from all blame. Why did they not come

forward with minimum demands which could have satisfied the Muslim masses? The Muslims in Left parties thought that economic struggles of the peasantry and the working class would put an end to communal problems and they did not think of anything else. Dr Lohia has rightly blamed Indian Communists and Rajaji for having supported the demand of Pakistan. He also asserted that such moves for separatism was part of the politics of the Communists. But he has avoided maintaining Mr R.P. Dutt who was in India at that time and had criticised the CPI for its support for Pakistan. This shows that the issue had nothing to do with Communism as such. It is said that the non-cooperation movement of 1920 brought Muslim masses for the first time under the influence of the national movement. But it is also said that for approaching the Muslim masses, traditional channels such as Maulavis and mosques were used and the result was that the foundation for communal leadership was prepared as early as 1920.

This Hindu-Muslim problem has also to be considered as part of the general communal problem in this country. Gandhiji was also charged for having pampered Muslims. Hindu communalists were opposed to Gandhiji during all the difficult periods, and finally it is they who murdered him. Communalists, both Hindu and Muslim, had forgotten that the third party was there to take advantage of our communal disputes. Discussion by experts on these points is bound to be fruitful to all.

Panaji, Goa. S. S. Khanolkar.

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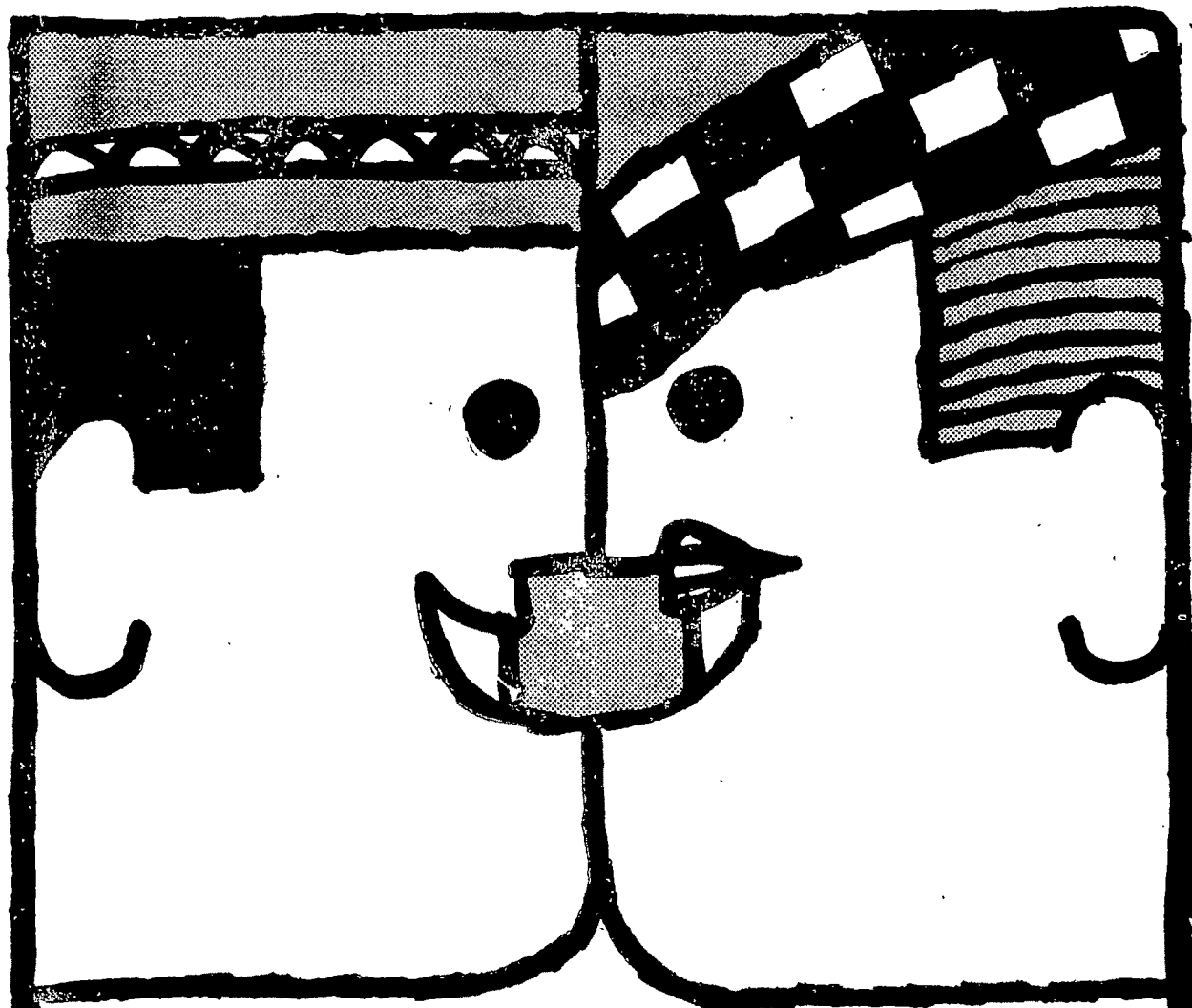
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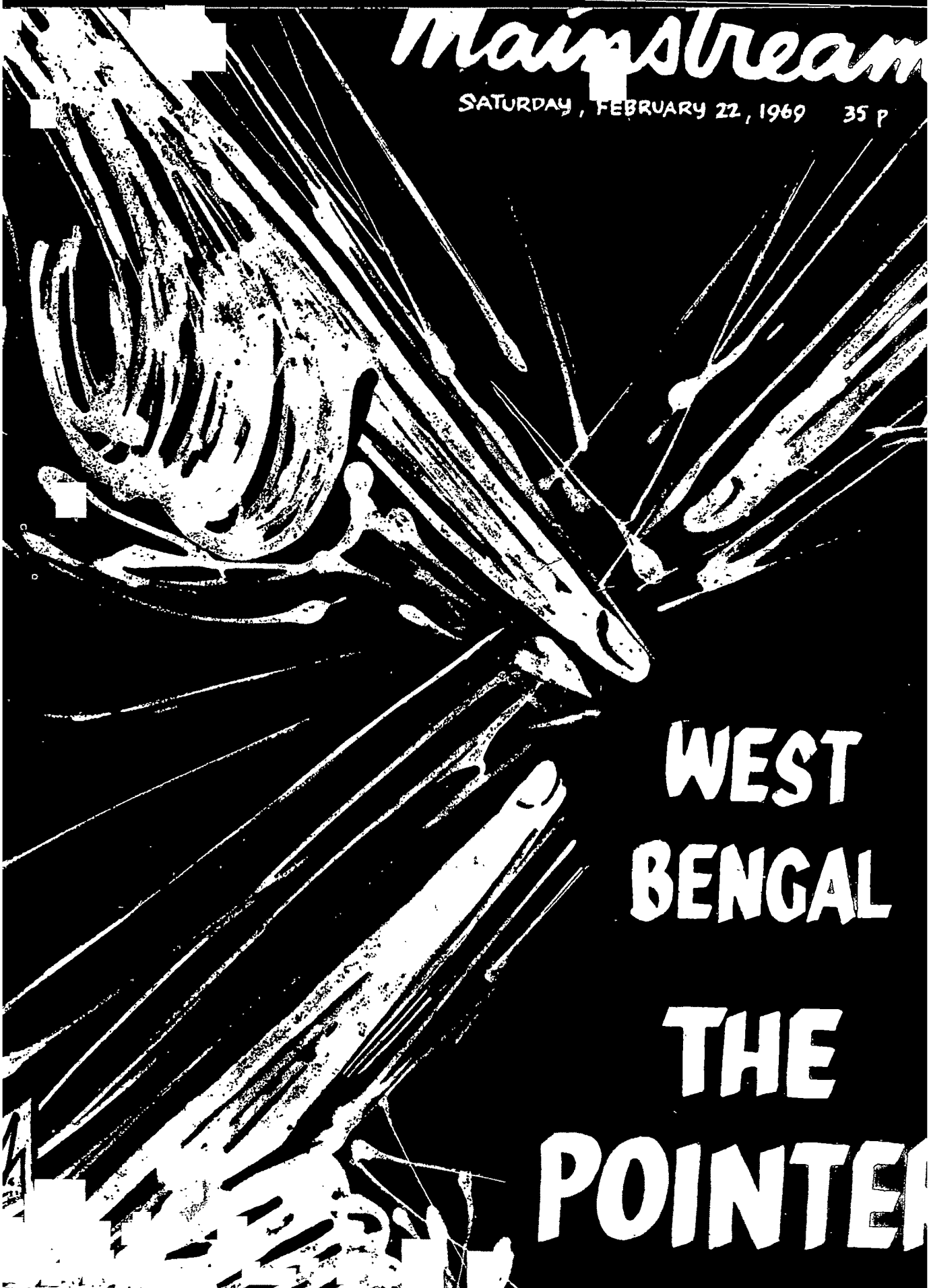


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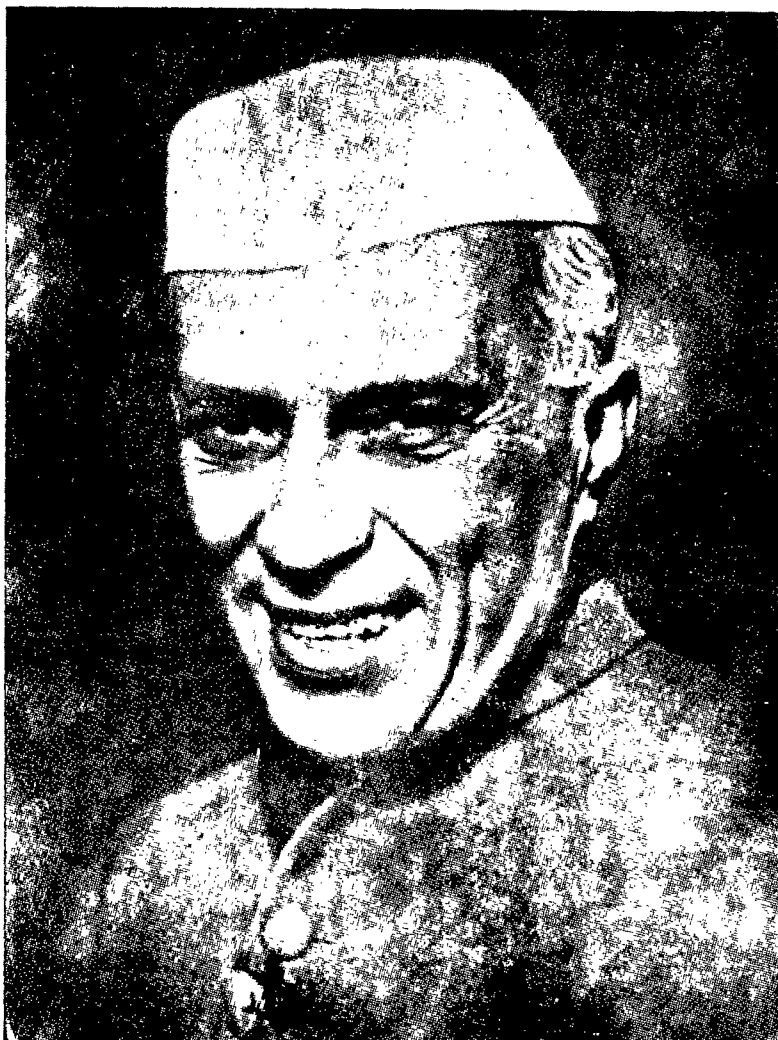
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Mainstream

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1969 35 p

**WEST
BENGAL
THE
POINTER**



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Jawaharlal Nehru

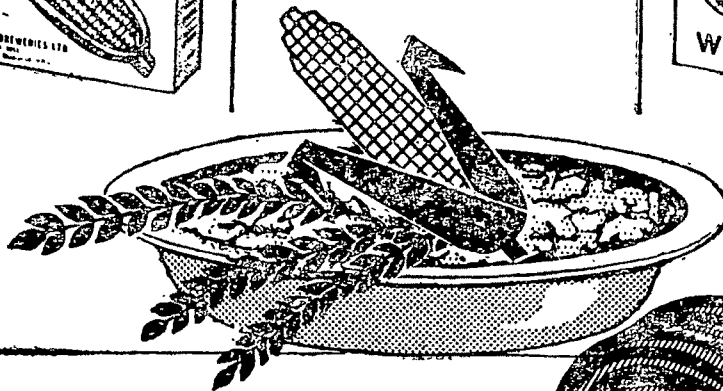
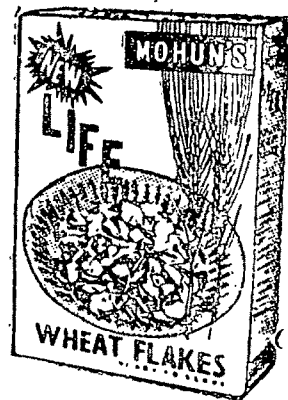
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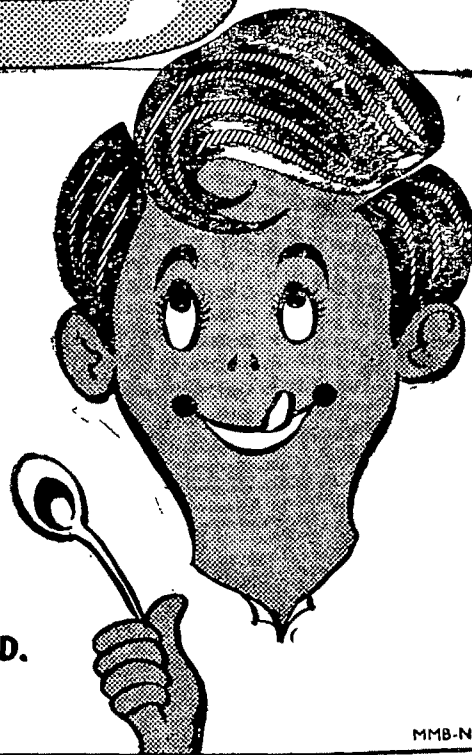


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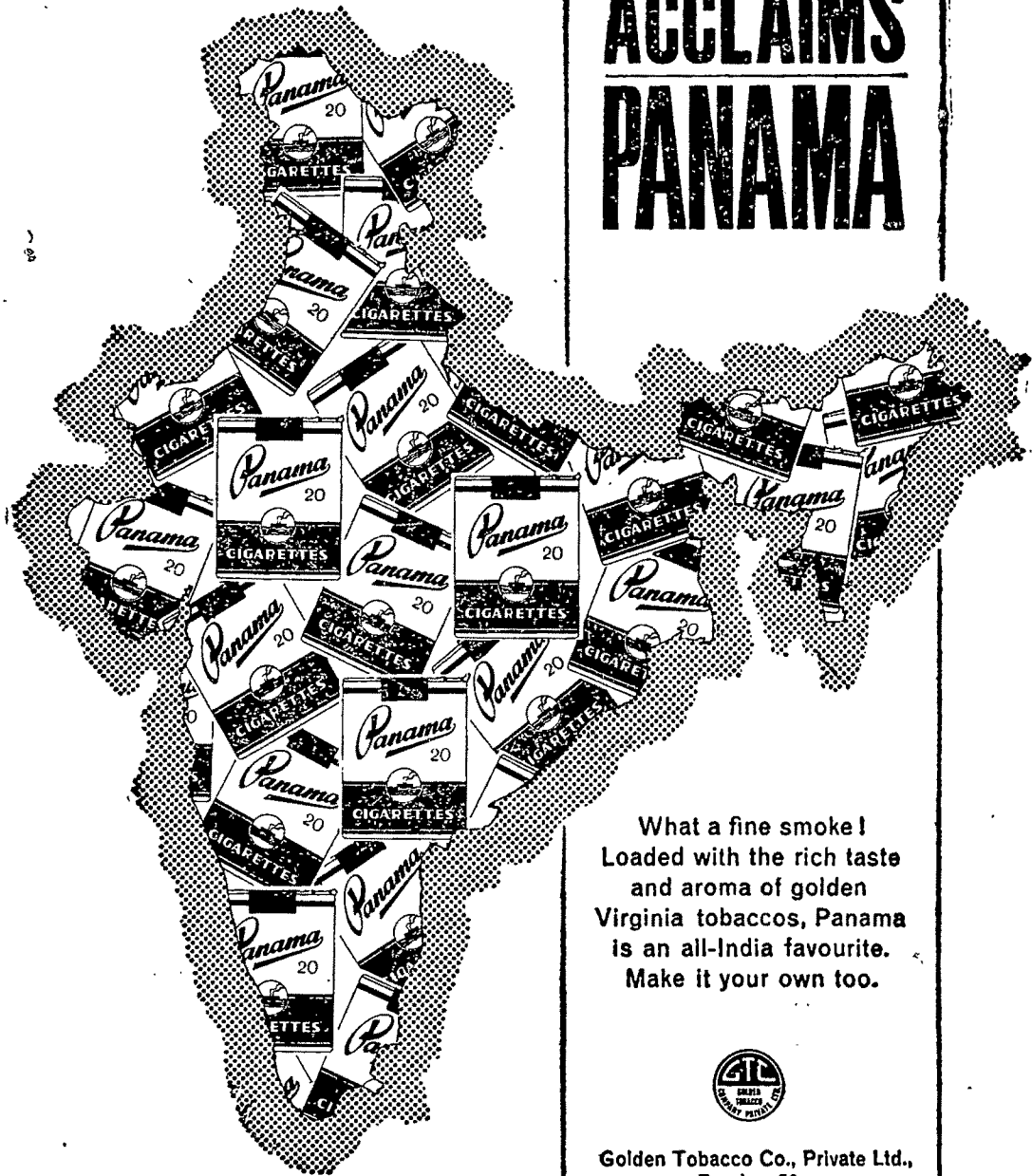
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WEST BENGAL : THE POINTER

THE emphatic verdict of the people of West Bengal in the mid-term election marks not only the decisive end of the Congress power in an important State but the accession to governmental authority by one more Left-oriented United Front in this country. The staggering debacle of the Atulya Ghosh Congress comes out in sharp relief against the breath-taking triumph of the United Front.

The political significance of this memorable verdict delivered by the West Bengal electorate is undoubtedly more far-reaching than the results of the Fourth General Election two years ago. At that time the general wave of anti-Congressism was glibly explained away by many Congress soothsayers as merely an expression of the people's desire for a change after twenty years of Congress Raj. This time, the West Bengal results have demonstrated that if the Left and democratic forces can unite in a United Front, they can provide the real and stable alternative to the Congress. West Bengal seems to provide the authentic answer to the persistent question: After Congress, Who? After Kerala comes West Bengal, one more milestone in the journey of the Left towards the final triumph that shall mark its arrival at the very centre of power in New Delhi.

Of immediate relevance is the fact that the West Bengal electorate has replied in unmistakable language to Sri Chavan's dangerous game of toppling popularly elected Ministries through the agency of Governors nominated by the Congress power at the Centre; furthermore, of investing them with patently impermissible authority to ride roughshod over the legislature. Governor Dharma Vira has learnt his lesson at the poll and it is to be hoped that Sri Chavan does not play the bourbon but clearly reads the writing on the wall. If the West Bengal poll results have any meaning for the Congress leadership at the Centre, it is that they must cease tampering with the processes of parliamentary democracy, and if they do so, an awakened electorate has come to learn how to give a fitting rebuff to such mischief. In this way, the United Front's sweeping victory in West Bengal provides a fresh opportunity for the Congress leaders to understand and educate themselves in the tenets of democracy as the masses of this country are laying them down. In fact, Indian democracy promises to go deeper than the formal constitutional trappings in which it is clothed today; it is providing opportunities for the masses,

the so-called have-nots, to decide who should rule them; and it shows that they can demonstrate their strength through the ballot box when confronted with the machinations of Big Money and its henchmen.

For the Congress masses and honest Congressmen, the West Bengal poll results have a lot to teach. When they fret and fume against the reactionary party bosses who control their organisation, they should turn to West Bengal and see with their own eyes how Atulya Ghosh has not only been dislodged from power but has been brought down, unwept and unsung. The very evolution of Sri Ajoy Mukherji from an ardent Congressman disgusted with corruption in Atulya Ghosh's stable, through the weaknesses and vacillations of 1967, to the eminence of the respected and recognised leadership of the formidable United Front—should teach many Congressmen what they should do if they want to remain true to their political ideals and not capitulate before reaction which has gripped their party organisation. It is no wonder that the most effective rebuff to reactionary communalist forces has been dealt in West Bengal, where in the mid-term poll the Jana Sangh has been wiped out and Muslim communalism humbled. West Bengal has shown that the fight against casteism and communalism can be effectively undertaken only if democratic elements join

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COVER : DEBABRATA MUKHOPADHYAYA

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in a United Front which alone can successfully beat back the forces of reaction.

The Left forces can justly be proud of this triumph of their united action in West Bengal. What they have to realise is that the common people of West Bengal were ready even in 1967 to install them in power, but at that time the parties of the Left were not ready to reap the harvest of that preparedness on the part of the masses. That was why the parties of the Left could not join together in one common front, and the result was that while the electorate reduced the Congress to a minority, the democratic forces could only form a government hamstrung by opportunists and compromisers. And these weaknesses were amply exploited by the reactionaries and powers that be in New Delhi. Side by side, the ultra-Left extremists helped to weaken the authority of the United Front Government, which emboldened Governor Dharma Vira and Sri Chavan to dismiss it with impunity.

This time, the masses have once again demonstrated their confidence in the parties of the United Front. It is therefore the turn of the parties of the United Front to prove their mettle. What the masses expect of them is that they must not fritter away their strength through internal bickerings but make the United Front stronger from day to day; and secondly, they must make maximum effort to implement the action programme the Front has promised to the people of the State. The two tasks are interlinked: there can be no question of implementing the programme without maintaining and strengthening the United Front. For, the strength of the Front alone can be the instrument of change and not the excellence of any particular party, in the conditions of today. It is in this context that the unfortunate bickerings over the allocation of portfolios have pained many supporters of the United Front not only in West Bengal but in the rest of the country as well. Every party in the United Front, however big it may be, must prove itself worthy of commanding the confidence of the Front as a whole. This is what the people of West Bengal expect them to be.

The experience of 1967 has shown that the United Front Ministry has to face two types of attack: the first comes from diehard conservatives trying to win back the ground lost by reactionaries. For this, they launch frontal attacks and also clandestine machinations through devious channels in which the bureaucracy plays no small part. This is bound to happen on an extensive scale in West Bengal, which is the classic home of Big Business, both Indian and foreign; and their stakes are high in this industrially advanced State. There is evidence to show how adversely they have already reacted to the victory of the United Front.

From the other end, the impatient extremists are prone to attack such a United Front in office. Their restless militancy is partly a measure of the growing impatience of the exploited masses with the economic hardships they have to bear as also of the hope they have pinned on a Ministry of their own choice; also it is partly born out of unawareness of the fact that a State Government does not have adequate powers

to bring about radical social transformation.

The onslaughts from both these directions, an alert United Front, conscious of its role and potentiality, can and must ward off. The offensive of reaction can be combated by keeping up the Front as a solid phalanx, not letting any differences inside weaken its unity. It is the united movement of like-minded parties that could defeat the reactionaries at the poll, and it is through continued strengthening of this unity that the reactionaries' game can be foiled.

Similarly, the extremists' challenge can be met only by the United Front Ministry expeditiously implementing its declared programme. Any delay on that score will not only demoralise the masses but but embolden the people's enemies.

For strengthening unity, it is necessary to eschew a sectarian outlook; for, any narrow approach can not only undermine the inner unity of the Front but help to sow confusion and distrust in different sections of the masses.

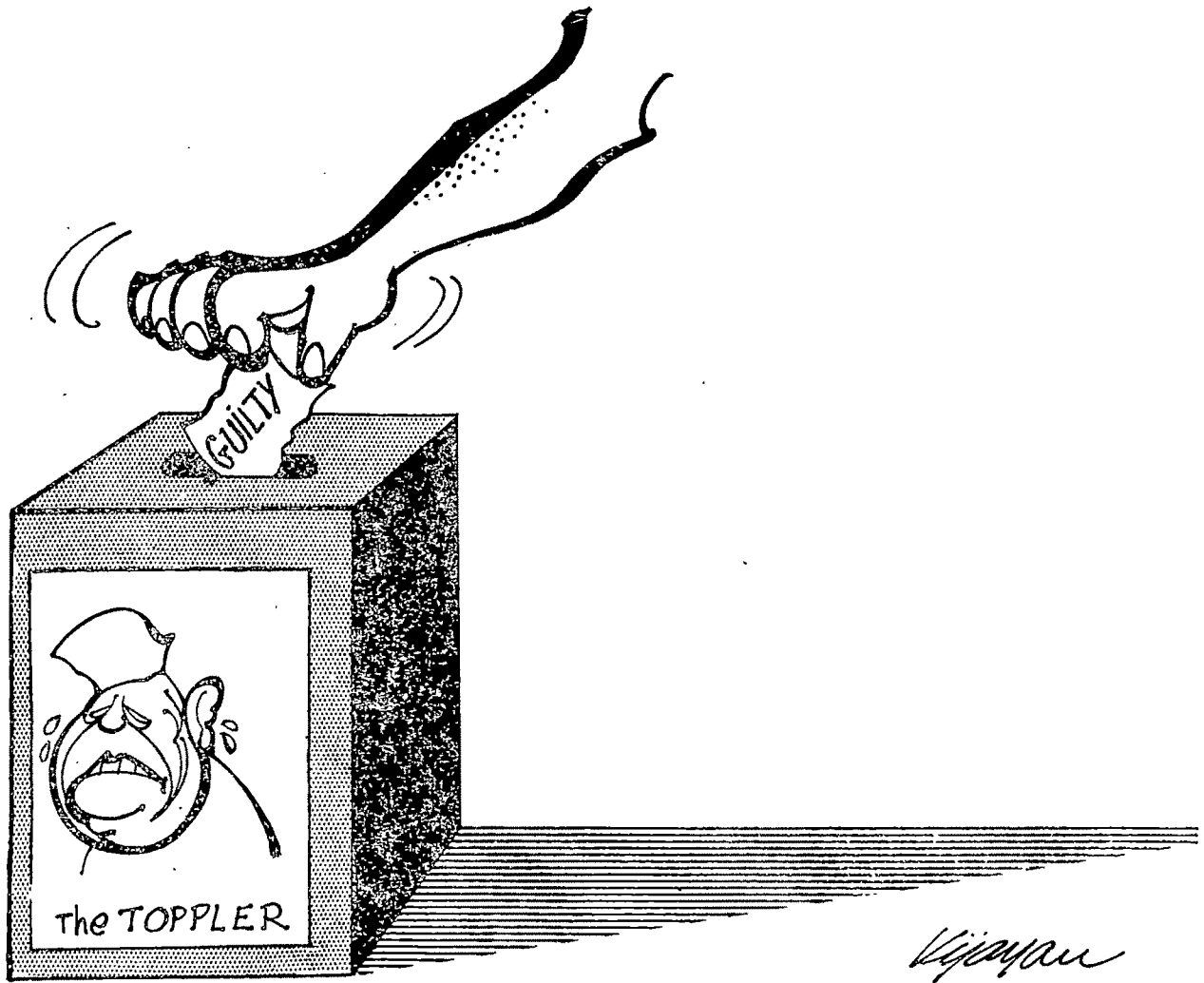
For implementing the programme, it is necessary to guard against a reformist approach, thinking that mere holding on to office can satisfy the masses. The very concept of the United Front envisages a dynamic, progressive approach; every party has to rise above its own immediate party horizon and learn to view issues with an overall perspective, while at the same time constantly applying themselves to tackling every urgent problem not merely through constitutional ways but by building up mass movement to arm the Front with the necessary sanction.

The leaders of the United Front in West Bengal are to today at the head of the progressive forces not only in their own State but in the country as a whole. Their success in the election has inspired forward-looking elements in all parties and sections of the nation. They are therefore shouldering a tremendous responsibility. On them is fixed the gaze not only of their enemies but of millions upon millions of friends as well. The manner in which they carry themselves and provide solutions to the many problems that beset West Bengal will impart new lessons in true democracy and social advance for progressive elements in every corner of India. They cannot afford to neglect the tasks that face them, nor must they fall out among themselves. For, that will be betrayal of the trust that not only the people of West Bengal but democratic forces all over the country have reposed in them. They have played the role that History has decided for them, as the beacon of a new India. Let them not forget those memorable words, now come back with enriched connotation—What Bengal thinks today, the whole of India thinks tomorrow. They must by their deeds prove worthy of this honour.

February 18

In view of the space taken by articles on poll results in West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Nagaland, Mainstream's regular features, including Political Note book, Discussion and Communication are held over till the next week.

The Verdict



THE WEST BENGAL POLL

How Strong United Front Can Be

OBSERVER

WEST Bengal results of the mid-term poll show that the people in the State have advanced in political maturity during the last two years. The democratic sense of the voters is really remarkable ; the single factor that determined their attitude was the fact that the Congress had perverted the democratic verdict of the people in 1967, when the electorate had rejected the Congress party. The toppling

game of the Congress has been voted against.

There had also been a feeling that the voters might come to participate in the election in lesser number ; from that, many had jumped to the conclusion that the West Bengal people preferred the President's Rule to any Party Government. Actually, the voters rejected the President's Rule, in that the voting percentage this time was greater than in

in 1967 ; on an average, it was 68 per cent this time against 62.83 per cent in 1967. It is clear that the people of West Bengal have expressed their verdict against the action of Governor Dharma Vira in dismissing the United Front Ministry illegally in November, 1967. In fact, the savage repression let loose during the ministry of the Governor's puppet, Dr. P.C. Ghosh, sharply alienated a large

section of vote from the Congress.

In short, the Congress calculation that there was a swing away from the United Front as a result of its record of nine-month rule (gheraos, Naxalbari etc.), has turned out to be totally wrong : the common voter in West Bengal had no revulsion at all to the United Front's doings ; on the contrary, it repudiated the Congress misdeeds, including Sri Chavan's role in topping the first United Front Ministry.

The third important feature is that the people of West Bengal have voted for stability. Smt. Indira Gandhi's campaign point during her tour of West Bengal was that the Congress alone could bring stability to West Bengal; the people of West Bengal have just held the very opposite view, and have led the United Front to victory with such a formidable margin that defection itself becomes out of question. It is significant in this context that all the advocates of the so-called Third Force have been totally crushed. Of the 36 defectors of 1967 on both sides, 33 were defeated; only three escaped the revenge.

The formation of the United Front prevented the most important thing favourable to the Congress : there was no splitting of the anti-Congress votes. In the previous elections, the Congress always gained in percentage of seats, though the percentage of votes had been less ; on an average, the Congress had been gaining 60 per cent of seats with 45 per cent of votes. Even in 1967 the Congress got 41.13 per cent of votes, but won 127 seats ; proportionately the number of Congress seats this time should have been 113. In the mid-term election the Congress votes have been less : 40.42 per cent. There was no split in the anti-Congress votes. So the UF with 49.92 per cent of votes got as many as 214 seats.

Another significant feature of West Bengal's mid-term poll is that the electorate has refused to be influenced either by communalism or by provincialism. In spite of its best efforts, the Progressive Muslim League

could get only three seats ; the Jana Sangh which fielded 50 could not win a single seat (in 1967 the Jana Sangh had one member in the Assembly) ; most of the JS candidates including the State JS President Haripada Bharati lost their security deposits. The fate of "We Bengalis" Party has been equally or more miserable. Prof. Hamayun Kabir's Lok Dal put up 53 candidates, none of whom could win ; while Sri Ashu Ghosh's INDF with 98 candidates, won only one seat. (Sri Ashu Ghosh himself lost deposits in three constituencies).

Voting Pattern

The voting pattern, as was anticipated early in the election campaign, has been on the class basis. A preliminary survey of the voting figures, booth by booth, shows that the Congress received the almost total support of the moneyed people, and the United Front of the common people. There was no division of the votes of the upper strata ; thus, not a single Swatantra Party candidate could win, nor any of the newly-formed Jotadar Party. The classes which could have been attracted by their policies voted for the Congress.

The voters could not be influenced by caste or such other considerations either. The dominant consideration has been the class position of the voter. Except in the districts of Nadia, Jalpaiguri and Coochbehar, the Congress suffered very heavily in all the other 13 districts ; in the above three the Congress slightly improved its position. The Congress has been completely wiped off from the districts of the Bankura and Birbhum.

The CPM has no representation from Purulia, Jalpaiguri Coochbehar, Maldah, Murshidabad and Darjeeling ; in Maldah and Murshidabad CPM has two supported Independents.

CPI has no representation from Darjeeling, Coochbehar, West Dinajpur, Birbhum and Howrah.

Forward Bloc has no representation from Burdwan, Midnapore, Murshidabad, Maldah,

Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Nadia.

Bangla Congress has no representative from Calcutta, Hooghly, Maldah, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Coochbehar.

RSP won seats in Jalpaiguri, West Dinajpur, Murshidabad, Calcutta and 24 Parganas.

SUC from 24 Parganas and Birbhum.

SSP from 24 Parganas. Burdwan, Midnapore, Hooghly, Bankura, Murshidabad, Jalpaiguri and Nadia.

It can now be definitely said that the overwhelming majority of the peasantry including agricultural workers and middle peasants and of the working people minus the plantation workers, the entire teaching community, the middle class, also refugees have voted for the United Front. The Congress had a traditional base among the non-Bengali workers particularly from Bihar and eastern U.P. With the depletion of Congress strength in those two States, the non-Bengali workers in West Bengal this time did not vote en masse for Congress ; rather the United Front could sweep the industrial belt as well. There are about two lakhs plantation workers in West Bengal. In this sector which falls in north Bengal, the Congress could maintain its position ; rather in the districts of Jalpaiguri and Coochbehar it improved its position, but in Darjeeling the Gorkha League held sway.

Initially, there had been some hesitancy among the middle class voters, the main reason was that they had the misgivings about the inevitable confrontation between the Centre and the State in the event of the United Front coming back to power. The vacillations were removed only towards the concluding days of the election campaign. By then, thanks to the powerful Left campaign, the middle class people also understood that the Centre would have to be compelled to give West Bengal its due, and this could be done only by the United Front, and definitely not by the Congress. The past experience has shown that the Congress failed to get from the Centre even West Bengal

(Continued on page 33)

Instability Continues

GIRISH MISHRA

and

BRAJ KUMAR PANDAY

THE midterm election in Bihar this time was different from all the past elections in many ways. This time the largest number of parties were in the field and the Congress was not the ruling party in the State. There were more than 25 parties in the election arena. The Janata Party contested the election on its own after more than ten years; in 1962 was in the Swatantra Party and in 1967 it appeared on the election stage as a part of the Jan Kranti Dal. The new entrants this time were the Bhartiya Kranti Dal, the Lok Tantrik Congress, the Shoshit Dal, the Proustist Bloc and the Hul Jharkand; they did not exist in 1967. Their formation was the result of the developments after 1967 election.

There were 2150 candidates for 318 Vidhan Sabha Seats. This number included 294 Independents.

The Congress fielded largest number of candidates—317. The Jana Sangh came next with 303.

The SSP, the PSP and the Lok Tantrik Congress had entered into an alliance which came to be known as Triple Alliance and had agreed candidates for about 225 seats. The rest of the seats were open for contest. They had fielded 192, 95 and 108 candidates respectively. The CPI and the CPM had formed a front and put up 162 and 29 candidates respectively. Other parties went on their own.

Claims were made on behalf of the Congress, the Jana Sangh and the Triple Alliance that they were going to capture power. But the results have disappointed all the three claimants for power. The Congress has miserably failed even to regain its lost position, the Triple Alliance has lost collectively and individually even whatever seats they had. Though the Jana Sangh has improved its position, it has not shown any spectacular advance.

The following table shows the party position in the Vidhan Sabha since 1957 election.

Bihar Vidhan Sabha : 318 seats

Party	1969	1967	1962	1957
Congress	118	128	185	210
Jana Sangh	34	26	3	—
Swatantra	3	3	50	—
PSP	17	18	29	31
BKD	6	—	—	—
SSP	52	68	—	—
CPI	25	24	12	7
CPM	3	4	—	—
Lok Tantrik Congress	8	—	—	—
Janata Party	14	—	—	23
Shoshit Dal	6	—	—	—
Other parties & Independents	31	47	39	47
Total	317	318	318	318

The results clearly show that no party has been able to better its position substantially; only the Jana Sangh has increased its strength from 26 to 34. The CPI has added one more seat to its 1967 strength but the combined strength of the two Communist parties remain the same. The Congress, the SSP, the Shoshit Dal, and the Lok Tantrik Congress have lost heavily. The PSP has lost only one seat. Another party, the BKD which was reduced to the position of a non-entity at the time of the dissolution of the Vidhan Sabha has recovered and survived the midterm election. The Raja of Ramgarh with his pocket party (Janata Party) has captured 14 seats and this shows that his hold continues to be still strong in the district of Hazaribagh.

If we look at the position of different political parties since 1957, we find that only two parties the Jana Sangh and the CPI have increased their strength the former drew a blank in 1957 and now it has 34 seats. The Communists have grown from 7 in 1957 to 28 in 1969 (including the Communist Marxist). But the growth of the Jana Sangh is faster and it becomes clear when we analyse the reasons for the decline of the Congress and the Swatantra Party in Bihar. A section of the land-holders and the traders and particularly the younger generation of them have been coming to the side of Jana Sangh. Besides Jana Sangh's communal politics and riots have been creating climate for its thriving.

The decline of the Congress has been going on rapidly. From 210 in 1957 it has come down to 118 in 1969.

There is another interesting aspect of the election results. This time the Vidhan Sabha will have only about 40 per cent of the old faces. Over 60 per cent members of the dissolved Assembly, who contested the midterm election were defeated. No all-India Party succeeded in retaining the majority of its sitting members.

The electorate in the State has been making it clear since 1967 that it does not want the Congress to come to power but it has not given any definite mandate in

favour of any one political party or Front. The voters, it seems, have not made up their mind about the successor to the Congress.

The Congress had won 128 seats in 1967. After two defections from its strength was reduced to 104 at the time of the dissolution of the Viddan Sabha. The first defection was not very significant. About four members went over to the United Front and they were appointed Ministers. The second defection took place when the Congress leaders of the majority group of the State and the High Command went on supporting the Mandal Ministry which was packed with the defectors from the constituents of the United Front. The second defection shook the organization to its roots, but nothing was done to improve the state of affairs in the party.

The Congress leaders from the centre poured money and material in the State for their candidates. Almost all the leaders from Smt Indira Gandhi downwards campaigned for the candidates and visited every nook and corner of the State more than once. In spite of all this the Congress could win only 50 of 128 seats secured in 1967. (It has won 68 new seats to make the total of 118.) The party fared the worst in Muzaffarpur, Gaya and Shahabad, which happen to be the home districts of State Congress bosses, Sri M.P. Sinha, Sri S.N. Sinha and Sri Ambikasaran Sinha. In Muzaffarpur district Congress lost 12 of the 17 old seats and won only five new seats. In Gaya it lost 11 of the 12 old seats and won only four new seats. In Shahabad the Congress lost 10 of 12 seats and won only four new seats. In Dhanbad, the party lost all the three seats. In Singhbhum too it lost six of the seven seats it held, without making any new gain. In Ranchi the Congress has lost five of nine seats and in Palamau four of six seats. Only in Saran and Champaran, the Congress has gained 8 and 11 new seats losing only 4 and 2 seats respectively.

It is interesting to note that the nominees of Sri M.P. Sinha, Sri S.N. Sinha and Sri Ambika-

saran Sinha for their respective seats have lost heavily. One Sri Bhubneshwar Sharma from Champaran was given the ticket because his son had married the daughter of the Congress Chief Sri Sharma. He had no connection with the party in the past and he lost the seat.

Though the Central leadership tried to white-wash the defects of the party by dropping the leaders the role of the Congress since 1967 brought out only a bad image. Afterwards the sordid happenings over the organizational elections further damaged its prestige. The central leadership could not deceive the people by only dropping a few leaders, and giving their men tickets. The Congress has won only in the districts where the tickets were given to genuine Congressmen on the advice of the M.P.'s. It is noteworthy that a section of the landlords and rich peasants have now gone to the side of the Jana Sangh because the Jana Sangh opposed all the land reform measures of the UF Government.

Further, with the exception of Srimati Indira Gandhi, no Congress leader even attacked the Jana Sangh. Their fire was directed mainly against the Communists. They visited and tried their best to defeat Dr Sen, Sri Chandra Sekhar Singh and the CPI candidates in Jamshedpur. All this gave a fairly easy time for the Jana Sangh and the Janata Party candidates.

The Jana Sangh lost 19 of 26 seats won in 1967. It, however, improved its position by winning 27 new seats to make the total of 34. Its largest concentration was in Ranchi district where it won seven seats as compared to two in 1967. It, however, lost all the five seats and won only one new seat in Santhal Parganas. In the tribal district of Singhbhum too, it lost all the three seats without recording any gain. In Bhagalpur, its strength has been reduced from four to two. In Gaya, it has increased its strength from one to six. For the Jana Sangh, Ranchi, Gaya, Palamau and Patna were favourable. In Ranchi and Palamau it could exploit the differences between the Hindu and the Christian Adivasis besides

the communal politics and the gains made as a result of the riots and persisting tensions but elsewhere it had to face the challenge of the Hul Jharkhand and the Communists. In Gaya and Patna, the landed interests as well as the traders rallied round it. But its failure to make any progress in North Bihar shows that the landed interests have not shifted their support to it in a decisive manner. In Pupri it won because of the communal politics and riot. In a number of places like Patna City, Ranchi etc. only the Communists faced them; in this election, except the Communists none campaigned against them with any courage. The SSP leader Sri Madhu Limaye ridiculed the Communist Party for attacking the Jana Sangh and charged that it was by this act playing into the hands of Smt Gandhi.

The Triple Alliance of the SSP, the PSP and the Lok Tantric Congress (LTC) was formed with high hopes. The Communists were excluded from it because, as the SSP manifesto says, they did not criticise USSR on the Czech issue in the manner in which the SSP would have liked it to do. But the real reason was something else. The Triple Alliance was confident of getting the absolute majority without the help of the Communists and, so it did not want to make any commitment to them unnecessarily. It is interesting to note that the same SSP in West Bengal entered into an alliance with the Communists.

Anyway, the election has proved the hopes of the Triple Alliance to be unrealistic. The SSP had not had a very enviable record in the Government; while the defection from it and the formation of the Shoshit Dal had exploded its thesis regarding castes. It could win only 52 seats while it had secured 68 in 1967 and was left with 58 at the time of the dissolution of the Vidhan Sabha. In the midterm election it lost 41 of the old seats and won only 25 new seats. Some of its top leaders, namely Sri Kapiideo Singh, Sri Sabhapati Singh, Sri Pranav Chatterjee and Sri Upendra Varma lost, Sri Karpuri Thakur could get through

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The Right Challenge

NARENDRA SHARMA

THE mid-term poll has brought about more than the expected shift to the Right in the politics of Punjab.

The decline of the Congress was not unexpected but many retained the hope that even after the last-moment defection of its Legislature Party leader, Sri Rarewala, the Congress might still have the vitality left to emerge as the single largest party. This however proved to be an illusion. Similarly, the rise of the Akali Dal to the position of the single largest party was at first considered to be only in the domain of possibilities. This is now a reality. Compared to 48 seats won by the Congress in the 1967 General Election, it could this time reach upto only 38 in a House of 104. The united Akali Dal won 43 seats in the mid-term poll—an increase of 17 seats over the 26 seats which the two Akali Dals together could win in the 1967 Election (Sant Dal 24 and Master Dal 2).

It may be said to the credit of the Akali Dal leadership that it did do considerable spadework with a view to replacing the Congress and eventually to taking over the government of the State. And for this, unlike the Left parties, it did learn lessons from the past. The unity of the two Akali Dals, for instance, was one such effort, because in the General Elections the two Dals had lost about a dozen seats due to their mutual clash. Concessions to the diehard 'Sikh Homeland' group of Akalis and consequent misunderstanding among the

earthwhile United Front partners was the price which the Sant Dal decided to pay for this unity. But the necessity of having a 'united front' too was not lost on the Akali Dal. It chose the Jana sangh as the first partner; this suited the Sikh vested interests the most. Firstly, because the Jana Sangh could at no stage threaten the supremacy of the Akalis, it could not affect its Sikh rural base, but could lend it a helping hand in winning a few more seats without sharing any in that sector. Secondly, the Jana Sangh's pronounced anti-communism and its allergy to the proposal for a minimum programme were fully in tune with Sikh vested interests.

To protect its own Sikh peasant base which is open to the Communist influence the Akalis encouraged the Jana Sangh to go in for anti-Communism vigorously; this was the reason behind the Akalis' adjustment with the Jana Sangh. The process was not new; it had started during the period of the United Front Ministry. The urban big trader who is the backbone of the Jana Sangh and the landed aristocracy which has come to dominate the Akalis, both had learnt their own lessons in regard to the 'danger' of joining hands with the Communists who had not only determinedly fought for the implementation of the then common minimum programme of the United Front Government but the CPI representative, Food Minister Sri Satya Pal Dang also saw to it that the Cabinet

decision on partial State Trading was firmly implemented - the result being stability in the food-grain prices, to the detriment of rural and urban vested interests and to the advantage of the poorest urban and rural population.

It was therefore not merely a case of political rivalry or the much talked of eagerness to defeat the Congress when the Akalis with the full support of the Jana Sangh put up candidate in the West Amritsar constituency against Sri Dang who had won that seat in 1967 with a 10,000 margin over the Congress stalwart Sri Gurmukh Singh Musafir. It is significant that this time while the powerful magnates of Amritsar's textile industry financed the Congress candidate's election campaign, the Akalis and the Jana Sangh made maximum efforts to divide the vote and ensure not the Congress defeat but Sri Dang's.

Lastly, the Akalis appeared to be more easily accessible to the Marxist Communists than to the CPI, for talks on the issue of adjustment of seats. The CPM's dissociation from the Left Front and disavowal of the need for a common minimum programme as proposed by the CPI, in practice helped the Akali-Jana Sangh strategy of making no commitment on issues to the people in the mid-term poll. In the United Front thus formed, the Akali-Jana Sangh combine could easily parade itself as the real inheritors of the gains and glory, whatever it was, of the previous United Front Government and capable of replacing the Congress. At the same time, it was able to successfully drive a wedge between the two Communist Parties as well as isolate the CPI-led programme-oriented Left Front. The Akali-Jana Sangh combine succeeded to a large extent in their aims, to the greater advantage of the Akalis. But the Jana Sangh had to pay for its new love for the Akalis, in its strongholds like Amritsar, Jullundur, Ludhiana and Pathankot cities where it had for years worked up communal frenzy against the Sikhs.

The Congress claim of being able to bring about political
(Continued on page 34)

Nagaland Elections :

What it Shows

KRANTI SEN

THE most noticeable feature of the second General Election in Nagaland is the enthusiasm with which the people came forward to play their role in the effective functioning of the democratic process. The overall poll percentage, which was 76.57 per cent in the first General Election, has gone up to 85 per cent in the second, while polling in some constituencies was as high as 90 per cent or even 95 per cent.

This shows that despite the intransigence of the underground, still harping on the theme of a vague Naga sovereignty, the bulk of the people have become more conscious of the power that they, as citizens of a democratic country, enjoy in shaping their destiny by electing a government which they believe can assure them continued peace, prosperity and stability.

Another welcome feature of this election is that, unlike in the first election, when the ruling NNO had captured as many as 23 seats without contest, this time all the 40 direct-election seats were keenly contested and the NNO had to fight hard for the 22 seats it has won. Of the remaining 18 seats 10 have been captured by the Opposition United Front of Nagaland, while eight have gone to Independents. Thus, there will be an effective Opposition in the new Assembly which is very necessary for the growth of healthy democratic norms.

The 12 nominated MLAs from Tuensang district have, as was to be expected, joined the ruling party, thus raising its strength to 34 in a house of 52.

Almost all the leading mem-

bers of the outgoing Government have been re-elected, including the Chief Minister T. N. Angami who won the prestigious Western Angami seat, defeating Phizo's niece Smt. Rano Saiza by 998 votes in a straight contest; Finance Minister Hokishe Sema, who has been elected from Akuluto constituency, defeating his UFN rival Vitokhe Sema by 860 votes; Transport Minister J. B. Jasokie from Kohima town; Law and Agriculture Minister R.C. Chitten Jamir; Education Minister M. Kithan; P.W.D. Minister N. L. Odyuo who won from Wokha by a narrow margin of 32 votes; as also the Speaker K. Shikhu and the Deputy Speaker Riga Thong.

The performance of the UFN was less impressive than expected. Its success have been scattered, although it has done relatively better in the Ao and Chakhesangh areas. In the first elections, its predecessor organization—the Democratic Party—had won 13 out of 18 seats it contested. The UFN fielded 40 candidates but has won only 10.

More surprising is the defeat of Kevichusa, founder and Chairman of the UFN, who contested from two constituencies but was defeated in both—in one constituency by a non-Naga who had stood on the NNO ticket.

The party has, however, two important victories to its credit: Tajen Ao, until recently a member of the NNC (political wing of the pro-Phizo Underground) and younger brother of the Underground Naga leader Jerenkoba Ao, has won the Koridang seat (Mokukchung district) by defeating his NNO rival by a margin

of 602 votes in a four-cornered contest; and P. Haralu, former Deputy Commissioner of Kohima, who was elected from the Peren constituency.

The two rival factions of the Underground—the Phizo group and the Kughato Sukhei group—played a positive, if indirect, role in the elections.

Though formally committed to boycotting the elections, the Phizoites supported the UFN and in some areas worked openly for UFN candidates. In the peculiar political condition now prevailing in Nagaland, the Phizoites seem to be banking quite a lot on the UFN and perhaps expect the party to be their unaccredited representative in future talks with New Delhi.

It is no longer a secret that the armed strength of the Phizo faction has been depleted to a degree where it is incapable of creating troubles, even if it wants to. All these weeks and months the Phizoites were waiting for the return of "General" Mouw Angami from China with his band of trained guerillas and arms. Their hopes have been belied. Mouw is still reported to be sneaking about on the other side of the border and for all one knows may fail to make a reentry along with his followers in any numbers.

New Delhi has ignored the feelers cautiously put out by some sections of Naga leaders and has shown no eagerness to resume the talks that the Phizoites themselves broke off on flimsy grounds.

Meanwhile, the Sema faction has split away and with it has gone a good bit of the arms and ammunition they had. Politically, militarily and organizationally, the Phizoites are in total disarray. They feel that the only hope for their political rehabilitation lies in a negotiated settlement with the Government of India for which they are anxious. They hope the UFN will provide them the much-needed political representation as a recognized parliamentary opposition party. This explains why Tajen Ao quit the NNC and joined the UFN.

Conversely, the Kughato
(Continued on page 35)

Caste and Not Manifestoes

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE mid-term poll results from Uttar Pradesh have proved most of the pollsters, politicians and sephologists wrong. While they can take consolation from the fact the Gallup polls have often turned out to be false alarms in more extrovert and enlightened societies it would be interesting to go into the hows and whys. One can at least be wise after the incident.

Some basic facts of the UP situation should be borne in mind before trying an analysis of the voting behaviour. The State went to the polls in an atmosphere of passivity. Except for the choice of the candidates by the Communists and to some extent the Jana Sangh, the ideological predilections of candidates were relegated to the background and only their winning chances were taken into consideration; which, in simpler language, meant caste and community considerations.

The election campaign was mainly negative. Ideologies, policies and programmes were irrelevant; even parties were irrelevant or redundant. In order of preference, castes and communities came first, personalities second and parties third. And the resources at the disposal of the candidates and parties also counted.

The wave of aggressive anti-Congressism following the Devaluation, scarcity and high prices was at its peak in 1967; it was on the wane in 1969, though it had not completely died out.

It was a phase of degeneration of politics in the State; parties were splintered and decimated, a score of new parties comprising

mainly of disgruntled politicians had come to surface as mushrooms. Twenty-five parties and groups had pinned their hopes on the windfall of anti-Congressism.

The State had a very poor record of a disparate conglomerate known as the Samyukta Vidhayak Dal Government before it and the consequent President's rule had gone slightly against the Congress, the ruling party at the Centre.

It was for the first time that the Congress in UP had gone to the polls out of power. Many at the Centre and the State headquarters felt that the choice of its candidates could have been better and the preponderance of "caste Hindu" candidates could have been reduced.

On the positive side, the Congress had a cleaner image. Its leader had gracefully resigned when Sri Charan Singh walked out of the party on April 1967. It did not try the antics of "minority" Government or toppling the SVD Government which fell due to its own internal wranglings.

Then there was less of internal sabotage. Having patched up with Sri C.B. Gupta, Sri Kamalapati Tripathi had no inclination or resources to indulge in it. The unity at the State level had however not percolated to constituency level and often one came across cases of one Congress leader supporting an Opposition candidate only because he did not belong to the former's group.

The Congress went to the people with the slogans of stability and "no quarter to defectors". By their voting behaviour the

people seem to have rejected both the slogans.

Under the illusion of interpreting the anti-Congress swing of 1967 to be a pro-Jana Sangh vote, the Sangh cherished the hope of forming its own Government single-handed. It went alone not only because its unexpected success of 1967 had gone to its head, but also because experience had taught it that its chances improved if the Harijan and minority community vote was divided. By shunning all offers of the Samyukta Socialist Party for a front it had only acted on this understanding of dividing this vote.

The Sangh also committed the mistake of thinking that the 1967 verdict was in favour of its Hindu Rashtra ideology. It changed some of its sitting popular candidates and put in tried RSS workers in the field.

The Samyukta Socialist Party was a house divided against itself. Sri Raj Narain, Sri Ugra Sen, Sri Maharaj Singh Bharati and some others had patched up towards the end, but the animus persisted. Busy sorting out its own domestic disputes, it did not find time to try for an alliance of the Left parties. It was the last to come out with its list of candidates.

Born as a group of 18 under the leadership of Sri Charan Singh as Jana Congress, the Bharatiya Kranti Dal had no organisation when it entered the contest with the largest number of candidates among the Opposition parties. Opposed to cooperativisation of agriculture, Sri Charan Singh is an advocate of peasant proprietorship. His views on the domination of politics and administration by the 13 per cent city dwellers and 15 per cent "caste Hindus" are also well-known. Under his able leadership, the BKD in UP has emerged as the champion of the backward, but economically dominant communities like the Jats, Ahirs, Kurmis and the Kulaks.

The Communists went to the polls without seeming to know who their enemy was. Their election manifesto was not ready till ten days before polling. There was no straight-forward campaign against the Jana Sangh and at places it seemed that their campaign against the Congress was

weak. The only point worth noting in their case is that there was no in-fight, as the CPI and the CPM had an agreement.

The Swatantra, the Republicans and the Praja Socialists had all suffered due to defections and were parties on the fringe. They knew it and could not put their hearts into the campaign.

The results are revealing. The Congress had secured 199 seats in 1967. Soon after, its ranks were depleted by defections. Sri Gupta however returned the compliment and annexed a larger number from the Opposition. When the State Vidhan Sabha was dissolved the Congress had a membership of 204. This time, it hopes to get 212 (so far, it has got 208 and it hopes to bag at least four out of the five hill constituencies).

The marginal improvement in the Congress performance is not due to any improvement in its public image. Its popular vote appears, in fact, to have declined slightly. The boost is perhaps due to a totally extraneous disenchantment of the Muslim community with its previous policy of blind anti-Congressism even if it meant an indirect gain to the Sangh.

Sri Gupta has won from both the constituencies he contested, thanks mostly to the apathy of practically all the leaders of the Opposition parties: they hardly made any effort to put up a stiff fight against Sri Gupta. The State Congress Chief, Sri Kamalapati Tripathi, had also a comfortable win from his home constituency. But any number of second-rank leaders of the Congress have been trounced. Sri Banarsidas, Sri Ram Murti, Sri Nawal Kishore, Sri Phool Singh, Sri H.N. Bahuguna are all licking their wounds in the field.

The Congress had fielded 156 of sitting members and 82 of them lost. A similar formula of accepting all its sitting members as candidates for the mid-term poll had been accepted in West Bengal with more disastrous results.

Sri Gupta has won and the Congress is to form the Government but it would be wrong to suppose that the Congress rank and file owe absolute allegiance

to their leader. The new Congress Legislature Party has been described as "fairly balanced" on the question of ultimate allegiance of its leaders.

The Bharatiya Kranti Dal has emerged as a new factor, but not a new dimension, in the State politics. It has eroded the backward community base of the Republican Party and the SSP and it has commanded the kulak support, specially in the three western divisions of Meerut, Rohilkhand and Agra, for which a battle had gone on in 1967 between the Congress and the Jana Sangh. It has also captured the imagination of the people who did not want to vote Congress, either for their dislike for candidates the Congress had put in their areas or for ideological reasons.

The interesting pattern of elimination of the second-rank leadership, manifest in the case of the Congress, is in evidence in the case of the BKD as well. Nine of its original 17 members who had crossed the floor have lost the election. Among them are Sri Jai Ram Verma, Sri Ram Narain Tripathi, Sri Raj Bahadur Dwivedi, Sri Shyam Lal Yadav, Sri Hari Singh and Sri Raj Narain Singh.

The BKD annexed 98 seats, 58 from the Congress, 10 from the Jana Sangh, nine from the SSP, five from Republicans and 16 from Independents and other parties. It also won 24 of the 89 seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes. Sixty-one of the 98 seats are in the three western divisions of the State.

The Jana Sangh lost 50 seats with its strength reduced from 98 in 1967 to 48 in 1969. It lost 64 seats to the Congress and gained 20 from it, the net balance is a deficit by 44. It was no more the rallying point of the anti-Congress vote. The people had a choice between it and the BKD which was perhaps the lesser of the two evils. The Sangh strategy of fielding RSS workers also failed. It had no dearth of resources in men and money, with thousands of RSS volunteers pouring in from Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. It lost the elec-

tion of most of its important workers, Sri Tambreshwar Prasad, Sri Ganga Ram Talwar, Sri Pratap Narain Tewari, Sri Ganga Bhakta Singh and Sri Barmeshwar Pandey. In 1967 it had captured all the seats in the districts like Hardoi, Sitapur, Lakhimpur, Bahraich. The Congress wrested the districts from it this time.

Despite defections from its ranks the SSP did rather well. It lost only 25 per cent of its seats—from 44 it came down to 33—against more than 50 per cent by the Sangh. It 252 candidates were in the field and it had hoped to form its own Government but it lost 14 of its sitting seats to the Congress and two to the BKD, besides one each to the Sangh and an Independent. Its bases in Azamgarh, Etawah and Gorakhpur were eroded and its leader Sri Ugra Sen lost but it gained a new foothold in Pratapgarh.

The CPI suffered heavy losses in Ballia, Varanasi, Ghazipur and Azamgarh and had to remain content with four seats against 14 in the dissolved House. CPI perhaps paid heavily for prolonged continuance in the SVD Government.

With Sri Triloki Singh in the Congress and Sri Pratap Singh having lost his security deposit from his home constituency, the PSP moved more towards the fringe. The Swatantra Party used to be some sort of a force in the Avadh region where the feudal terror was immense. But many of its leading lights—erstwhile Talukdars—have found safe niches in other parties.

Eleven new parties in the State had set up 205 candidates, all of whom lost. Four other parties—CPM, Kisan Mazdoor Party (under Sri Ram Chandra Vikal's leadership), the Republican Party and the Hindu Mahasabha—have won one seat each.

The new Vidhan Sabha, with over 150 new faces, will throw up new leaders as well. But the costly exercise of the mid-term poll has not contributed to polarisation or stability. If anything, the vote has been for the Centrist Congress and the more conservative version of the Congress, the BKD. Smaller

parties have been further reduced in their strength, the two Communists from 15 to five, the Swatantra from 12 to five, the Republicans from nine to one, the PSP from 11 to three. The splinter groups have been eliminated.

In a way the election was fought to determine only two things, the support of the kulaks and the backward communities. And the issue, if decided, was resolved only on regional basis, the BKD enjoying the support in some of the western districts, others elsewhere.

The parties of the Right, the Sangh and the Swatantra, were reduced from their strength of 109 in the last House to a mere 53. The parties of the left, the two Communist Parties, the SSP and the PSP came down from 70 to 41. The gain was mainly of the BKD.

After recording this, one must face the fact that the election results do not reflect any solid adherence to political parties. The voting is on neither political nor ideological basis. The traffic from one party to another, from one constituency to another has been rather heavy. The very fact that there were heavy casualties among the sitting members, 207 of them lost, shows that they were locally popular leaders who won on the basis of something other than their allegiance to any party. Superior election strategy and tactics and resources played a more important role in winning the poll. One of the most enlightened constituencies in the State, Lucknow City East, returned a Congress candidate in 1952, a PSP nominee in 1957, changed its loyalty to the Congress again in 1962, decided that the Sangh was a better party in 1967 and has now gone over to the BKD. This perhaps typifies the loyalty of the electorate to ideologies.

If the electorate refused to give a clear mandate to any party, it was partly due to the fact that the parties did not have a clear idea of why they were in the field. Having printed their manifestoes they often forgot to distribute it. In any case, they invariably failed to talk about them. They appealed

to narrower loyalties of castes, communities and regions. This had its natural reflection in voting. Regional parties did better at the cost of national parties.

If stability has not been achieved as a result of the election, it is due to the fact that no party in UP seemed to have learnt the lessons of the post-1967 period correctly. Congressmen had their own predilections about who was a better candidate and ensured defeat of some of them through various acts of omission and commission. Sri K. D. Malaviya's contest for Lok Sabha in Phulpur was a classic example. There is little love lost between Sri Gupta and Sri Malaviya and Sri Gupta's lieutenants in Allahabad were at best only lukewarm in doing their bit for this Congress candidate. Starved of support from the local as well as all-India Congress leaders, Sri Malaviya had to face a combined offensive of the resourceful vested interests from many parts of the country and the foreign oil cartels. His opponents, one in particular, had no dearth of resources and even a newspaper belonging to the monopoly press admitted that Sri Malaviya was much behind in the race of resources and party support.

The election is over and a Congress Government is to be formed soon. It is to be hoped that leaders and parties will yet learn the lesson and read the writing on the wall. If Sri C. B. Gupta forms a "Gupta Cabinet" instead of a "Congress Cabinet" it would not be difficult for another Charan Singh to rise from the ranks. If his policies remain as pro-capitalist and anti-change as in the past, it would not be surprising if he faces opposition from the rank and file of his legislature party. Fortunately for him, the people have eliminated many who would have exerted pressures on him. He can yet start on a clean slate, that is, if he has learnt the lesson.

The priorities in this election were all mixed up. Narrow, sectarian slogans dominated the scene instead of policies and programmes. If the Opposition parties are keen on having political polarisation in the State they can yet usher in an era of principled politics.

The backward State of Uttar Pradesh deserves better than its present political fate. It deserves a dynamic forward-looking leadership, a properly directioned administration. Where should it turn to find one?

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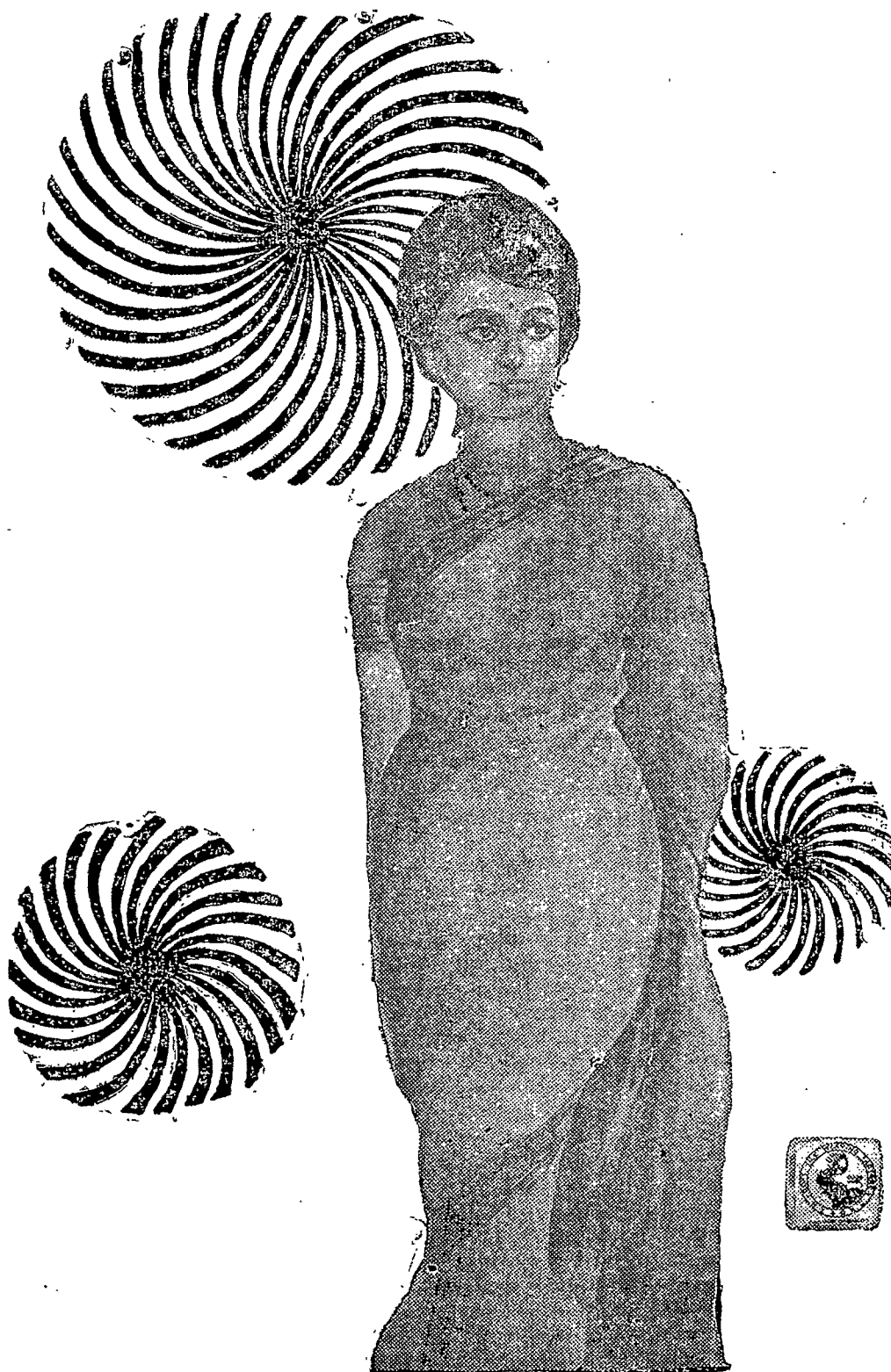
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Revisionism in

Present-day

Philosophy

D. CHESNOKOV

THE development of the world revolutionary process is evoking furious resistance from the reactionary forces in all lands, these being led by US imperialism. All forces and means are being employed by the imperialist reactionaries in the struggle against socialism and democracy. The imperialists often go to the counter-attack in an attempt, not only to defend their positions but to consolidate and extend them. This cannot but lead to an aggravation of the class-struggle on the international arena, including the ideological front.

The mounting pressure exerted by the imperialist forces on the socialist countries increases the difficulties in socialist construction. When they come up against such difficulties, "Figures whose mentality is petty bourgeois," as was pointed out by Leonid Brezhnev in his address to the 5th Congress of the Polish United Workers Party, "fall into hysterics and begin to doubt everybody and everything. Difficulties that have arisen may induce the revisionists to negate all the achievements scored, renounce what has been won, and surrender all the principled positions." (*Pravda*, November 13, 1968.)

Marxist-Leninists have to take into account that, in this struggle, the imperialist bourgeoisie places a special stake on present-day revisionism, on those forces and groups which, while maintaining their formal links with communism, slide into bourgeois positions in matters of theory, politics, and tactics. As bourgeois figures see it, revisionism is called upon to ideologically pave the way for the disintegration of the Communist movement from within and for the weakening of the positions of socialism both in the socialist countries and on the international arena. To

This article by Prof. Chesnokov appeared in the Soviet theoretical journal, VOPROSY FILOSOFII (No. 12, 1968) under the caption "Aggravation of the ideological political-struggle, and revisionism in present-day Philosophy." The author himself added the footnote:

"In this article we shall not consider revisionism 'from the Left,' Leftist revisionism, for instance, Maoism, which in essence performs the same role."

"neutralise" Marxism-Leninism, void it of its revolutionary content, and adapt it to the needs of the bourgeoisie—such are the aims of the bourgeoisie and the demands they present to international revisionism.

By and large, a similar role is objectively played by present-day philosophical revisionism as well. It has openly revealed itself in France (Lefeuve and others), in Poland (Kolakowski and others), in Czechoslovakia (Prucha and others), in Yugoslavia (the journal *Praxis* group and their sympathizers), and elsewhere. It will be in place here to dwell on some of the features of this trend, which styles itself "new" and "critical." However, one cannot find, in these pseudo-innovators, any genuinely new or creative approach to philosophy, one that can advance materialistic dialectics in connection with the development of present-day natural science, the scientific and technical revolution, or the great social transformations now taking place in the world. What one can really find is numerous calls to "enrich" Marxism with the ideas of existentialism and other fashionable trends in bourgeois philosophy, and direct borrowing of certain propositions from that philosophy. Even more numerous are the appeals for "criticism." However, the latter is directed, not against capitalism, bourgeois ideology or bourgeois philosophy but exclusively against the existing forms of socialism, allegedly, so as to improve its "models," and against the fundamental propositions of Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Here is what has been written on philosophical revisionism by I.M. Bochenski in the quarterly "*Studies in Soviet Ideology*" (No. 19, 1966): "The 'New Marxist philosophy,' which is now gaining popularity in the East European countries, first arose in Poland after 1956. Its creators were C. Elstein and Z. Kochanski, and then L. Kolakowski and A. Schaff. Among its adherents in Hungary, the name of Erwin Laszlo is known, and in Czechoslovakia, that of Karel Kocik. In Croatia the theoretical journal *Praxis*, the leading organ of the new movement, has been published since 1965... In the existing political situation, with power in the hands of ruling Parties, the adherents of the new philosophy resort to two original methods to get it introduced. On the one hand, they assert that they are reinstating 'genuine Marxism,' contraposing it to 'distorted' and 'perverted' Marxism; and on the other they label as 'Stalinism' everything that is not in accord with their versions..."

"Thus, the ideological split is indeed an extremely grave one. This is no longer a question of greater or lesser freedom, or the problem of the interpretation of the young Marx. Still less is it a negation of 'Stalinism,' whatever that may mean. This is a complete departure from the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

We crave the reader's forgiveness for this lengthy excerpt from Bochenski's article. Despite its factual errors, inaccuracies and the questionability of associating with revisionism certain philosophers who have actually made serious mistakes, the article as a whole gives a correct definition of the essence, role and line of development in present-day philosophical revisionism, and its hostility to Marxism-Leninism.

For proof of this, one has only to turn the pages of *Praxis* and read the declaration of philosophers who represent the "new" trend.

Prior to taking up the views of the present-day revisionists, it will be in place to dwell on the tactics used in their struggle against Marxism-Leninism as a whole, and against Marxist-Leninist philosophy in particular.

Most frequently these revisionists conceal their criticism of Marxism-Leninism and its philosophical principles behind a mask of a struggle against "Stalinism." It is common knowledge that the Soviet Communists have subjected the personality cult to sharp criticism and have done everything necessary to preclude the appearance of such errors and negative phenomena. Why then do the present-day revisionists, in imitation of the bourgeois propagandists, harp on "Stalinism" and the struggle against it? Evidently, the reason must lie elsewhere. After all, the personality cult did not and could not abolish either Marxism-Leninism or the principles of socialism. In the USSR and the other socialist countries, socialism has been built under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. Today the bogey of "Stalinism" is being used in an attempt to denigrate everything that has been done during the construction of socialism. The bugaboo of "Stalinism" is being used to intimidate those who lack stability, and to inculcate the idea that any firmness and revolutionariness in politics, irreconcilability in ideology and consistency in defence of Marxism are tantamount to "Stalinism."

Further, revisionism comes out against Marxism-Leninism under the slogan of a struggle against "dogmatism," the slogan of freedom of criticism. In their very essence, the method and theory of Marxism-Leninism are critical and revolutionary. They subject to scathing criticism and to revolutionary transformation all outmoded social forms, and boldly re-fashion obsolete forms and methods of activity, as well as obsolete propositions and conclusions of Marxist-Leninist theory, such that are no longer in keeping with the changed historical conditions, the new level of scientific cognition, and the new propositions and conclusions that are in keeping with the new historical conditions and the level achieved in the cognition of the world. As Engels and Lenin reiterated on many occasions, Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party took up the militant method of revolutionary criticism and self-criticism in all their work in guiding the construction of a new world. They considered unthinkable any development of science in general, and of Marxist-Leninist science in particular, without creative discussions and arguments, and an exchange and a struggle of opinions.

'Freedom of Criticism'

If the present-day philosophical revisionists dealt with such questions, there would be no argument, but neither would there exist the notorious demand for "freedom of criticism." What they speak of is something else—the "right" to "unlimited" criticism of

Marxism-Leninism, the right to create such interpretations of Marxism that subvert or limit the "Leninist interpretation" of Marxism, and to create numerous "models of Marxism" and special "models" of Marxist philosophy that are integrated in a single (that is, bourgeois) philosophy. This is no longer a struggle against manifestations of dogmatism in Marxist philosophy, but a struggle against its fundamental principles. It is an analogue of the "criticism" and the call for a struggle against "dogmatism" which marked the emergence of revisionism at the turn of the century. That is why Lenin's words ring so true today, which were then directed against those who came out so zealously for "freedom of criticism." "Freedom," he wrote, "is a grand word, but the worst wars of plunder have been waged under the banner of freedom of industry; the working people have been fleeced, under the banner of freedom of labour." The same inner falseness is contained in the present use of the words "freedom of criticism." Yes, you revisionists of today—inner falseness, since your "freedom of criticism" is a copy of the ideology of the so-called "free world," the bourgeois countries of the West—"freedom" to spread bourgeois prejudices and anti-socialist views.

Neo-Revisionist Views

We shall now examine the content of the revisionist views. In the first place, it should be noted that the adherents of the "critical trend" are departing from the class stand. This is reflected in some of them, in the first place Petrovic, Kolakowski and others of their ilk, coming out against the unity of philosophy and politics, and backing the concept of the so-called "de-ideologization" of science. One will re-call the address made by Petrovic at the Evian Sociological Congress.

True, most of the "critics" do not deny the "ideologicality" of philosophy. However, they regard this as a purely external appendage which can easily be removed and replaced. To them, Marxist and non-Marxist philosophy develop science in equal degree. Non-Marxist philosophy may or may not be under the "ideological" influence of the bourgeoisie. The only thing needed is for it to be withdrawn from the influence of bourgeois ideology and brought under the ideological influence of Marxist philosophy. In that case, it is claimed, the "valuable ideas" of Jaspers, Sartre, Heidegger and other bourgeois thinkers will be integrated by Marxism to produce a blend of Marxist philosophy with the non-Marxist "valuable" concepts, to produce a new brand of philosophy. (*Vide* M. Prucha in the journal *Praxis*, No. 1, 1967).

Let us recall how these problems are dealt with by Marxism.

The trends and forms of the present-day ideological struggle are varied in the extreme, a definite place in the struggle belonging to bourgeois philosophy as well. Complex processes are taking place in the latter, reflecting the changes in social life and human cognition. That is because bourgeois philosophy, too, cannot pass by the acute conflicts of our

times. No matter how far individual bourgeois philosophers may sometimes stand from politics, their philosophical views, concepts and conclusions, as formulated in books or by word of mouth, play a most active part in the socio-political struggle. Taken in its entirety, with all its contradictions, bourgeois philosophy serves bourgeois ideology and politics and comprises the general philosophical foundation of the bourgeois world-outlook. Idealism, individualism, objectivism and other general features of bourgeois philosophy—of all its trends, from neo-Thomism to neo-positivism and Existentialism—go to make up, at the same time, the general features of bourgeois ideology in general. In the respect the variety of trends in the camp of the idealistic bourgeoisie can deceive the materialist just as little as the plentitude of forms of religion can lead the atheist to reject the unity of essence in all religions. In all its varieties, the struggle against idealism still remains Problem Number One for materialist philosophers, in the first place for representatives of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, if we have in view the new network of philosophy itself.

Irreconcilable Stand

The struggle naturally presupposes an irreconcilable stand against ideological vacillation and to individualistic errors should they arise among materialists, or among scientists who hold a stand based on spontaneous materialism. The prime task confronting the Marxist philosopher is to advance materialism and defend it in the way that Marx, Engels and Lenin did. To defend and advance materialism means, besides everything else, a struggle to increase the number of scientists who have consciously adopted materialism, this referring to the field of philosophy as well. Any thoughtful and closely reasoned criticism of idealism can impel those philosophers who are vacillating between idealism and materialism to adopt the latter, or sow the seeds of doubt in the minds of individual and convinced idealists regarding the correctness of the idealist world-outlook. Backed by pressure from the progressive forces, the trends in social life, and the advance of human cognition, such criticism produces indubitably positive results, not only in the sense that it restricts the spread of idealistic views but in its allowing us to attack the position of our ideological foes on their own territory, so to say, and to win over detachments of their army.

In the capitalist world of today there is taking place, not only a consolidation of political reactionism and reactionary ideology, but a consolidation of the forces of progress and democracy. The intelligentsia and consequently the philosophers, are becoming democratized in their social composition, their views and their attitude to social phenomena. Progressive views are striking root in the bourgeois intelligentsia and a genuinely scientific interest in materialist philosophy and Marxism is developing in a number of philosophers. This interest has already led to the emergence, in all the major capitalist countries, of sizable groups of philosophers with Marxist training and

thinking, and this process will undoubtedly develop. A skilful and principled criticism of idealism and metaphysics in their latest forms, and due account of the contradictory development of bourgeois philosophy itself, as well as the ability to distinguish between progressive thinkers and reactionaries so as to differentiate between them—all these—as experience has shown—are the best way to accelerate the process.

It is on this plane that revolutionary Marxists approach the problem of a dialogue, that is, of scientific arguments and discussions, with representatives of various philosophical schools that stand opposed to Marxism. The adherents of Marxism-Leninism never evade that dialogue when it comes to defending the truth, and convincing the masses of the need to be guided by a scientific world-outlook. It will suffice to recall the argument between the Marxists and the Populists, during which the former defended materialism in history, against the “subjective method in sociology”; the participation of Lenin in numerous discussions with the Machists, and the like. There can be no doubt that today there exist far broader opportunities for such arguments in the course of a direct dialogue. In any case, each of the two parties try to prove that they are right and that the stand of the other side is wrong. What is taking place is a comparison and a struggle between two opposing views, a struggle which, in respect of *questions of principle*, cannot end in compromise through mutual concessions or in an *eclectic* conciliation between opposites. The dialogue must represent a road towards the truth and the triumph of science, not towards the surrendering of ideological positions.

Bargaining Counter

Wherever they take place, disputes on the dialogue problem refer not to the necessity of that dialogue but to the kind of dialogue that is needed from the angle of revolutionary Marxism. The revisionists are prone to see in a dialogue a process in which the two sides will rise above the “extremes” of idealism and materialism, of science and religion, by creating a “new” philosophy that will “suit everybody.” They regard a dialogue as a bargaining counter and are prepared in advance to substitute the principles of their foes for their own principles. That is the kind of dialogue that Prucha, Petrovic and, in essence, Garody have in view. Thus, Prucha has stated, “Garody realises that his thesis of the integration of all the valuable ideas in Marxism, whatever philosophical environment they have arisen in, is insufficient. Besides, the search after the fundamental in Marxism can evidently be concentrated not so much on the purification from wrong interpretations and on the elimination of the ‘Stalinist sclerosis’ as on a new realization of its structure.” (op. cit. p. 231). We are not in a position to judge how precisely Prucha sets forth the views of Garody. What we are interested in here is the views of Prucha himself. Thus, he stand for a “dialogue” because that will make it possible, not only to absorb the “valuable ideas” in bourgeois philosophy but to “re-interpret the structure of Marxism” under the in-

fluence of those ideas. It would be hard to state the case with greater definiteness or clarity. No revisionist since Bernstein has been so outspoken about his desire to re-fashion Marxism, using the yardstick of bourgeois philosophy, to imbue Marxist philosophy with the bourgeoisie's philosophical views, or to create a kind of "new synthesis" of Marxist and anti-Marxist philosophical views.

The revisionists do not understand, or pretend not to understand, that philosophy looks upon the ideologico-political struggle otherwise than, for instance, natural science does. The discoveries and conclusions in natural science have the significance of objective truths to representatives of any class in equal degree. In natural science, the ideologico-political struggle develops; not so much about the concrete content of these principles and discoveries, but, first and foremost and in the main, on the basis of the philosophical interpretation (materialist or idealist) of those discoveries and conclusions, on the question whether these discoveries will be used for peaceful ends or for the preparation of aggression, etc.

Philosophy is profoundly ideological in its *essence*, in the nature of its principles, its nature. Any ideological interpretation of its conclusions is not something extraneous to its principles, but is an expression of those principles, inasmuch as philosophy is a science which simultaneously is one of the forms of ideology.

Forging The Link

Marx and Lenin have inculcated in us an attitude towards bourgeois philosophy which calls, first, for a decisive and consistent struggle against the whole line of bourgeois philosophy, the line of idealism and metaphysics; second, for the concomitant establishment of the link between philosophical disputes and the ideologico-political process in a country and a definition of the place of one line of philosophy or another in the ideologico-political struggle; third, a concrete analysis of the varieties of bourgeois philosophy, consideration of the distinctions between them, and elucidation of the features of individuals, schools and systems and the like. Fourth, Marx and Lenin indicated the need to take account of the struggle *within* bourgeois philosophy, an ascertainment of progressive tendencies in it, support for these progressive tendencies and the demonstration of their limitedness, which is inevitable while they remain within the framework of bourgeois philosophy.

At the same time, Marx and Engels pointed to the contradictions and conflicts that are always inevitable in the camp of idealism, and to the exploitation of such contradictions and conflicts with the aim of weakening the positions of idealism. Let us recall the criticism of Plato by Aristotle, of Hume by Kant, of Kant by Hegel, and in our times, the criticism of neo-positivism by the neo-Thomists or the Existentialists, and, vice versa, the criticism of the latter by the former. That is the meaning of Lenin's words that, "when one idealist criticises another, materialism is the gainer."

Finally, Marx and Lenin demanded that a criticism of idealism and materialism should be not only

of a logical but of an epistemological nature, and that it should reveal how and why idealism, that barren plant, can go on growing on the living and mighty tree of human cognition, live as a parasite on the latest discoveries in natural science and science in general, and which aspects of reality it reflects in a hypertrophied and distorted form. Criticism of idealism must go hand in hand with a positive elaboration of the problems, or aspects of problems, in which the researcher has "strayed into idealism," an analysis of the actual essence of that problem, and the revelation of the objective features and aspects of reality which have been presented by the idealists in a hypertrophied form.

Such are the demands formulated by Marx and Lenin in respect of a scientific criticism of trends that are hostile to Marxism-Leninism. Hence, at least two conclusions must follow: criticism of bourgeois philosophy must be, not of a vulgarly materialistic but of a dialectic nature. Second, it must be subordinated to the interests of the general class struggle waged by the proletariat and all working people for democracy, progress and socialism. Let us continue in greater detail with the second conclusion.

Priority of Politics

While consistently defending materialism against the idealism of bourgeois philosophy, Marxists-Leninists never for a moment lose sight of the priority of the political problems and tasks, the priority of the workers' struggle for liberation, and of the consistency of communism. To us it is not a matter of indifference whether an idealist stands for peace or for aggression, whether he is a militant anti-communist, or a pacifist, without prejudice, to understand the attitude of socialism, and cooperates with progressive forces in the defence of peace and democracy. Of course, in both cases the Marxist is in duty bound to expose the bankruptcy of the stand taken by any idealist thinker in the sphere of philosophy. However the attitude to a political ally must come first. Lenin once reproached Plekhanov who, in his book on Chernyshevsky, "because of the *theoretical* distinction between the idealist and the materialist view on history... *failed to see* the practical political and *class* distinction between the liberal and the democrat (*Complete Works*, Vol. 29, P.560—Rus. Ed.). It is just as impermissible to fail to see, because of the oppositeness of idealism and materialism, the difference between progressive and reactionary views in representatives of bourgeois philosophy, or to fail to understand the need of an alliance of *all* democrats in the struggle against reaction. The political stand taken by a thinker should always be kept in view and taken stock of; should his positions deviate from his philosophical views, some must be given support (the progressive views and positions) while others should be rejected. The Marxist philosopher is obliged always to contrapose to idealism a progressive philosophy, irrespective of the vacillation towards the Right or the Left to be seen in the politics of a bourgeois philosopher—such is the principled position of the Marxist philosopher, which is incompatible with kowtowing to current trends, over

implication, or with vulgarization. What is essential is that the struggle against idealism should always foster the accomplishment of social and political tasks, the rallying of the democratic forces, which is what should determine the tactics in the struggle against philosophical foes.

By drawing a line between philosophy, and the class struggle and politics, the revisionists try to stand above the struggle of parties in philosophy, the struggle between materialism and idealism. Using their favourite device, they attribute to Stalin the irreconcilability of idealism in respect of idealism (or, as Petrovic says, "the absolute contraposition of materialism to idealism"). Marx, they assert, posed the question in a coherent fashion. As for Lenin, they either do not mention him or else hint that he interpreted the question in his own way. And what is most important, they claim that the present epoch has eliminated the oppositeness, and questioned the very problem of the relation of thinking to being. Thus, G. Petrovic asks rhetorically: "Is Marxist philosophy

imply dialectic materialism, and does the Marxist social practice of practice eliminate the traditional opposition between materialism and idealism?" In posing this question, G. Petrovic intimates in his comment to it that this kind of opposition is outmoded. He quotes the "young" Marx who did not call himself a materialist. He did so later, but it is "unclear" in Marx what is concealed by the term "materialism." Either Marx "expresses his philosophical stand more precisely (in comparison with the forties—D.C.) or, what is more probable, he belittles the significance of the new elements it brought with it." But of course, Petrovic would like to prompt to the reader, Marx "belittled" the significance of what was "new", that is, the "elimination" in human practice of the dualism of mind and matter, and the opposition between materialism and idealism. While attacking the principle of the oppositeness of idealism, and materialism, Petrovic evades in cowardly fashion the direct statements made on the matter by Marx, Engels and Lenin or plays down the uncompromising way in which they posed this problem.

Lenin's Approach

Did not Lenin have a high appreciation of Marx and Engels for their having advanced, in the space of fifty years, a *single* philosophical trend—materialism, making a mockery of all attempts to rise above materialism and idealism? Did not Lenin consider such pretensions an expression of feeble thinking and charlatanism? Did not Lenin show, in all his writings, that the struggle of materialism against idealism ultimately expresses the tendencies and ideology of the inimical classes in present-day society? (*Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 345 Rus. Ed.) Did he not demand that the party spirit be fully observed in philosophy, or that every philosopher display a clear-out attitude towards the camps existing in philosophy? Petrovic evades a direct answer to these questions. He tries to confuse the essence of the problem by pretending that he has not noticed these statements by Lenin. He expresses his ideas with various reservations and hints.

Petrovic is more outspoken in coming out against Lenin's theory of reflection. "In the young Lenin we also find a non-dialectic theory of the reflection of the outer space which exists outside and independently of him," he writes. The "mature" Lenin, he claims, corrected this sin of his youth, and recognized that the "mind not only reflects the objective world but also creates it." As we can see, the contraposition of the "young" thinker to the "mature one" is again dragged onto the scene. Only this time Petrovic appeals, not to the "young" thinker against the "mature" one, as with the instances with Marx, but, on the contrary, to the "mature" thinker against the "young" one. He has no scruples in such matters. Let us, however, examine the essence of Petrovic's assertion. In the first place, only an un-informed person or a falsifier could attribute Lenin's work *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* to the years of his "youth." He wrote his book when he was 38, after writing such solid works as *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, *What's to Be Done?* *Two Tactics* and so on, in which the foundations of Leninism as the highest stage in the development of Marxism had already been laid down. If one were to use this kind of device, then not only the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*—called by Lenin the "first mature work of Marxism"—but even the first volume of *Capital*, written by Marx when he had hardly turned 40, should be numbered among the "early" works of the "young" Marx. Perhaps, we should wait and see. It is quite possible that this "discovery" will also make an appearance.

The main thing lies elsewhere. Lenin's "*Materialism and Empirio-criticism*" proves that the objective world is the source of knowledge (this is against the Machists), and that the objective world is cognizable (despite Kant). The Leninist theory of reflection is directed against idealism in general and against these two varieties of idealism in particular. In this, *all* materialists are agreed, including the Marxists. It is this *general* line of materialism that Lenin defends. Petrovic has evidently learnt this. However, he has been unable or unwilling to notice that the Leninist theory of reflection is also directed against *vulgar* materialism, against metaphysics and mechanicism. Lenin devotes special attention to a characteristic of the shortcomings in all materialism prior to Marx (the metaphysicality, mechanicism and contemplativeness of the old materialism), and criticises even the individual errors made by the materialists (Feuerbach, Dietzgen and Plekhanov). Lenin insistently revealed the part played by socio-historical practice, which "invades cognition," and reveals the complexity of the process of cognition which leads from "non-knowledge to knowledge, from less profound knowledge to the more profound; he developed the doctrine of objective, absolute truth and relative truth, that is, showed the very activity of Man and his mind which his miserable critic has failed to discern in Lenin's work.

After perpetrating this elementary error, Petrovic clumsily quotes an extract from Lenin's *Philosophical Notebooks*, emphasising the activity of the mind. What emerges is that the "mature" Lenin has "rectified this sin of his youth." Petrovic is incapable of understanding that Lenin's idea concerning the activity of

thinking in no way contradicts his general stand on the reflection of being in thinking but, is on the contrary, organically linked with that stand. However Petrovic does not stop at this. He has taken such a fancy to finding "errors" in Lenin that he makes so bold as to find another one. "In the history of philosophy," he writes, "idealism was never more scientific and progressive than materialism. Marx and Engels were very well aware of this. The 'young' Lenin (in *Materialism and Emperiocriticism*) was allegedly sometimes given to forgetting this, but the mature Lenin (in his *Philosophical Notebooks*) "rectified his own errors, and pointed out that a clever idealism is closer to a clever materialism than a stupid materialism is (*Philosophical Notebooks*)." Petrovic would like to eliminate the oppositeness between materialism and idealism and come out openly against Lenin but cannot make up his mind to do so; hence, the various hints, ambiguity and so on. Marx and Engels were "well aware." And what about Lenin? Was he aware? It seems that he was (we shall say this in lieu of G. Petrovic: if he "often forgot" it means that he did know. One cannot forget what one does not know). After all, how can one affirm the opposite? One will give oneself away and be exposed and be caught in the act of falsification. We all know what a high appreciation Lenin had of Hegel, as is to be seen in *What Are the Friends of the People!*, *Marxism and Revisionism* and other

writings. It would be useful for Petrovic to remember, for instance, Lenin's words that not only do "oats grow according to Hegel," but that the Bolsheviks, also struggle against opportunism, according to Hegel (Lenin was speaking of the struggle against the Mensheviks, who, for Petrovic's information, defended the vulgar-evolutionist concept characteristic of "stupid materialism"). That is why Petrovic is forced to acknowledge that Lenin, too, knew what was known to Marx and Engels, yet he "forgot," and did so quite frequently. It is in place here to ask: when, in which cases? Does Petrovic think that it was necessary to reiterate *all the time* in *Materialism and Emperiocriticism* with the criticism of stupid idealism that a "clever" brand of idealism also exists. Lenin said that where it was necessary, for instance, in showing that the Machists had gone to the "Right" of Kant, consequently, a "clever" idealism to a "stupid" one; there was need to harp on this on every page.

There is no need to set forth all the misadventure that G. Petrovic has suffered. However, they are symptomatic, since they distinctly express the trend of present-day revisionism in philosophy, the essence of its views: a departure from materialism under the banner of the elimination of the oppositeness of idealism and materialism; the substitution of relativism and sophistics for dialectics; integration of all present-day (that is bourgeois) philosophy in Marxist philosophy. (To Be Concluded Next Week)

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Mao's New Party Constitution

O. P. SANGAL

LATEST reports from China suggest that the new "(Draft) Constitution of the Communist Party of China", as it came out of the, 12th Plenary session of the 8th Central Committee, held last year, has been generally approved by the three-way "Revolutionary Committees" of the various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities and the party Committee of the armed forces.

Party Committees no longer evidently exist outside the People's Liberation Army; during

the cultural revolution they were supplanted by Revolutionary Committees composed of Red Guards, army men and Party cadres considered worthy of the Centre's trust. The 12th Plenary session of the 8th Central Committee, therefore, asked "revolutionary Committees at all levels and Party committees at all levels of the 'PLA' to conduct a discussion on the draft and send their comments to 'the Centre' in two reports—one at the end of November, 1968 and the other by the middle of December, 1968.

This process having been completed, the Centre will now revise the draft in the light of the discussion and submit it to the 9th National Congress of the Party due to meet sometime during this year.

There were three main grounds on which the plenary session considered the draft worthy of adoption: 1) "It projects into prominence the Thought of Mao Tse-tung and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's line for Party building,"; 2) "it is relatively concise and clear", and 3) "it is basically in accordance with Comrade Mao

Tse-tung's suggestions and the demands of the broad revolutionary masses." The significance of these three points becomes clear on comparing the draft with the Constitutions adopted at the 8th National Congress of the Party in 1956 and the one adopted at the 7th National Congress in 1945.

There is no doubt that the new draft is much more concise than the earlier two documents (whether it is also clearer is another question). The 1945 Constitution ran through eleven chapters and had 70 Articles in all; the 1956 Constitution had nine Chapters and 61 Articles; the new draft has only six Chapters and eleven Articles, in all.

Even the "General Programme", which forms the preamble to the Constitution in all the three versions, has been considerably shortened and brought in line with the double personality of Mao Tse-tung and Lin Biao. The 1945 Constitution laid down that "the Communist Party of China guides its entire work by the teachings which unite the theories of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution—the Thought of Mao Tse-tung—and fights against any dogmatist or empiricist deviations." The 1956 Constitution, framed under the impact of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, deleted all references to the Thought of Mao Tse-tung and was content merely with saying that "the Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism as its guide to action" and that in its activities "it upholds the principles of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of China's revolutionary struggle, and combats all doctrinaire or empiricist deviations." The new draft not only restores the Thought of Mao Tse-tung as the guiding ideology of the Party but devotes most of its Chapter I to explaining what this ideology stands for today. It calls the Thought of Mao Tse-tung the "Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading towards total collapse while socialism is heading towards world-wide victory" and claims that in the past half-century Mao Tse-tung had "inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism, raising it to a completely new stage".

While the 1945 Constitution had explained in detail the tasks of the "New Democratic Revolution" and the 1956 Constitution had given a graphic description of how the Party intended gradually to bring about the socialist transformation of agriculture, industry and trade and build a democratic life, the main theme of the programmatic Chapter of the new draft is that classes, class contradictions and class struggle would continue to exist throughout the historical period of socialism and that the Party would have constantly to fight the danger of capitalist restoration by "relying on the Marxist theory and practice of *uninterrupted* revolution." The recent "cultural revolution", accordingly, finds mention in the Constitution as an example of the kind of revolutions which the Party would have to organise periodically "under conditions of socialism" and (Marshal) Lin Biao is declared to be "Comrade Mao Tse-tung's close comrade-in-arms and successor."

Change in Foreign Policy

The programmatic section of the 1956 Constitution had a paragraph on the Party's foreign policy. It advocated "a foreign policy directed to the safeguarding of world peace and the achievement of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems." It also laid down that the Party would constantly endeavour "to develop and strengthen China's friendship with all other countries in the camp of peace, democracy and socialism, headed by the Soviet Union, to strengthen the internationalist solidarity of the proletariat and to learn from the experiences of the world Communist movement." In the new draft there is a change of 180 degrees in this respect.

Not friendship with the other socialist countries but the overthrow of "modern revisionism headed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique" is declared to be the prime objective of the

Chinese Communist Party in the international field. Relations of solidarity are to be established only with "true" Marxist-Leninist political parties and organizations. And since "the Communist Party of China with Comrade Mao Tse-tung as its leader is a great, glorious, correct party" there is obviously no need for it to learn from the experiences of any other party.

To come to the Constitution proper, Articles 3 of the 1945 and 1956 Constitutions dealing with the rights of party members, together with its various sub-clauses is completely omitted in the new draft. Also omitted are Articles 7, 8 and 9 dealing with the period of candidature or probation for new party members, and Article 10 which regulated the transfer of party members from one party organisation to another. These provisions are presumably no longer necessary as party membership is now to be regulated not by rules and regulations but by the whims of the "Centre" or the exigencies of the factional struggle. Articles 15 and 17 of the 1956 Constitution which cautioned against indiscriminate and thoughtless disciplinary actions against Party members and laid down strict conditions in which a member could be expelled have also been deleted, opening the doors for a Party purge whenever the leadership considers it necessary. Article 18 of the 1956 Constitution which gave the right to Party members to be present when charges against them were considered and to appeal to higher Party Committees against any disciplinary action against them has likewise been deleted.

Even more significant is the omission of Article 16 of the 1956 Constitution which laid down that disciplinary action against a member of the Central Committee could only be taken by the National Party Congress or, in urgent circumstances, by a two-thirds majority vote of the Central Committee. Deletion of this Article is understandable in as much as in practice it had already been rendered null and void by arbitrarily removing nearly two-thirds of the Central

Committee members during the "cultural revolution."

The Chapter dealing with membership in the new draft has certain other innovations also. The 1945 Constitution did not restrict Party membership according to the social origin of the applicants. Under the 1956 Constitution, Party membership was open to any Chinese citizen who did not exploit the labour of others and who fulfilled the other requirements of the Constitution. The new draft permits only "workers, poor peasants, lower middle peasants, revolutionary servicemen and other revolutionary elements" to join the party.

A new addition has been made to the list of disciplinary measures that can be taken against Party members guilty of violation of discipline. Apart from being warned, relieved of their duties or expelled, such members can now also be placed "under surveillance." To purge the Party of "renegades", "enemy agents", "degenerates", "class dissidents" (whatever that might mean) and "diehard and unrepentant power-holders who have taken to the capitalist road" has been made a constitutional obligation of the Party Committees.

The most significant feature of the Chapter dealing with the organisational structure of the Party in the new draft is the considerable dilution of the provisions dealing with the election of Party Committees. The 1945 Constitution clearly laid down that "the leading Party bodies at all levels must be elected", either by secret ballot or by open vote from a list of candidates, with the guarantee that the voters shall have the right to criticise any candidate and to change any candidate on the list. The 1956 Constitution had made secret ballot compulsory for the election of all Committees above the primary level and had forbidden voting by lists even at the primary level. The new draft only says that the "leading organs of the Party at all levels shall be produced through democratic consultation and election." A leadership which has apparently disbanded all major provincial, regional and municipal Party

committees and replaced them with ad hoc extra-Party bodies cannot naturally have much respect for the elective principle.

The 1956 provisions emphasising collective functioning with individual responsibility have been omitted. Article 25 of the 1956 Constitution which provided for an appropriate division of functions and powers between the Central Party organisations and the local Party organisations has also been deleted. Article 26 of the 1956 Constitution had laid down: "Should a lower party organisation find that a decision made by a higher Party organization does not suit the actual conditions in its locality or in its particular department, it should request the higher Party organization concerned to modify the decision." This clause has been omitted in the new draft. The draft does not also consider it necessary to provide for a general inner-Party discussion on the Party's policy. Instead it has been clearly laid down that the "whole Party" shall always and in all circumstances "obey

the Centre" and all State bodies as well as mass organizations shall follow the Party's leadership.

In the Chapter dealing with the Central organization of the Party the new draft makes no provision for the requisitioning of the National Party Congress. The functions of the Congress are left undefined. There is no clause defining the functions of the Central Committee, either. The post of General Secretary of the Central Committee, so far held by Ten Hsiao-ping, has been abolished. The number of Vice-Chairmen of the Central Committee has been cut down to one — the post being reserved for Lin Biao. Constitutional provisions with regard to the provincial, regional, municipal and local party organizations have been reduced to a bare mention of these organizations. More significantly, the new draft does not provide for any control organs, either at the central or lower levels.

The so-called "Centre" is thus freed of all constitutional, political or moral constraints.



davp 67/507

Shiv Sena and Bombay Riots

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

If the Shiv Sena touched off the riots in Bombay between February 8 and 12, by its stand on the Mysore-Maharashtra border dispute, the beneficiaries were two Congress leaders of Maharashtra. The conclusion is therefore inescapable that the Shiv Sena must have willy-nilly acted as a convenient catpaw if it was not, in all its political innocence, inveigled into a supremely clever political game.

The boundary dispute is a new plank for the Shiv Sena, which has more or less outlived its earlier lines of action, namely, Maharashtra for Maharashtrians, freeing Maharashtra from the South Indian economic and social dominance, and the burning of Mao effigies and plastering Bombay with the slogans "Mao Murdabad." Bal Thackeray woke only recently to the need for a solution of the Mysore-Maharashtra boundary dispute on the basis of the Pataskar Formula. He learnt after a secret visit to New Delhi in January that Maharashtra cannot, under any circumstances, afford to implement the Mahajan Commission report, for which Mysore had been pressing.

He also learnt that Maharashtrian opinion had to be vociferously expressed if Mysore was to be persuaded to give up its demand for the speedy implementation of the Mahajan Report in its entirety.

Thackeray came back to Bombay and announced that his organisation would not allow any Central Minister to step into Bombay till such time as the Marathi-speaking areas now in Mysore are merged in Mahara-

shtra. Belgaum, Karwar and Nipani are the crucial areas. In the case of Belgaum, the Shiv Sena could make no concession whatsoever.

Soon after his pronouncement, Thackeray had an opportunity to enforce his threat. Appropriately enough, his first victim was the Union Home Minister, Sri Y.B. Chavan. Sri Chavan came to Bombay on January 27, for no ostensible purpose except to offer himself as the sacrificial goat. The Shiv Sena tried to stop Sri Chavan's car as it drove into the city from Santa Cruz airport. There were scenes of violence and the police exploded teargas shells and used the lathi on Shiv Sainiks. Sri Chavan left next day for Poona leaving Thackeray smug and happy that he had implemented his threat.

Thackeray claimed thereafter that he had information that the Government contemplated restrictions on his movement and that of his followers and that the police had been instructed to be "firm" with the Shiv Sena in future. This, he claimed, was departure from the usual attitude of helpfulness and cooperation from the police and the Government.

Thackeray also announced that he would defy any ban that the Government would place on the Shiv Sena. He also issued a warning to the Government at a public meeting on February 2 at Shivaji Park in Bombay that it should find a fair and speedy solution to the Border problem, failing which the people's emotions would be so exacerbated that the army would ultimately have to be called in.

Thackeray also claimed that he had the support of the Peasants and Workers Party, the Praja Socialist Party and the Samyukta Socialist Party in his campaign for the return of Belgaum to Maharashtra.

It was clear that Thackeray was building up a campaign to discredit the Deputy Prime Minister, during his scheduled visit to Bombay on February 7. A day earlier the Police Commissioner of Bombay felt constrained to hold consultations with Thackeray in order to ensure the safety of the Deputy Prime Minister. The police chief of Bombay obviously came to an agreement with the Shiv Sena pramukh to the effect that the Shiv Sena would hold only one demonstration as the Deputy Prime Minister drove into the city at the Mahim barrier in North Bombay, where it would present him a memorandum.

No one in Bombay had ever before heard of the police chief holding consultations with any political or agitational groups who threaten to break the peace, much less coming to terms with such a group to enable him to discharge his duty.

Having struck a deal with the Shiv Sena, the Police Commissioner did not ostensibly do anything to keep his promise—for his own reasons. The Shiv Sena was not allowed to present a memorandum to Sri Morarji Desai at Mahim. The car, carrying the Deputy Prime Minister and the Police Commissioner merely drove away while Bal Thackeray and his lieutenants waited impatiently with the memorandum.

On the way, the car knocked down two demonstrators, who Thackeray claimed were his followers. Incensed Shiv Sainiks turned violent, concentrating their attention as usual on Udiipi Hotels and South Indian establishments in the Mahim, Shivaji Park and Dadar areas. The police wielded the lathi and burst tear gas shells. Five Shiv Sainiks, among several others, were injured.

Thackeray shouted that the blood of the Shiv Sena had been shed. The situation had there-

fore gone out of control. He charged the Police Commissioner with breach of promise.

The Police Commissioner promulgated a ban on meetings and Thackeray announced that he would defy it. From then on violence erupted in many parts of Bombay, particularly Dadar, Mahim, Shivaji Park, Prabhadevi, Worli and Girgaum, each one a stronghold of the Shiv Sena. Arson, incendiarism, looting and pillage of the worst order was let loose on Bombay.

There were no big crowds out on the streets, as at the time of the agitation for Samyukta Maharashtra in 1956-1960. There was no determined defiance of the prohibitory orders or passive resistance. Street urchins and teenaged youths, forming small groups of five or ten went on the rampage, looting shops, assaulting passersby or setting fire to milk booths and buses or other municipal property. An indifferent public merely stood by and watched as bonfires were lit of public property. The will to resist goondaism was missing, mainly because of fear of retaliation.

The four days of terror and senseless destruction of public utilities and property was thought to be enough to convince the world that Maharashtrian sentiment would never tolerate Belgaum remaining for ever in Mysore State.

Business and commerce came to a standstill in Bombay for five full days, entailing a loss running into a few crores. The Bombay Electric Supply and Transport Corporation lost 20 buses worth as many lakhs of rupees and production estimated at a few more crores was lost. Fifty-seven lives were lost. How many of them were Shiv Sainiks is yet to be ascertained; majority of them were innocent lives. Four hundred and fifty persons sustained injuries. Crores of rupees worth of property were looted from shops.

All this would no doubt provided a political leverage to the Union Home Minister, who, on behalf of the Government, is committed to accept and implement the provisions of the Mahajan Commission report, but

as a Maharashtrian, has to take note of sentiment in his own home State. The Shiv Sena has helped him bring the sentiment to the notice of the entire country.

The riots have inevitably helped one other Minister—in the State cabinet, the ambitious Revenue Minister, Sri D.S. Desai. Sri Desai's plans to become the Chief Minister is no secret. In the State cabinet before the last General Elections he held the leverage when he administered the Home Department. It was no secret in Bombay then that he was an active sympathiser of the Shiv Sena and its ideals and that Bal Thackeray often acknowledged his debt of gratitude to Sri D.S. Desai.

After the elections, Sri Desai was divested of the Home Department, which is now administered by the Chief Minister, Sri V.P. Naik. Sri Desai has not given up his ambitions to head the State Government one day. Caste and communal considerations too have ensured for him the support of a large section of the Congressmen in the State legislature. He is a Maratha (like Sri Y.B. Chavan) while Sri Naik is a Vanjhari. Sri Naik does not hail from one of the original Maharashtra areas of Western Maharashtra or Marathwada but from Vidarbha, which came to Maharashtra from the former Madhya Pradesh on the reorganisation of States. Sri

Desai is an ardent admirer and supporter of Sri Chavan.

The riots over the border issue in Bombay—during which both Sri Chavan and Sri Desai, even though in the State, were far out of the city—have helped discredit the Chief Minister, who is also the Home Minister. With a little show of strength and more stringent action the police could have curbed the violence within the first 24 hours. This, the Government and police, failed to do. Sri Desai's followers claim that had he been in charge of the Home Department, things would have been different.

The Shiv Sena, which originally triggered off the riots, went about the streets of Bombay on the last day of the riots, asking people to remain calm and to give up violence. The Shiv Sena chief, Bal Thackeray, who was taken into custody under the Preventive Detention Act on the second day of the riots had a new experience in life—jail. He is known to have broken down and wept when police officials went to his house early in the morning to arrest him!

The riots and the violence have discredited the Shiv Sena. It has lost face even among its own cadres who are capable of independent thought and analysis.

But two men in Maharashtra, at least, have derived immense political advantage out of the riots that held Bombay to ransom for five days.

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Fighting Communalism

G. S.

IF there is need for more, and quick, action against the galloping menace of communalism, that cannot mean that deliberations on how to fight the evil are less needed. The tendency to pooh-pooh the series of recent anti-communalism conventions is therefore to be deplored.

The thing to be noted, and welcomed, is that the recent meets came in the background of complete inactivity, implying a total lack of awareness of the danger, even deliberate neglect on the part of the powers that be. It is only a few non-official efforts that have in recent times directed attention against the riot-mongering propaganda and activities of the arch culprit, RSS-Jan Singh, ably and most cooperatively assisted by the Muslim wing of Indian communalism—the Jamate-Islami. The Government singularly failed to move in the matter till the riots began to rise in a crescendo. The Home Ministry, it transpires, was at long last moved into appointing a study team of its officials to gather and go into the statistics of riots. The team discovered that while 316 persons were killed in the communal holocausts between 1954 and 1962, the toll rose to 300 alone in 1967. The Srinagar Conference was called, with its slant on combating communalism—conceded by the Prime Minister only after Sri Bhupesh Gupta made it a precondition for his Party's participation. A few other steps followed but they are characterised by extreme tardiness.

It is worth noting that at the last convention for national integration organised by the Sampradayikta-Virodhi Committee, while the Home Minister confined himself to making a general call and refused to name

the arch culprits, his Cabinet colleague, Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, did not practice the same kind of misplaced circumspection and was forthright in his condemnation as well as call. Dr. Rao even proposed a few practical steps whose concreteness makes amends for their extreme modestness. He said that the All India Radio should begin and end its daily broadcast by reminding that India was a nation of many religions, the newspapers should be asked to carry above their mast-heads the slogan of religious unity, and a 20-25 page text-book should be prepared and compulsorily prescribed in schools to inform the young minds about the secular character of the Indian state. To these the Home Minister's reply was that he could only assure his Cabinet colleague as he does the opposition in Parliament that the suggestions would be examined!

Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao's suggestions might sound tritely idealistic to some, but there is substance in them, especially in the last item. RSS wages a competition to catch-them-young. They have, not very incorrectly, been described as a gang of child-lifters, because they prey on adolescent minds impressing on them that their own communal ideology is the right "nationalist" ideology. Guru Golwalkar said at a recent rally of 8,500 RSS volunteers in Delhi that the Sangh had "furnished the image of nationalism and put forward a concrete programme of cultural renaissance in order that this ancient land might again reach the pinnacles of glory". According to him, this "image of nationalism" was precisely the one which "our sages had created several thousand years ago". This image was

organically linked up with Hindu religion, Hindu culture and Hindu society. Every Indian must remember, Golwalkar said, that "he was primarily born a Hindu, and the Hindu society must stand above everything else." The plea is plainly perverse and blatantly subversive of the true Indian nationhood, which is multi-religious, not merely Hindu. Whatever "image" the sages might have created thousands of years ago, history filled it up with a new content. To deny this content is to try to falsify Indian history and be blind to reality. Only the brainless fascists can do that, no true Indian will touch such an endeavour with even a pair of tongs, because real patriotism is enlightened, not blind or stupid like the counterfeit Golwalkarite "patriotism".

The struggle against the 200 year British imperialist rule created a new image of nationalism which is real and progressive. It is essentially secular and democratic even as the caste-based Hindu Rastra is bound by its very nature to be antidemocratic and communalist. Not only is Golwalkar's instrument—the RSS—for "bringing back the ancient glory" based on complete denial of democratism, his ideal society, as declared by himself, is also the Hindu-Varnashram society which ordains a division not only into upper and lower casts but even touchables and untouchables.

It is the forte of fascists to try put the clock of history back. Golwalkar is also trying to do that but what to speak of the nation, not even those born Hindu will accept this fascist philosophy. The nation could certainly never be unified and made strong by such philosophy, since it implies perpetual internecine strife, not a unified struggle for a common goal. The common goal can only be the consolidation of our hard-won national independence by striving for a social structure sans economic exploitation. Nehru already pointed to this when the battle for Swaraj was on by saying, "I am a nationalist but my nationalism is the radical nationalism of a poor and hungry

man, who has sworn to destroy the social system that has denied him a handful of rice". Communal 'nationalism' is the handmaid of the reactionary vested interests who wish the exploitative social system to be preserved, which is the real aim of their "cultural renaissance" and "resuscitation of ancient glory". The mis-education of the mass mind which they have undertaken, and which they have achieved in a measure that is disquieting, has rightly been seen as a dangerous portent. The resolve to combat it, not only negatively, but by projecting, by all possible means the real national goal of secularism-democracy-socialism and creating a mass psychosis in its favour comes not a day too soon.

Special emphasis is to be laid on a correct teaching of history, because it is in this field where the greatest distortions have been perpetrated, creating a propitious situation for communalist indoctrination. It had begun with the British imperialists, who sought to present Indian history before their advent as basically the history of Hindu-Muslim strife. Taking the cue precisely from them (Golwalkar says he is an ardent admirer of the British historian Arnold Toynbee), the Hindu and Muslim communalists have sedulously sought to propagate that the Indian history is a history of 700 years of Hindu-Muslim struggle for supremacy. It is significant that both aver that the Hindus and Muslims are two nations, and the twain can never meet.

Out to Destroy History

Sri Jaiprakash Narayan has drawn pointed attention to the fact that the RSS has launched an organised effort to have Indian history rewritten. This is to be done from the imperialist-communalist angle. The curious processes of RSS "erudition" has already "succeeded" in establishing the Tajmahal—with verses of the Quran inscribed all over it—as "a Hindu structure" and coming out with a programme of demolishing Taj Bibi's tomb.

The task of the communalists

in the sphere of history re-writing is easier, for the foundations of communally-garbled Indian history were already laid by the British during their rule. The RSS and its ilk have only to embellish the superstructure, while the true historian will first have to clear the mesh before proceeding with a true presentation of facts.

In this connection some interesting incidents were highlighted during the Delhi Convention. Pandit Vishwambhar Nath Pande of Allahabad said that when he read in a history book written by the late Hara Prasad Sastri that three thousand Brahmins had been compelled to commit suicide because Tipu Sultan pressed them to embrace Islam, he wrote to the author to enquire from him about the source of this story. Five letters of his remained unreplyed to and when finally he received a reply to his query, it was to say that the incident was mentioned in the "Mysore Gazeteer". But when the "Mysore Gazeteer" was carefully gone into, it was found to contain no mention at all of the forcible conversion attempt and suicide, on the contrary, it was found that Tipu Sultan was such a secular ruler that his Prime Minister and Chief of Staff both were Brahmins!

Correct re-writing of Indian history is urgently called for. This would be an essential part of the fight against communalism, which, it has been rightly emphasised, is not negative but positive in character, involving a projection of the correct concept and the essentiality of secularism as a vital pre-requisite for realising democracy.

What is really needed is nothing less than a broad, nationwide movement for secularism against communalism. The communal menace has escalated to a point where refusal to build a strong combat strength against it would mean letting down the nation. This has to be done on the ideological front as well as the organisational. The doctrine of Hindu Rashtra has to be exposed as a subversion of national unity, strength and the struggle to build a happy life for the people; the

vital link between secularism and democracy has to be shown to the masses. At the same time, the communal forces and their evil doings have to be unmasked and curbed. A powerful platform allying all secularist forces and a powerful, independent movement for secularism, against communalism—something like the movement for peace, against war—has become imperative. CPI General Secretary Rajeswara Rao had precisely this objective in mind when he asked Sri Jaiprakash Narayan at the Delhi Convention to come forward to lead such a movement, assuring him that he would find the CPI all too ready to rally its forces for the cause. Perhaps a beginning has already been made which myopic eyes that poohpooh the anti-communalist rallies are failing to see.

Govt's Callousness

Of special significance is the Delhi Convention's plea to the Central and State Governments to root out the cancer, asking them "to reorient education and publicity policies" to make the people aware of the perils of communalism as well as to remove all laxity on the part of the law and order authorities on this front. It is the want of re-orientation of education policies that has allowed the communal distortion of history to be perpetrated with impunity. The failure to reorient publicity policies has often given rope to communalist rumour-mongering resulting in serious mischief. One can recall how an atrociously false story in the Jan Sangh press about the Ranchi riots remained officially uncontradicted for two months. It said that the riots spread when the bodies of four Hindu women murdered after being raped, were brought to the Medical College Hospital. The belated official contradiction scotched the story as a foul concoction and warned the Sangh journals against indulging in this kind of poison-peddling. Those who follow the communalist press know that there are far too many occasions when it is allowed to get away with its criminally motivated fibs without the official machinery moving and to nail the

lie. Even the official Sangh report on communal riots is a tendentious document, a carrier of half truth, designed to be a weapon for creating more tension and riots, but official publicity has sat silent over it. The "report" tried to cover the Jan Sangh provocation at Pupri—condemned by all parties—by saying that "Jan Sangh MLA" Chandi Charan Chakravarti had saved nine Muslim lives. Sri Chakravarti, an East Pakistan refugee is not an MLA nor had he ever anything to do with the Sangh! As for the laxity on the part of the law and order authorities, it has been cultivated to such an extent that even such a logical demand as to suspend all those officials under whom cases of arson and looting has taken place when curfew order is in force has not been conceded.

Needless to say, only when a powerful movement against communalism will be built up, a true galvanisation of efforts, plugging all loopholes, can be achieved.

One should think that after saying all the above it would be superfluous to mention that the movement for secularism, against communalism will encounter its worse enemy in RSS-Jan Sangh. It is a fact of history, which even he who runs can read, that after independence, RSS-Jan Sangh developed as the main vehicle of communalism in India. It is

therefore surprising that some quarters should choose to accuse those of "double think" who take the arch-villain to task, and that should demand "absolutely equal treatment for the Hindu and Muslim communalists". Such a demand constitutes something worse than naivette, since it is a call to the patriots to blindfold themselves and refuse to see a patent fact of life. The plea that since communalism is criminal, all the communalist elements—Hindu, Muslim, Christian and Sikh—are dangerous in equal measure can be the result of wooly thinking only. The greatest danger to be fought today comes from the Hindu communalist organisation which starting "culturally" has now entrenched itself politically. The "servants of Hindu society" call themselves Rashtriya Swayamsevak (national volunteers) and professing "cultural pursuit" only, operate on an ever-growing scale in politics. Doubly dangerous operations!

One can conclude by drawing attention to a statistical phenomenon. If a graph is drawn of the rise of the RSS-Jana Sangh influence and the incidence of communal rioting, the curves shows a significant parallelism. Taking the Sangh's electoral success in UP in 1967 as the basic indicator of rising influence, one sees that the figures of legislators sent to the Assembly rose from

two in 1952, to 17 in 1957, 49 in 1962 and 99 in 1967 General Elections; the curve shows a steady rise. And so does the curve of communal carnages. The figures stood at 83 in 1954, 26 in 1960, 92 in 1961, 60 in 1962, 61 in 1963 and then a real take-off from 1964, rising from 676 in 1965 to nearly 2,000 in 1968. Figures of the killed in the riots also indicate an upward swing—while 316 got killed in nine years from 1954 to 1962, there were 300 communal murders in 1967 alone; 16 per cent among the unfortunate victims, belonging to the Hindu community and 84 per cent to the Muslim.

Can it be denied that both the rising curves represent the success of Guru Golwalkar? No one has done more to fan the communal psychosis in India after Independence than Sri M. S. Golwalkar with his "Hindu Rashtra" point-counter-point to the Pak Muslim Rashtra! He and the organisations he guides have a vested interest in the communal cold war. Their tentacle has a Midas-like touch, every corner of the land where it reaches is converted into a powder keg.

Combating communalism has become quite a task, but it must be tackled if the nation is to be saved from going under. The Movement for Secularism, Against Communalism should urgently be taken forward.

(To Be Continued)

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A CASE STUDY

The massacre of 42 Harijans in a Tanjavur village shook the conscience of the entire nation. The author visited the scene immediately after the tragedy. This piece, though belated, is being published as it makes a telling exposure of the so-called 'free press' in dealing with the life and struggles of the toiling masses.

Venmani and the Free Press

MYTHILI SHIVARAMAN

THE scene was strangely reminiscent of a cremation ground, not so much an ordinary crematorium where dead bodies seek their painless extinction but an eerie place where tender childhood, bashful youth and loving motherhood meet their abrupt, cruel end in agony and despair. Several mud huts were razed to the ground, others demolished in varying degrees. A few household articles, broken pots and pieces of bright glass bangles lay scattered. An emaciated dog lay still as if in a swoon outside a burnt hut while another kept sniffing the ground and whining. Feeble mourning and muffled, tear choked voices were heard and one noticed a few women and children looking lost and aimless. It was Venmani—the insignificant little Harijan village in Tanjavur district which became overnight the focus of national attention by a ghastly tragedy—42 persons burnt alive in a little hut, 20 women, 19 children and three old men.

The few women survivors (most of the men were in hospital or jail) seemed eager to unburden their grieved hearts. Two things struck me in their tales of woe. First, the open hostility and tension between a landowner in particular and the kisans of Venmani. There were complaints that the landowner, had conti-

nually harassed the local leaders in an attempt to wean them away from their party (CPM). One of the leaders of the Kisans, we were told, had been forcibly taken on the day of the tragedy and given a severe beating and locked up some where. Significantly, this leader was not a Harijan. This was however, the immediate provocation for the clash between the kisans of Venmani and the men hired by the landowner. And Pakkirisami, the man who later (on the same day) got killed in the clash was in fact a trusted lieutenant of the landowner.

Second, the kisans' distrust of and hatred for the police whom they considered to be the allies of landlords was overwhelming. They complained that several atrocities of the landlords in the past had gone unnoticed by the police and were highly skeptical about the protection the police could or rather would offer them. And incredible as it seemed, no one mentioned anything about the wage dispute which figured prominently in the dailies. When questioned, they shrugged it off as some thing not so relevant to the incident. They insisted that the men with whom they had a fight on the day of the tragedy and especially those who set fire to their huts were really the henchmen hired

by the landowner to intimidate them. These impressions were further strengthened by our talks with the kisans of the neighbouring villages. However, these were certainly not the impressions I got from reading the dailies before visiting Venmani. Far from it. It had seemed a simple dispute between Communist and non-communist kisans over wages with the former cast in the role of aggressors.

The treatment that the victims of Venmani got from the majority of the newspapers of Tamil Nadu was a grotesque irony—a macabre display of the sense of objectivity of the 'Free Press'. The indecent haste with which the dailies took up the cause of the landowners in their reports and editorials was shocking.

An English language daily which recently celebrated its centenary with the personal blessings of our Union Home Minister had this to say in its editorial the day after the crime: "On Wednesday night, they (meaning the Marxist Communist kisans) inaugurated a reign of terror in the district by setting fire to huts in which farm labourers, who had been recruited from outside the area had sought refuge from their attacks." (*Mail*, December 27, 1968). This information seemed incredible; for, a correspondent of the same

paper on the same day reported the following in its columns: "All the victims of the arson said to be agricultural labourers attached to the Left Communist Party, took shelter in a small hut apprehending retaliatory attack from the rival group of labourers of Erukkai and Erunjiyur villages. ...Infuriated members of the imported group later came in a body and set fire to the huts belonging to the group which attacked them earlier"...One is sure to be bewildered as to who were the victims of arson and who set fire to the huts! Either the editor did not read the correspondent's report or decided to overrule it for reasons best known to himself.

The dailies informed us that the incident was simply a fight between two groups of kisans—the Marxist kisans preventing the outsiders from working at the wage offered by the landowner. The reader was left with the impression of the landowner modestly retreating to the background in this barbaric fight between the labourers, an innocent and helpless spectator, himself a victim of "extortion and blackmail at the hands of Marxist kisans" (*Mail* December 27, 1968). It is highly significant that only one English language daily reported the statement that the Inspector General of Police (Madras) issued after his investigation of the incident. The paper stated, "According to the I.G. the animosities between the Paddy Producers Association, Nagapattinam Taluk and Left Communist kisans and the attempts made by Association to wean the left Communist kisans away from their Sangh and make them 'loyal workers' was responsible for the clashes. He would not attribute the clashes to wage disputes". (*Indian Express* December, 28, 1968).

The other two major English language dailies made no reference to the Inspector General's most relevant statement which was diametrically opposed to what the dailies were insisting on as the cause for the tragedy. Even the *Indian Express* was careful to point out in its editorial, "it would be a mistake to stress the

ideological aspect of the affair. The caste aspect might be as important as the ideological one", emphasizing the caste differences between the 'regular' and 'outside' labour. The fact however remains that all the victims of arson (Harijan no doubt) did belong to the Marxist party and that their leader whose maltreatment at the hands of the landowner's hired men provoked the clash (referred to earlier) was himself a caste Hindu.

Another pet theme of the newspapers was that the wage agreement in vogue had been violated by the Marxist kisans resulting in bloodshed. The following quotes that appeared in the press seem deliberate attempts to mislead the public: "There have been agreements which have been as at Venmani, religiously violated by Communist leaders who have incited workers into taking direct action." (*Mail*, December 30, 1968). "An agreement over wages, called the Mannargudi agreement does not seem to have been honoured by everybody", (*Hindu* December 28, 1968). Only one paper felt obliged to refer briefly to the relevant clauses of the agreement. The rest while asserting that the agreement had been broken did not care to spell out the specific provisions. In fact, the agreement arrived at in October 1967 fixed "the wage rate for paddy harvest for this fasli", meaning the year ending in July 1968. Also the Communist-led kisan organizations had been demanding another tripartite conference to set the wage rate for the current year which was however convened only on January 16, 1969 after the tragic occurrence. It becomes obvious then that there was no wage agreement binding on the kisans during the time of the incident and that in asking for an increase, the kisans had not violated any existing agreement.

An event that occurred after the tragedy of Venmani also provides a classic example of the objectivity of the 'Free Press.' At the tripartite conference held on January 16, 1969, the District Collector of Tanjavur gave a decision which raised the wage

rate slightly. A few days later, the Landowners' Association (under the misnomer, 'Paddy Producers' Association') decided to suspend the samba crop harvest to "protest the arbitrary decision of the collector." It was the *Mail* which had said earlier in its editorial, "A wage scale will be helpful only if the concerned parties implement it honestly. Experience suggests that the Marxists do not" (*Mail*, December 27, 1968). One searched the papers in vain for an editorial admonition or at least an opinion on the landowners' refusal to abide by a decision not strictly in accordance with their wishes. The papers have so far maintained a stubborn if awkward silence.

Was Venmani an isolated accident unrelated to the agrarian conditions of Tanjavur? What has been the impact of the agrarian reforms on the rural power structure and on the lives of the landless labourers? What is the pattern of land ownership and the incidence of absentee landlordism? And what is the nature of the machinery to ensure the rights and obligations of the labourers and the landlords in our primitive, medieval country? These were some of the questions which were not raised in the newspapers and the relevance of such factors to the Venmani incident not even admitted. It is tragic that even such a gruesome incident should have failed to provoke some hard thinking on the part of our editorial writers.

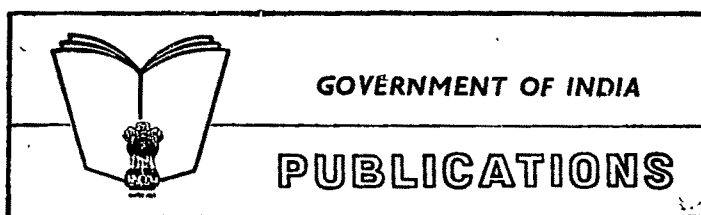
A brief glimpse at the agrarian front in Tanjavur will give a more meaningful clue to the Venmani incident than all the reports and editorials that have so far appeared. According to a study,* about half of the owners in Tanjavur district, hold 2.5 acres or less while the top four per cent who own more than 30 acres each hold 45 per cent of all the cultivated land. The same

*A Study On Tenurial Conditions In Package Districts, Wolf Ladejinsky, Consultant to the Ford Foundation, Government of India, Planning Commission, 1965, (Published in *Mainstream* March 13, 20 and 27, 1965).

report states that from two-thirds to three-fourths of the farm population either leased or worked the land of non-cultivating owners. Temples and other religious institutions continue to be big and notorious if impersonal landlords. And it is very rare for a kisan in this part, to own even the little patch of earth on which his miserable little hovel stand and he could be evicted at the whim of the landlord. His meagre earnings during the 3 or 4 months that he is able to find work will have to sustain his family for the whole year. And all this in Tanjavur, the 'granary of Tamil Nadu' which hides a multitude of sins beneath its alluring green velvet carpets and red lily ponds.

Viewing it politically, the Communist Parties which seek to unite, organize and strengthen the peasants as a political force is recognized by the landowners as their primary enemies and dealt with as such. The only way to keep the peasant 'in his place' is to suppress his party organization and this is what happened in Venmani. Our feudal lords have yet to get used to the idea of the kisan as a free man—the kisan who asserts his rights as a worker to make united demands, to stage strikes and other forms of protests to improve his working conditions and to secure and ensure enforcement of wage agreements—in short, to the kisan as a force to reckon with. Tanjavur is going through a painful if inevitable process of transition from feudal adolescence to bourgeois manhood.

The newspapers without even touching any of these aspects buried their timid heads like an ostrich and raised the ghosts of wage increase and casteism. These undoubtedly played some part in the incident but their role was peripheral—it was a simple case of naked aggression of the rural bourgeoisie with the tacit approval of the police force against the landless. But the 'Free Press' of Tamil Nadu found it convenient to insist as the *Mail* did, '.....the Government must deal with agrarian unrest in the area as primarily a law and order problem' (*Mail*, December 27, 1968).



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THE WEST BENGAL POLL (Continued from Page 8)

legitimate dues. The latest news about Centre's allocation to West Bengal for the Fourth Plan (Rs. 92 per capita against Gujarat's Rs. 216 and Maharashtra's Rs. 200) has finally convinced the middle class of the need of the United Front coming back to power in West Bengal, so that the State's case could be pressed more effectively.

The distinctive feature of the United Front campaign this time has been that practically everywhere the mass appeal for votes was done in the name of the United Front. This is in sharp contrast to the situation last time when apart from the fact that there were two different fronts, the parties inside each front campaigned mainly in the name of their respective parties. This time the United Front as a solid team has gone out into the campaign; this could be seen from the fact that even in the CPM strongholds, for instance, Sri Ajoy Mukherjee was asked to campaign, just as Sri Jyoti Basu did extensive campaigning in non-CPM areas as well. It is therefore fair to say that every party, from the biggest to the smallest inside the United Front, has

gained considerably as a result of this united campaign.

It may be mentioned here that the winning of seats had some relation to the distribution of seats made at the time the United Front entered the election campaign. The distribution of seats was made on the basis of the poll score of each party at the time of the 1967 General Election: whoever polled the highest among non-Congress parties in a constituency was allotted that seat. In view of the fact that CPM had fielded the largest number of candidates—133 though it could win only 43—it was allotted 97 seats this time, out of which it has gained 80. The record of some other parties in this respect is equally impressive, if not more. For instance, Forward Block fielded 28 candidates out of which 21 won; RSP fielded 17 out of which 12 won; SSP 14 out of which 9 won; CPI contested 36 seats out of which it won 30; SUC won all the seven seats that it contested. The Bangla Congress had the largest number of casualties—it contested 49 seats out of which 33 won—but this is due to the fact that the Party had to face the brunt of the defections initia-

ted by Sri Humayun Kabir the credit however, must go to the Bangla Congress for having defeated most of the defectors including Dr. P.C. Ghosh.

The success of the CPM at the polls—its West Bengal unit today commands a larger number of MLAs than that of Kerala—is to be largely accounted for by its better organisation and the personal prestige enjoyed by its leader Sri Jyoti Basu. At the same time it would be fair to mention that other United Front partners particularly Sri Ajoy Mukherji, contributed considerably to ward off the lurking misgivings of a section of the electorate about the danger of extremism associated with a section of CPM. The point to note is that while each party of the United Front should no doubt take the credit for its own success, it has to be remembered also that others have mutually contributed to a considerable measure to its success. The West Bengal poll results have amply demonstrated how fruitful can be a genuine United Front campaign for democratic forces in conditions prevailing in our country today.

West Bengal Assembly : Mid-term poll District-wise Party Position

1967 figures are given within brackets

	Seats	Cong.	Com.	CPI	B. Cong.	F.B.	SSP	RSP	SUC	PSP	Ind. & Others*
Calcutta	23	5 (11)	8 (5)	4 (4)	x (x)	2 (x)	x (x)	2 (1)	x (x)	x (x)	2 (1)
24-Parganas	50	4 (12)	24 (18)	7 (3)	5 (9)	2 (2)	1 (1)	2 (x)	4 (3)	x (x)	1 (2)
Burdwan	25	2 (14)	17 (7)	1 (x)	2 (1)	x (x)	2 (1)	x (x)	x (x)	x (1)	1 (1)
Midnapore	35	6 (12)	3 (1)	10 (8)	11 (10)	x (x)	1 (1)	x (x)	x (x)	4 (2)	x (1)
Howrah	16	1 (9)	8 (3)	x (x)	1 (1)	5 (3)	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)	1 (x)
Hooghly	18	2 (7)	9 (4)	1 (x)	x (1)	3 (3)	1 (1)	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)	2 (1)
Birbhum	12	x (6)	3 (x)	x (x)	1 (x)	4 (2)	x (x)	x (x)	2 (1)	x (x)	2 (3)
Bankura	13	x (9)	4 (x)	1 (x)	6 (4)	1 (x)	1 (x)	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)
Murshidabad	18	5 (13)	x (1)	1 (x)	2 (1)	x (x)	1 (x)	4 (2)	x (x)	x (x)	5 (1)
Malda	10	5 (6)	x (1)	2 (x)	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)	3 (8)
Darjeeling	5	1 (3)	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)	4 (2)
Jalpaiguri	11	7 (6)	x (x)	1 (x)	x (1)	x (x)	1 (2)	2 (1)	x (x)	x (1)	x (x)
Cooch Behar	8	6 (5)	x (1)	x (x)	(x)(x)	2 (2)	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)
W. Dinajpur	11	3 (6)	2 (x)	x (x)	1 (x)	1 (x)	x (x)	2 (2)	x (x)	1 (3)	1 (x)
Nadia	14	5 (4)	2 (1)	1 (1)	3 (5)	x (x)	1 (x)	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)	2 (1)
Purulia	11	3 (4)	x (x)	1 (x)	1 (1)	1 (1)	x (x)	x (x)	1 (x)	x (x)	4 (5)
TOTAL	280	55 (127)	80 (42)	30 (16)	33 (34)	21 (13)	9 (6)	12 (6)	7 (4)	5 (7)	28 (21)

*Others : Gorkha League 4(2) ; Forward Bloc Marxist 1(1) ; Workers Party 2 (2) ; R CPI 2 (x) ; Progressive Muslim League 3 (x) ; Independents supported by U.F. 9 (6) ; Independents 2 (5) ;

BIHAR : INSTABILITY CONTINUES : (Continued from page 10)

with a narrow margin. The SSP lost eight of 14 seats in Monghyr without making any gain. In Darbhanga, the party lost five of 13 seats but won only three new seats. In Saharsa, it lost 6 of 7 seats, winning only 3 new seats. In Gaya and Shahabad also, it suffered losses but in Muzaffarpur improved its position from 7 to 9.

The P.S.P. lost heavily in Purnea and Champaran. It held five seats in each of the districts. But in the midterm poll, it lost three seats in Purnea and four in Champaran. It, however, won two new seats in Muzaffarpur, and three new seats in Shahabad.

The Lok Tantric Congress has met with a debacle. In spite of a number of top leaders like Sri. B.N. Jha, Sri. Bhola Paswan, Sri. L.N. Sudhanshu, Sri. K.K. Singh and Sri L.P. Shahi it could win only 9 seats. The party did not have any organization at lower levels and much more than

this, it has no clear cut programme and policy. They people thought it to be an outpost of the Congress and it was known that the party might go back to the Congress.

The Shoshit Dal, in spite of all the discredit, could win six seats but a number of defectors like Sri. Satish Prasad Singh, Sri S.M. Abdullah, Sri Hargun Shahi etc. lost. The main basis of the Shoshit Dal propaganda was the uplift of the backward castes.

Another defector Sri Nathmal Dokania was embraced by the Congress but he even then could not be elected, but Sri Harihar Singh an expert defector could win on the Congress ticket.

In Shoshit Dal, with the victory of Sri Jagdeo Prasad, the tussle for leadership between Sri Mandal and him will be intensified and all this may take the party wither away.

The CPI has managed to

raise its seats from 24 to 25 but the CPM has lost one seat. It is a good sign that the Communists have retained their seats in Barauni and Sindri and have annexed the two seats in Jamshedpur, and one seat in Giridih and one in Nirsia. For the first time, the CPI has made inroads into the domain of Raja of Ramgarh by capturing that Giridih seat. In South Bihar, the Jamalpur seat has been won by CPI. It shows the Communists are making headway in the industrial towns. In Ranchi, the CPI was the nearest rival of the winning Jan Sangh candidate.

But the CPI has failed to consolidate its gain in non-industrial North and South Bihar. It has lost 14 of 24 seats won in 1967, but it has won 15 new seats to compensate for the losses and make the total of 25 seats. It lost from four of the five seats it held in Darbhanga but won two

Bihar : District-wise Break-up of Scores by Different Parties

(Figures in brackets represent 1967 General Election Scores)

District	Seats	Cong.	S.S.P.	J.S.	C.P.I.	C.P.M.	PSP	Janta	LTC	Hul Jhar	BKD (JKD)	Shos-hit Dal	Swat.	Indpt.
Champaran	21	15(6)	1(1)	2(2)	1(3)	—(1)	1(5)	—	—	—	—(2)	—	1	—(1)
Saran	24	14(9)	2(7)	2(2)	1(1)	—(1)	1(1)	2	1		1(3)			—(1)
Muzaffarpur	28	9(16)	9(7)	1(1)	1(1)		2		3		1(2)	1		1
Darbhanga	30	8(10)	11(13)	1	3(5)		2(1)		1			1	2(1)	1
Saharsa	13	9(5)	4(7)				—(1)							—(2)
Purnea	21	13(12)	1	—(1)	—(1)	1	2(5)		2					2(5)
Santhal Parg	18	7(4)	1	1(5)	2(2)	—	1			5			—(2)	1
Bhagalpur	12	5(2)	2(2)	2(4)	2(3)		—(1)							1(1)
Monghyr	22	7(2)	6(14)	1	4(2)	1(1)	1(2)					1		1(2)
Patna	20	9(1)	2(2)	4(3)	2(2)		1	1			1(3)			—(1)
Shahabad	22	6(12)	4(7)	2	2(1)		4	1	1					2(2)
Gaya	25	5(12)	4(5)	6(1)	3(3)		2(2)		1		—(1)	2		2(1)
Hazaribagh	16	4(5)	2(1)	—(1)	1			9			—(9)			
Dhanbad	8	—(3)	1	1	1	1(1)		1			3(4)			
Singhbhum	14	1(7)	—(1)	—(3)	2					2				9(3)
Ranchi	15	4(9)	—	7(2)							—(2)	1		3(2)
Palamau	8	2(6)	2(1)	4(1)										
TOTAL SEATS	317	118(128)	52(68)	34(26)	25(24)	3(4)	17(18)	14	9	7	6(26)	6	3(3)	23

N.B.—1. One seat of the 318 member Vidhan Sabha—Masrakh in Saran district—is vacant.

2. Independents include those who have been elected on the tickets of the Jharkhand, the Forward Bloc and Republican parties who were allotted free symbols. Figures for JKD in 1967 have been put in brackets against BKD, because JKD transformed itself into BKD; only Janta Party split away from it.

new seats there. In Champaran it could retain only one of the three seats held by it. In Bhagalpur too its strength had been reduced from three to two and in Purnea it drew blank. But in Monghyr it has improved its position from 2 to 4. Its most notable success was in Jamshedpur where it recaptured both its lost seats. It is interesting to note that nowhere the communists lost to the Jana Sangh candidates. In Patna West, the Jana Sangh, the Congress, the SSP and the CIA all tried their utmost to defeat Dr. Sen, the communist candidate, but failed.

The CPM lost two seats and won only one new seat.

Had there been any unity among the four parties namely the

CPI, the CPM, the SSP and the PSP all of them could have won greater number of seats and perhaps they could have provided a stable government to the people.

The Raja of Ramgarh has again reached the Vidhan Sabha with the members of his family and retinues. The Raja has won nine seats in Hazaribagh. This could be possible because there was no effective alternative to the Janata Party there and the Congress wanted to fight the glamour of the Raja by the glamour of another Raja, Dr. Karan Singh, who campaigned there. But really no effective campaign against Janata Party was launched exposing its reactionary role and policies.

The Hul Jharkhand has won on the promise to better the lots

of the tribals.

The Proutist Bloc, a wing of the Anand Marg widely believed to be aided by foreign agencies, has not fared well so far as votes are concerned but it has won one seat. The Forward Bloc had made its appearance by gaining one seat but the RSP and the Republican Party have lost their solitary seats,

The situation for either the Congress or the non-congress parties to form a stable government is not favourable. Even if a government is formed by some freak combination, there is little to indicate that it can last even for a year. Whatever government is formed, it will be beset with internal wranglings and the image of the constituents is bound to be damaged.

NAGALAND ELECTION : (Continued from page 12)

Sukhei faction, composed mainly of the Semas, has thrown its weight behind the ruling NNO. The Semas were also formally opposed to the elections but supported the NNO candidates wherever they had some effective political strength, especially in the Sema, Angami and Rengma areas.

The Sukhei faction has come closer to the State Government mainly due to the efforts of Finance Minister Hokishe Sema. Some of their raids on the Phizo factions's dens were believed to have been organized on the basis of information given by the Indian security forces. This group is opposed to China, against resumption of hostilities and, for all one knows, in favour of a peaceful political settlement. In all likelihood, this group will be happy with any arrangement in which they will have a share in power. Personal conflicts and power-rivalries notwithstanding, indications are that Kughato will work in co-operation with the NNO.

The defeat of ex-Chief Minister Shilu AO, who fought as an Independent, has come as a

surprise to many. In a straight contest, he was defeated by his NNO rival Koramoa Jamir, a sitting MLA, by a narrow margin of 162 votes. As reported earlier in these columns (*Mainstream* January 18, 1969), Shilu is looked upon with misgivings by both NNO and UFN. Neither of the parties was prepared to oblige him with a ticket. In the election, his NNO opponent is believed to have been supported by the UFN. Political observers feel, Shilu's presence in the Assembly would have been a source of strength for the opposition.

The representation of the Tuensang District Council to the State Assembly was recently increased from 6 to 12. The newly-elected members are : K. Akum Imlong, Minister for Tuensang Affairs, Publicity and Information ; Tochi Hanso (sitting) ; Lakmog Yimchunger, Tingmi Konyak, I.L. Chingmak, M. Tsubongse Sangtam, M. Zhetovi Sema, Kichingse Sangtam, Ooite-mba Phom, Thonglong Konyak, Chingwang Talem Konyak and Longnyiem Konyak. Of these,

Akum Imlong and Tochi Hanso belong to the NNO. The others have decided to join the ruling party for the present.

With the peaceful conclusion of the elections, a new chapter opens for Nagaland. It has proved the Naga people's growing interest in democratic functioning exposed the weakness of the intransigent elements and their failure to mislead the masses, while the emergence of an organized opposition party will keep a check on administrative malpractices,

Incidentally, it is also likely to make a positive impact on the hill tribes of North-East India as a whole. If the Government of India acts with imagination and foresight, the result of the Naga elections may be profitably used as an eye-opener for the secessionist elements as a curb on the centrifugal tendencies manifesting in this highly sensitive region.

PLEASE NOTE

K.R. Ganesh, M.P. will continue his American Dairy in *Mainstream* next week.

PUNJAB POLL

(Continued from page 11)

stability in the State hardly carried conviction, particularly after all the experience with the defectors' minority Gill Government, the Bhagwat Dayal episode in Haryana and the Rarewala defection on the eve of the mid-term poll. As against this, the Akali-Jana Sangh claims to establishing the much needed Hindu-Sikh unity was more effective because everybody knew that these two parties themselves had made the two communities stand against each other for years till the last General Election. However, 'tactical' avowal of Hindi by the Congress did fetch it some seats and weaken the Jana Sangh in the big cities.

As for the Left parties, mainly the two Communist Parties, the last General Election had shown that they did command influence whereby they could bring impact on the course of developments in progressive direction to some extent. It may be mentioned here that the mid-term poll in Punjab was the first election held in the conditions of communal peace, and therefore provided favourable conditions for the Left forces to politicalise the people on the basis of a clear programme and thus give a positive direction to the anti-Congress sentiment of the people. The Right parties wanted to precisely avoid this sort of confrontation with the Left.

If the CPI's effort at evolving a programme-based Left front comprising itself, the SSP and RPI (Ambedkar), could not make any headway, the reason is not difficult to see. The SSP has little base in the rural areas and the RPI-A's influence is limited to a few pockets in the districts of Doaba. The CPI-CPM clash has cost both of them heavily; even the cursory glance of the voting shows that the CPM itself would have gained atleast to more seats of Nangal and Barapind if it had preferred to strengthen the Left Front rather than establishing rapport with the Akalis at the cost of the other Left parties. In Atari constituency, for instance, the CPI unilaterally withdrew its candidate in favour of the CPM candidate Sri Darshan Singh. It

is therefore on cards that of the two seats won by the CPM, one was gained with the active support of the CPI. The Akali leadership on its part claimed that in return

Sri Darbara Singh, Sri Mohan Lal and Sri Prabodh Chandra, all former Ministers, were casualties on the Congress side. The Jana Sangh State Chief and former

Punjab : Comparative Position of Parties in 1967 and 1969 Elections

Parties	1967			1969		
	Votes	Percentage	Seats	Votes	Percentage	Seats
Congress	15,94,160	37.46	48	18,34,560	39.28	38
Akalis	10,50,488	24.59	26	13,81,916	29.59	43
Jana Sangh	4,18,921	9.85	9	4,12,623	8.84	8
CPI	2,19,494	5.16	5	2,11,886	4.54	3
CPM	1,38,858	3.26	3	1,46,610	3.26	2
SSP	30,591	0.71	1	39,109	8.84	2
PSP	21,635	0.51	0	23,617	0.51	1
Independents	6,83,359	16.06	9	4,31,116	9.23	4

for the Akali-CPM electoral adjustment, the CPM was committed to support Akali candidates on all other seats whether against the Congress or the Left parties.

It is worth noting that the Congress continues to command single largest block of polled votes although in the Legislature it will be second to Akalis. Even the combined voting strength of the Akalis and the Jana Sangh comes to 38.43 per cent of the valid votes polled as against 39.28 per cent of the Congress. Still more interesting is the fact that the seat-strength of the Congress declined from 48 in 1967 to 38 in 1969, despite its polled votes being about 2.50 lakhs more this time. The Jana Sangh lost both in votes and seats.

The shifting fortunes of various parties in different constituencies are too obvious. For instance, the Congress could retain only 11 out of the earlier 48 seats, the Akalis 13 out of the 24 and the Jana Sangh could retain only three of its nine seats won in 1967. The CPI and CPM could similarly retain one each of the five and three respectively from 1967.

Another feature of the mid-term election was the defeat of the top leaders of various parties—the biggest casualty being from the Congress, followed closely by the Jana Sangh. Sri Brish Bhan,

Finance Minister, Sri Baldev Prakash and the vice-president Sri Lal Chand Sabharwal contributed to the list of casualties. Among the Akalis, Sri Sohan Singh Bassi, a contender for Chief Ministership, and Sri Gurcharan Singh, former United Front Parliamentary Secretary got defeated. This is not to mention the last minute turned-Akali Sri Gian Singh Rarewala who was defeated by an Independent supported by Congress and CPI. In this list can be included the prominent Leftist leaders like CPM's Sri Harkishan Singh Surjit and CPI's Sri Jangir Singh Joga.

The Gill's defector Ministers met the fate they deserved. All of them were defeated. Sri Gill could save himself by contesting from two seats and entering the Vidhan Sabha from one of them.

Taking the election results area-wise, the Jana Sangh lost both the Ludhiana seats, one of the two of its Jullundur City seats and two of the three Amritsar city seats and one Pathankot seat to the Congress. One Amritsar city seat was wrested by the SSP from the Jana Sangh. However the Jana Sangh won seats in Ferozepur, Batala, Dina Nagar, Nangal and Rajpura, all from Congress. It may be noted that the Akali—Jana Sangh alliance could effectively work to their mutual advantage

only at places away from the traditional centres of political activity like Amritsar, Jullundur or Ludhiana.

In the Patiala district of erstwhile PEPSU, the Congress met its Waterloo. The Akali-Jana Sangh-Swatantra combine was able to wipe out the Congress from the district. Barring the districts of Jullundur Hoshiarpur and Bhatinda, the Congress lost mainly to Akalis and the Jana Sangh combine in the other eight districts of the State. In the district of Jullundur, the Congress improved its position from 5 to 8 seats by winning one seat each from the Jana Sangh, CPM, RPI and Independent and lost one to CPI.

It will no doubt take some-time to assess how strong is the Akali-Jana Sangh combine, how long it can pull together and what will be its impact on the all-India politics. One will have to wait for the undeclared and unwritten economic and other policies of the combine to see them in practice. But certain trends can even now be noticed. For instance, there is panic in the Jana Sangh over the loss of its traditional base in big cities; for, in the new found bases it will be completely at the mercy of the Akalis.

Secondly, there are three and even four distinct elements gathered in the Akali Vidhan Sabha Dal. The Sant followers are of course in the majority. But there is a group of seven to eight Master-Akalis led by redoubtable Swatantra-Akali S. Kapoor Singh: another group of six to seven members belonging to the family of former Defence Minister, Sardar Baldev Singh; besides there is Sardar Kairon's son, Sardar Surinder Singh into the Vidhan Sabha as an Akali number. All these constitute a motley lot which is bound to become a liability for the Gurnam Singh leadership in the new Ministry.

If the Left parties and particularly the two Communist parties, the SSP and PSP, could pull their weight together on the basis common minimum understanding on policies and a programme, they would still be able to play a significant role in the Vidhan Sabha and stem the offensive of the Right reaction on the people.

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The Train

WHEN the Rajdhani Express, 120 kilometres an hour, got back to Delhi from its proving run to Calcutta, the grateful newsmen crowded round Mr. Poonacha.

'It was great,' said some. 'It was as enjoyable as overflying a flood.'

'The Indian Railways,' said the Minister, 'are happy you liked it, though we are sorry we couldn't order you a flood or some similar catastrophe. Not even a sufficiently newsy smash up.'

The Information aide whispered something in the Minister's ear, after which Mr. Poonacha corrected himself, 'I meant, not right away. Though, hopefully...'

'We understand, we understand,' said the doyen of the correspondents.

'But certainly, the new fast expresses will take care of that,' insisted the Minister. 'At a hundred and twenty kilometres an hour, the end will come swiftly and painlessly.'

'It will be like anaesthesia,' added the Information aide.

'Quite so,' said the Minister.

'God!' said Charvaka. 'Don't tell me you're planning to...'

'Of course we are planning,' said Mr. Poonacha angrily. 'Who's suggesting we've given up planning?'

'But I—' fumbled Charvaka.

'And who's suggesting we've sold ourselves out?' went on the Minister. 'We've done nothing of the kind. We still stick to the ideals of the Mahatma and to the socialism of Nehru. We are a non-aligned country. The world would have perished in a great nuclear war but for us.'

Charvaka fell silent. He realised his facts were wrong, and

his thinking even more terribly so.

Then another correspondent, who was friendly with the Railways and who for long had maintained in his syndicated column that there never were railway accidents, said, 'Sir, but I thought it was a proving flight and not a proving run.'

The minister smiled bashfully.

'Not yet,' said he. 'We haven't introduced hostesses yet, nor free prohibitionist booze, without which it won't be flight.'

'We ought to introduce these,' said the correspondent of the *Free Flight*.

'We shall,' said Mr. Poonacha.

'Will this proving run better the chances of Dharma Vira?' asked the Political Correspondent of the *Like-minded Platform*.

'It will strengthen democracy,' said the Minister, and beyond that he wouldn't commit himself. Which was good enough.

Mainwhile, Charvaka had recovered.

'Sir,' he asked, 'you said it was a proving run.'

'That's right,' said the Minister.

'What were you proving?' asked Charvaka.

There was a titter, which meant the assembled correspondents disapproved of the question.

'Oh,' said Mr. Poonacha, 'quite a few things in fact. For instance, we were trying to prove there was no stopping man when he wanted to go fast. Way back, at the turn of the century, the highest speed we touched was a hundred kilometres. Just a hundred.'

'That was all?' said the correspondents.

'And then came the national revolution,' said the Minister.

'Which revolution?' asked Charvaka. 'The Wheat Revolution, the Strong, Silent Revolution or the Naxalites' Revolution?'

'If you bring in the Naxalites,' said the Minister angrily, 'we shall refuse to take you on free rides in future. This will be the end, as far as you are concerned.'

Charvaka was dazed. He sat down, and some correspondent gave him a draught of hooch out of his hip pocket.

'Sir,' said an angry voice,

'what about the country's sacred traditions?'

'What about them anyway?' asked the Minister in great bewilderment.

'I'm sure you don't want to go the way of Dalhousie,' said the correspondent menacingly.

'I beg your pardon,' said the Minister.

'I mean the cows,' clarified the correspondent. 'I write for the *Manikarnika Ghat Monitor of Varanasi*. The cows are used to a certain speed at present, and on seeing the oncoming train, they would attempt a crossing, mentally calculating the time the train would take to pass the spot. Your Rajdhani Express would reach the spot sooner, and run the cows over. This is a communist conspiracy. This is a conspiracy hatched by the non-Patil Congress and a certain minority community which still owes allegiance to a hostile neighbour.'

There was great confusion, and all began talking at once. Charvaka had recovered again.

'Sir,' he said, 'you haven't answered my question. What were you trying to prove?'

'Oh, fastness,' said the Minister. 'That nothing can stop non-socialist man if he chose to make the journey faster.'

'But why were you able to touch only a hundred kilometres an hour at the turn of the century?' demanded Charvaka.

'You're being silly,' said the Minister. 'You don't expect us to do more than a hundred at the turn of a century. It was a curve.'

'You mean to say,' said Charvaka, 'it is all straight from now on?'

'It is,' said the Minister. 'We're now in the American century. It's a straight patch.'

'I protest,' said the Varanasi man in great indignation.

'I beg your pardon,' said the hundred miles Minister.

'You're running your trains along the Christian calendar,' said the Varanasi man, 'not along the Saka calendar, in which case you might have done over a even earlier.'

At this pandemonium broke loose. The Minister got so annoyed that he smashed up a train.
—Charvaka

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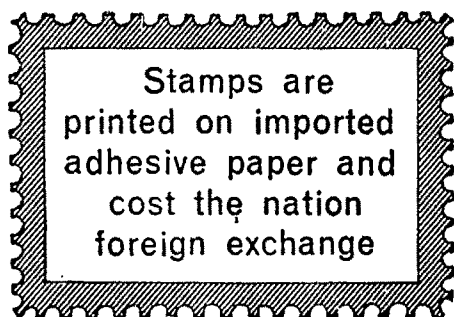


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CENTRE-STATE : NEW DIMENSION

THE results of the mid-term elections have shown that coalition governments in one form or another will be the rule for a long time to come in the States ; it is quite possible that at the next General Election the Centre too may be affected. It also seems fairly clear that while principled, programme-based coalitions will survive and be effective, opportunistic groupings grasping power for its own sake will not be tolerated by an increasingly alert public for long. It is in this context that the problems of Centre-State relations assume a new urgency and call for realistic and imaginative handling, especially by those who happen to wield power at the moment at the Centre.

Kerala Chief Minister Namboodiripad has drawn pointed attention to two aspects : the first, the appointment of Governors has been a matter of controversy for quite some time, especially following the openly partisan role played by Sri Dharma Vira in collusion with a section of the West Bengal Congress bosses and other vested interests ; the second relates to the all-India services, with the Union Government posting a large number of officers in the States without the State Governments having either a say in the matter or even any kind of control over them.

While these are by no means the only issues that tie Centre-State relations into knots, there is no doubt that they are extremely important in the present context. The way the Governor of West Bengal was used for the extra-Constitutional purpose of toppling a Leftist-dominated non-Congress Government has demonstrated that the party in power at the Centre can for a time make the smooth functioning of democracy impossible in an area where its own agents do not wield authority. By returning the United Front in much larger strength than last time, the people of West Bengal have made it clear that such brazen interference with democratic processes will not be tolerated. That is why the question of appointing Governors who will not transgress their legitimate sphere of activity becomes most urgent. It follows that a State Governor should not be unilaterally chosen by the Centre and foisted on a State. The duly elected and constituted Government of the State should have a decisive say in such appointment as well as the functioning of Governors, if friction is to be reduced to the minimum.

As E.M.S. has pointed out, it is not only on the question of Governors that rethinking is called for. There is a tendency in New Delhi to imagine that the top bureaucrats in the all-India services, like the ICS tribe, are heaven-born and are competent to

deal with all situations irrespective of their mental and moral equipment. The purpose of the all-India services should be to assist the State Governments where the latter require and seek such assistance ; in practice, as a result chiefly of the attitude prevalent among Congress politicians at the Centre, the all India services tend to function as some kind of parallel administration in certain spheres. Sri Namboodiripad's observations make it clear that often officers posted by the Union Government create problems for the State administration.

In the new situation developing in the country, the party in power at the Centre has no business to arrogate to itself the right to decide how each State will be administered. While national unity and integrity require perfect coordination between the Centre and the States, attempts to meddle in the affairs of States ignoring or bypassing the State Governments can have the most disastrous consequences for national cohesion and even for internal peace. Both the State and Union Governments have the responsibility of working out arrangements which can minimise the areas and possibility of friction ; but obviously the Centre has the greater share of responsibility. Not only in the matter of appointing Governors or posting officials but in a number of other matters harmony in working has to be established. It is time the Centre took the initiative to sit down with representatives of the States and work out satisfactory arrangements without delay. If there is need to amend the Constitution for this purpose, there should not be any hesitation to undertake the task.

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Sri Chavan's Chillest Winter

THE million-strong crowd that met last Sunday in Calcutta maidan to celebrate the West Bengal United Front landslide victory at the mid-term poll could hardly have mitigated Sri Chavan's present state of distress. Nor could the Union Home Minister exude self-confidence as he rose to answer Sri Ramamurthi and Sri Hiren Mukherji's devastating attack on him in Lok Sabha over the Shiv Sena vandalism in Bombay.

Practically all observers in New Delhi will agree that Sri Chavan is at present having to endure the chilliest days in his political career though the winter is about to end in the Capital and spring is not far behind. In the pantheon of the Congress Home Ministers, none has gone through such hell fire—not even Sri Nanda with his sadhus on the rampage—as Sri Chavan faces today. His reluctance to give a commitment to outlaw the Shiv Sena is understandable as one recalls how Thakeray's thugs were originally conceived as a counterblast to Bombay's Left-led working class; and Sri Chavan with all his parodying of Leftism as an unmentionable indiscretion of his youth, has not failed to demonstrate his class bias as he repeatedly thundered to mete out condign punishment to Naxalbari extremists in contrast, though the violence they are charged with

has not been one-hundredth of what Thakeray has openly proclaimed to perpetrate and actually committed in broad daylight in the very heart of Bombay.

Nor is there any immediate prospect of mollifying Maharashtra sentiment over the border dispute with Mysore—the very issue which the Shiv Sena with the tacit blessings of the Congress high-ups in Maharashtra has tried to exploit. If some of Sri Chavan's supporters had thought that the Shiv Sena Direct Action might scare the Congress High Command to concede the Maharashtra claims, they must have been cut up with Sri Nijalingappa's reported insistence on the implementation of the Mahajan Report, an insistence which has been hardened by the Shiv Sena's ghastly performance in Bombay.

But the great let-down for Sri Chavan has taken place in West Bengal. Sri Dharma Vira has not only proved to be totally wrong in his assessment of the West Bengal situation—a distinction which he shares today in full measure with Sri Humayun Kabir, another Chavan fan—But has become a bone in the throat that can neither be removed nor gulped down. It is an open secret in New Delhi that Sri Dharma Vira will soon have to quit his post; there seems to be no second opinion on this score

in the highest quarters because not even the guttiest among the Ministers could afford to let him play with fire any longer.

And yet it has become a prestige issue for the Centre—and particularly for the Home Minister—not to give in to the virtually irresistible United Front demand for the removal of this standing provocation to West Bengal's democratic conscience. There is no lack of realisation on the part of the Centre that Sri Dharma Vira has to be taken out of West Bengal very soon. The urgency is underlined by the fact that under the Constitution the Governor at the opening of the next session of the Assembly, is duty bound to read the Address prepared by the newly-elected United Front Ministry, and there is little doubt that the Address will contain some pointed reference to Sri Dharma Vira's misdeeds in unwarrantedly dismissing the previous United Front Ministry and flouting the will of the legislature. If the Centre has to help Sri Dharma Vira to escape such an ordeal, the only course open to it is to recall him without delay. Sri Dharma Vira's days in the spacious Government House in Calcutta are therefore very definitely numbered: it has to be before the calling of the Budget Session of the West Bengal Assembly, if Sri Chavan



wants to save the Governor and himself too from another first-class snub at the hands of the United Front in Bengal.

In fact, the search for a successor to Sri Dharma Vira began even before the poll results were out. For, at least two weeks before the polling, the Centre's own sources of information—both official and political—had made it clear that Sri Atulya Ghosh with all his heroics and Prof Humayun Kabir with all his antics, would not be able to prevent the United Front from getting a clear majority in the Assembly. Dr. Karan Singh's unwillingness to go to West Bengal was not surprising. It is possible that one of the present incumbents in some other State or Union Territory, or a prominent personality in Parliament, may be sent out to West Bengal to preside over the domain squandered by Sri Dharma Vira.

The Centre's trouble vis-a-vis the States however will not end with Sri Dharma Vira's departure from West Bengal. Sri Namboodiripad has been considerate enough to serve advance notice for the disciplining of the Central

administrative cadres from the States. This is an issue which the Union Home Ministry fears might touch off a major crisis in the Centre's relations with the States. And it appears that the immediate occasion for it is going to be provided by West Bengal. There is little doubt that one of the first moves that the United Front Ministry is likely to make on the morrow of taking over office, will be the demand for the removal of the present Chief Secretary and the Inspector General of Police. Both of them played active roles as Sri Dharma Vira's accomplices in the job of toppling the United Front Ministry in 1967 and in unleashing leonine police violence against the UF campaign for the restoration of democracy in West Bengal. (Incidentally, the name of the present Inspector General of Police has appeared in the Calcutta press as the Home Minister-designate in the coalition government that Sri Humayun Kabir dreamt of setting up after the mid-term poll, a dream which he shared in full measure with Sri Dharma Vira.)

On this point too, the Centre

has a patently weak case in terms of the realities of present-day politics, whatever may be the constitutional position. And by ignoring the political aspect of the issues involved, Sri Chavan can be sure of inviting the anger and bitterness of the powerful United Front in West Bengal. The dilemma is obvious—men of small stature holding important positions get scared of losing face: the art of strategic retreat is Greek to them.

In terms of basic issues, both Sri Namboodiripad and Sri Joyti Basu have made it clear that the future pattern of the Centre-State relations demands more democratic norms in the matter of appointment and functioning of the Governors and more rational control in the hands of the State authorities over the Central services cadres posted within their jurisdiction.

This is a testing time for the Centre as a whole, and Sri Chavan's record as Home Minister hardly shows the mettle required to face that test.

Sometimes shoes happen to be too big for the wearer.

Feb 25

Onlooker

Pak Crisis:

India's Stakes

ANALYST

THE dramatic developments in Pakistan have evoked both interest and anxiety in New Delhi in recent weeks. The uncertainties about the outcome of the political crisis in Pakistan have added a new dimension to Indian thinking towards the neighbouring country.

When President Ayub first came to power in Pakistan over ten years ago, the immediate reaction in this country was not only one of surprise but certain amount of distaste that the system of parliamentary democracy had to collapse before a military dictator, who at that time was a very unknown quantity in Indian eyes except that he was known to be one of the architects of Pakistan's military alliance with US. In contrast to the not-so-unfavourable official Indian reactions to the short-lived coup pulled off by Iskandar Mirza, President Ayub thus started with a disadvantage. But this was confined mostly to the official circles and to political elements of the Left. The Swatantra lobby played up the martial law regime's claim of having made a clean sweep of corruption in Pakistan, and this had a wider

response, though temporarily, in this country. Later on as things settled down in Pakistan, there was a more objective assessment here that the military regime after all had not brought about any change in the economic and social conditions of the masses in Pakistan, while the basic democracy failed to register any appreciative reaction; rather, the comparative success in the working of the machinery of universal franchise created a sense of pride in many sections in India.

President Ayub's approach to India underwent several changes. The signing of the Indus Water Treaty was regarded as a good omen at that time. However, the new contortions in Pakistan's foreign policy trying to build a bridge with Peking just at the time when the India-China relations were at its worst had a very adverse effect on Indian public opinion. In fact, its positive side insofar as it marked a certain amount of resilience in Pakistan's foreign policy of subservience to America was practically lost sight of and the fear was entertained that the Sino-Pak understanding would pose a new danger to India's security. Peking's heightened interest in Kashmir as illustrated by Premier Chou En-lai's interview to Sheikh Abdullah at Algiers in the summer of 1965 made things worse, and genuine fear was entertained that such new support might encourage adventurism in Rawalpindi. Soon after, the large-scale infiltration from Pakistan into the Kashmir Valley followed up by the three-week war marked the lowest point in Indo-Pak relationship. However, even in the midst of the conflict, it was significant that there was no clash of arms in the eastern sector, both sides were concerned not to extend the theatre of war because it was mutually disadvantageous to both.

The war itself was a drawn game in which neither side honestly could claim a decisive victory, and the wisdom born out of this realisation led to the Tashkent Declaration under the Soviet initiative. There was expectation both here and abroad

that from Tashkent would start a new journey in Indo-Pak understanding. This was scotched because neither side felt strong to bypass the public opinion behind it and a virtual stalemate in the relationship of two countries led practically to a total lack of communication, political, economic and cultural.

In recent months, particularly after the 1967 General Election, some renewed interest on the Indian side in improving Indo-Pak relations could be noticed. This is partly because of the realisation that the prevailing armed truce between the two countries is becoming too much of a strain on their respective economies; and partly this is due also to the personal interest displayed by Smt Gandhi in settling with Pakistan. An important point to note in this connection is that while President Ayub atleast informally agreed to take up first the other issues of dispute apart from Kashmir, Smt Gandhi on her part did not rule out any discussion on Kashmir as such. This led to a certain amount of guarded optimism that things would perhaps begin to move very soon.

It was at this juncture that the internal political unrest in Pakistan snowballed into a first-class crisis. Obviously the climate became most unsuitable for any progress towards rapprochement in the relationship between India and Pakistan. Rather in New Delhi there has appeared a certain amount of anxiety that the instability surrounding President Ayub's regime might invite some adventurism against the Indian border as a diversionary move on the part of the Government or a section of the bellicose opposition. The utmost reticence maintained by official and political circles in India with regard to the dramatic happenings in Pakistan is due to the anxiety not to give any chance to Rawalpindi to say that disturbances were the handiwork of pro-India elements. (It is significant to note in this connection that even before the rumblings of the impending storm could be heard in Pakistan, the Ayub Government had cooked up the so-called Agartala Conspiracy

Case against the most powerful section opposing it in East Pakistan; the trumped-up nature of the so-called conspiracy could be seen in the withdrawal of the case itself last week).

Reticence however is not the same thing as unconcern. Rather concern at the events in Pakistan has reached new heights in New Delhi as much as it must have been in Washington, Peking and Moscow. The question, "After Ayub, Who?" is much more serious than the old question, "After Nehru, Who?" Because, while Nehru was succeeded by a well-knit party organisation which could go through the process of electing its leader three times in four years (in 1964 electing Shastri, in 1966 and 1967 twice electing Smt Gandhi), there is no party in Pakistan which can smoothly take charge of the situation when Ayub steps down. Further if one concedes that the Awami League under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman can hold its own in East Pakistan, nobody can vouch for the success or viability of any regime led by either Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto or Air Marshal Ashgar Khan in West Pakistan which has so long been the traditional centre of power in Pakistani politics. There is no sign that the Army itself will remain loyal to any personality or junta. It is in this context that President Ayub's declaration in the Johnsonian style that he would not contest the Presidential election has been received with mixed feelings in New Delhi: while on the one hand, there is appreciation that the mass unrest with the students and youth in the forefront could be a powerful lever of change even at the highest level, there is a feeling of apprehension that some adventurist coup might not only threaten the integrity of Pakistan as a state but bring about a worse state of relationship with India.

The general impression in New Delhi is that any future regime with Ashgar Khan at the head might have a heavily pro-American slant, which might mean fresh American encouragement to Pakistani irridentists at the cost of India; even after the American

military-bloc strategy is in discredit, the injection of U.S. arms into Pakistan as a means to black mail India cannot be ruled out on the part of the Nixon Administration.

Similarly, if Bhutto comes to power, the pro-Peking slant in Rawalpindi might lead to the forging of the Sino-Pak pincer, both political and military, against this country. However, the present international trends suggesting a Sino-American collaboration to isolate the Soviet Union on a global scale might itself facilitate a Bhutto-Ashgar understanding which will bring no comfort to New Delhi. In this connection, Mr. Bhutto's latest interview to Selig Harrison is ominous, for Bhutto seems to have assured the distinguished American correspondent that the Sino-Pak relations "will not be impaired and might very well improve" with the ouster of President Ayub. He has elaborated the point further: "I am confident that a new period is opening up in which a gradually improved climate should be possible between the US and China and this would remove one of the existing obstacles in the relations between our two countries." This new Bhutto approach can be of concern not only to Moscow, but to New Delhi as well.

In contrast, the developments in East Pakistan have never worried India. The very essence of the two-decade old East Pakistani movement not only stresses the demand for regional autonomy but also symbolises an anti-imperialist stand. There has never been an anti-India slant in any of the major political elements in East Pakistan. It is noteworthy that whenever the democratic movement in East Pakistan has reached a climax point, it has not only assured the safety of the Hindu minorities under its protection but has become eloquent in its desire for better understanding with the Other Bengal across the frontier. It is significant that the sweeping United Front victory in West Bengal has heartened the democratic elements in East Pakistan, so much so that comments were made that such a united

front movement should be emulated by East Pakistanis if their struggle against Rawalpindi had to succeed.

In this context, it is necessary to note that the magnificent mass character of the present disturbances in Pakistan has come out in fearless disregard of a dictatorial regime. The fact is that it could not be suppressed but, on the contrary, forced the dictator to retreat. This significant character of the present upheaval is bound to determine in a large measure the character of the government that will succeed President Ayub. In such a situation there is little scope for top-level arrangements whether under Bhutto or Ashgar Khan's leadership: herein lies the strength of the democratic movement in East Pakistan, spearheaded by the Awami League.

One of the striking features of the present political crisis in Pakistan is the definite emergence of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as a personality of decisive national stature. Barring Suhrawardy, no other leader from East Pakistan has commanded the influence and political authority that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman does in the whole of Pakistan today. Whatever be the outcome of the present upheaval inside Pakistan, there is little doubt that East Pak democratic forces will be able to leave their mark on the future set-up besides achieving considerable degree of autonomy in the bargain. In the changed climate prevailing today in both Bengals' it is time that renewed efforts should be made for the restoration of the lines of trade, communication and culture between West Bengal and East Pakistan.

In such a situation it is all the more necessary that political leadership in this country should make a positive gesture towards the accredited leadership in East Pakistan. This is one of the ways to ensure not only better relations with our neighbour but to minimise the prevailing sense of danger to the security of the country's frontier.

Understanding India's Communal Politics

RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN

IN a segmentary society like India—where, while the political institutions are 'democratic' and the political system, by and large, 'modernized', but the social organization and sociological environment remains 'traditional' and 'predemocratic'—the process of nation-building passes through, what might be called, phases of 'fission' and 'fusion'. While these phases of 'fission' and 'fusion' in the short span appear as negation of each other, yet in the long-term historical dimension they acquire a relationship of complementarity, and their alternating occurrence is intrinsic in the development of a plural polity towards its political integration. While the 'fission' between 'coherent segments' manifests the existence of mutual discord necessitated by conflicts of interests and/or of values; on the other hand the 'fusions' reflects the possible area of agreement and the limits of reconciliation arrived at by them. That the two phases have a causal relationship is also evident from a close historical survey of plural societies.

In India, a classic plural society, these coherent segments include those based on communal, caste, regional and language identities or a combination of some or all of them. These segments in terms of their political role and dimension in national life, achieve the stature of sub-national units capable of attracting a part of the political allegiance of a bulk of the people. Community-based segments in India—particularly the Hindus and the Muslims—cut across regional, caste and language identities, and acquire in functional politics almost a continental dimension. They are of course composed of closer-knit regional sub-segments, but the point to

remember is that in their political manifestation they are potent as a regional, a state, a local as well as an all-India phenomenon though in an unequal degree, dependent on many factors, particularly their numbers and political traditions.

In this context, the 'fission' and 'fusion' of the Hindu and the Muslim segments, especially in the last hundred years, is a factor of tremendous significance to the current working of federal democratic polity in free India. Because, with the possible exception of the *Jatis*, and, may be the language-groups, no other segment has demonstrated a coherence as complete, or an identity, as zealously protected by its votaries, as the communal segments in Indian society.

The remarkable coherence and exclusive identity of the Hindu and Muslim communal segments is not based entirely either on the peculiar characteristics of communal identities *per se* or of the Hindu and Muslim communal identities in particular. A vitally determining factor, which indeed conditioned the very ethos of current political relationship between the Hindus and the Muslims as communal segments is the heritage of British political history in India.

Since 1857 the inarticulate premise of British policy in the governance of India was the concept of Hindu-Muslim parity. This assumption was reflected countinuously in all the major Parliamentary Acts and legislation appertaining to the political, constitutional and administrative measures of His Majesty's Government in India. This was particularly so since the beginning of the century, as exemplified in Lord Curzon's proposal for the Partition of Bengal and the Minto-Morley Reforms Act of 1905. Tendencies of political separation among the two communities that were latent and incoherent in the pre-British period, were accentuated by the separatist framework of political organization, articulation and demand in-put created by the British *Raj* with an unmistakable political purpose.

The studious attempts at drawing juridical distinctions between the two communities, based apparently on the desire to respect the differing private law concerning specifically, inheritance, and private property; the introduction of the separate electorate (that prompted and facilitated the formation of exclusivist community-oriented parties and impeded the growth of composite multi-communal secular parties) on the plea that it would protect the interests of the different, particularly the minority communities; the conscious differential treatment given to the two communities in matters of education, pattern of employment, organization of the army units etc.; consolidated legally and politically a bifurcation that had its basis primarily in religious differences.

By politicising the communal differences the British bequeathed a legacy of communal politics that under conditions of free speech and association and equal protection of the laws as envisaged in the Constitution of Republican India, found a congenial atmosphere to perpetuate. All this might have remained just a part of the bygone past if

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either the partition of India as a pre-condition to the withdrawal of British power were not done on communal lines, or even if done, the proportion and the absolute number of the first communal minority (that is, Hindus in Pakistan and Muslims in India) were small and socially insignificant to preclude the possibility of their effective political role. In India while the proportion of the Muslims (10-12 per cent) might appear small in an abstract statistical discussion, but the significant point to remember is that in terms of their absolute number (47-50 million) and in view of the fact that in 11 out of the 16 States of the Union of India (viz., Assam : 23.2 per cent, Bengal : 20 per cent, Uttar Pradesh : 14.6 per cent, Bihar : 12.5 per cent, Mysore : 9.9 per cent, Gujarat : 8.5 per cent, Andhra Pradesh : 8 per cent, Maharashtra : 7.7 per cent, Rajasthan : 6.5 per cent, Madhya Pradesh : 4.1 per cent, Orissa : 1.2 per cent) they constitute the largest religious minority and in one State, Jammu and Kashmir, a decisive majority (68.3 per cent), it is clear that they are big enough to play and indeed have often played a decisive role in national politics. Coupled with this is the fact of the political traditions of the Muslims in the sub-continent, which reveals that they had never been a dormant or inconspicuous minority, but on the contrary had almost continuously been an active and for centuries also a leading segment of Indian's cultural and political life. For a clearer and complete understanding of the Muslim reality in India, all these inter-linked aspects will have to be kept in sight.

In this background it is not fortuitous that due to the existence of these cohesive segments as the viable sub-units of national life, backed by historical memories and psychological responses in politics based on those memories, symbols and events, we perceive many points of loyalties which normally vie with each other to attract the attention and allegiance of an Indian citizen. The many layers of community and caste loyalties, of sub-regional and language attachments, and other parochial divisions, are not always reconcilable. Their irreconcilability is due to at least three sets of factors : firstly, the inherent discord between the 'traditional' and the 'modern' segments ; secondly, the conflicting scale of political values represented by the various segments ; and thirdly, the difference

in the political socialization process of the castes and the communities. Naturally this not only generates tension between the various segments, but also impedes thereby the process of national integration. A problem of basic consideration, therefore, in India today is, how to reconcile its socio-cultural diversity with its political unity ? That is, how to promote the growth of plural society without compromising national identity ?

A significant factor unravelled by the many empirical studies over the years is the divergence between what may be called the political perception of a community's own role and the perception of this role by the rival and opposing community. This 'conflict of perception' is based on the irreconcilable differentiation between the 'idealized subjective view' of the community concerned and the 'biased suspicious view' of the 'other' community regarding the former's role in national life and politics. In a situation like that of contemporary India where particularly the Hindus and the Muslims as communities have their respective notions, myths, distortions and fears, this 'conflict of perception' when projected into the working of a competitive parliamentary system, acquires the form of an in-built negative slant in national politics. This is what is called communal-orientation. Because of its tenacious hold on the minds of a bulk of the people, communal-orientation has now come to be, an accepted, even if an abnormal, idiom of Indian politics. Ironically, the provisions of universal suffrage, freedom of association and of speech, equality of opportunity and equal protection of law under the over-all conditions of a parliamentary democracy results, in an essentially segmentary society like India, in communal fragmentation of politics. This naturally impinges adversely on the working of the competitive participatory system, whose basic assumption is the recognition of citizens as citizens and not as members of a group—particularly of primordial group or traditional community.

Since communalism survives by a process of interaction and mutual feeding between the opposing communities on the political plane, this vicious circle will have to be broken in the context of the democratic rule of the majority by the majority community itself.

Firstly, even if taken into consideration, all the communal minorities put together, do not account for more than 26.5 per cent (Muslims : 10.7 per cent, Christians : 2.4 per cent, Sikhs : 1.8 per cent, Buddhists : 0.7 per cent, others : 0.4 per cent. Out of the 83.5 per cent classified as Hindus, the Scheduled Caste accounts for 14.2 per cent and the Scheduled Tribe 6.8 per cent ; thus the Caste Hindus constitute 62.5 per cent — 1961 Census).

Secondly, even the most determined effort by the minorities, jointly or severally, will not fundamentally change the communal atmosphere, if they cannot evoke a positive response from the politically dominant section of the majority community.

Thirdly, in a democratic polity, it is primarily the 'doings' of the major segment social, cultural, religious, racial, linguistic or political—that determines the main trends and sets the pace of development.

Finally, in the Indian situation, where the

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Search for National Consensus

PANNALAL DASGUPTA

It required more than a year's effort to persuade most of the political parties and politically important individuals to sit in a convention to find out if all these political forces, despite keen rivalries among themselves, can find some common grounds, or consensus in respect to such important issues as maintaining and strengthening the unity of the Nation, improving the functioning of democracy, besides the general economic, educational and cultural questions, defence and foreign policy etc.

The preparatory committee for such a convention had met in New Delhi, on January 27-29, 1968. The committee at that sitting found that so many issues could not be tackled at a single convention but a series of them have had to be organised or some sort of a continuous effort must be there where the entire leadership of the country could make a total assessment of the developing situations. It was decided at that sitting that the First Convention should deal with the vital questions of Democracy and National Unity, first; because, after the General Election of 1967, it was feared that democracy was failing in this country showing disturbing features of disintegration, defection, etc. Presidential Rule was being forced upon one State after another. Communal and linguistic tensions

also appeared to be increasing. Authoritarian or dictatorial remedies, suspending democratic and fundamental rights of the people, were being openly advocated from a number of conservative and reactionary quarters.

But the protagonists of doom for Democracy could not carry the day with them. On the contrary, those who firmly believed that the quick disintegration of the monolithic one-party Congress rule for over two decades could not but be accompanied by a transitional period of uncertainty, and certain amount of chaos to be followed by crystallisation of new foci of leaderships and consolidation of them gradually into united progressive fronts and united reactionary fronts, on a national scale, were proved correct by the subsequent events, particularly, after the results of the recent mid-term elections in a number of States, including that of West Bengal. It can now be safely stated that democracy in India has really started functioning only after the 1967 General Election; before that, it was more or less a one-party monopoly of political power.

This optimism largely ensured the success of the first Convention that took place in New Delhi on February 21-25, 1969. The parties which had been very reluctant at the beginning as they did not pay any attention to the united call for a convention at the preparatory stage, did join this Convention with commendable enthusiasm and the press too took more interest. The Congress, the CPI (M), the CPI, the SSP, the PSP, the Jana Sangh, the Republican Party sent their representatives. Only the Swatantra Party refused to participate in it. The DMK, and the RSP agreed to joint it but failed to attend because of their own internal preoccupations.

It was a treat to see how Prof Madhok and others of the Jana Sangh had to take recourse to a kind of defensive strategy in view of the open utterances and written statements of their Guru Golwalkar, branding all communities in India, other than Hindu, as either foreigners or guests of the nation. The Jana Sangh

representatives had a hard task and tried their best to wriggle out of the situation by way of an argument that Hinduism is not a religion etc, which by the way, makes no sense to any Hindu in fact and faith. As against them, most of the participants stood firmly and asserted that it is a much more feasible task to make us all Indians than to make us all Hindus, if not impossible. We are all Bhartiya and all are not Hindus--that perhaps finishes all arguments. But the Jana Sanghites, do hold some sway among the people and that is why the representatives of the Jana Sangh at the Convention could not and should not be ignored and it was good to see that all other parties showed immense forbearance and patience to meet their arguments point by point. And yet the complete consensus as to what constitutes the Indian Nationhood, whether it is multi-national or multiculturalist could not be arrived at to satisfy all the groups and parties.

Nobody in the Convention named Pakistan, when they put forth the Hindu view of Indian Nationalism as the safest remedy against further disintegration of the nation, but Pakistan was all along in their mind. The ghost of Pakistan dominated their thought and utterances. Yet nobody can deny that what is now happening in East and West Pakistan, is the most important reply by History itself to the Jana Sangh and the Jamaat-e-Islami's communal positions. The progressives in the Convention possibly did not dare discuss the latest developments in Pakistan today, lest it is misunderstood in interested quarters, particularly in Pakistan, as Indian interference in their internal affairs. But it is obvious, if Pakistan comes out victorious from this internal struggle to get rid of Ayubshahi as a democratic and secular state with autonomy for its units, that will be the greatest factor to bury communal and other parochial forces in India too. If Pakistan or the Pakistani two-nation theory has done the greatest harm or given the biggest single fatal blow to Indian nationalism, a democratic revolution in Pakistan is equally

(Continued on page 36)

Growth of Business Houses

TATAS, BIRLAS AND MAFATLAL

A Factual Survey for the Period 1963-64 to 1966-67

B. DATTA

THE Monopolies Inquiry Commission had for the first time brought out in its Report authoritative information about the assets position of 75 major business groups for 1963-64. Frequent inquiries about the position of these groups as obtaining now are made from inside and outside Parliament. But the magnitude of work involved is rather considerable. However, some work done in this direction is being brought out in this article which covers the two top-most business houses in the country, viz., the Tatas and the Birlas, and also a third one, viz., the Mafatlal which was ranked as number fifteen by the Monopolies Inquiry Commission. This comparatively new group appears to have shown considerable improvement recently in its business activity.

The purpose of this article briefly is to bring out in aggregate terms changes in the financial position as also the capital structure of companies belonging to the three business houses. An attempt has also been made to present a comparative view of the pattern of flow of capital in aggregate terms of the three groups to various industries. The article is set out in five parts. Part I is general and indicates the coverage in terms of the number of companies etc. controlled by the three groups, Part II deals with the Tata Group separately. Part III with the Birla Group, Part IV with the Mafatlal Group, and Part V brings out a comparative view of the growth of the three groups and the investment pattern industry-wise.

I

COMPOSITION OF THE GROUPS

ON the basis of the recommendations made by the Company Law Committee commonly known as the Bhabha Committee, sections 370 and 372 of the Companies Act lay down that a body corporate shall be deemed to be in the same group as the investing company if the body corporate is the managing agent of the investing company or if the body corporate and the investing companies are under the same management. Section 370, *inter alia*, defines the phrase "same management". Dr. Hazari, from the point of view of measuring the extent of concentration of economic power in the private corporate sector, attempted to define the concept of a business

group in his book entitled *The Structure of the Private Corporate Sector* on altogether different lines. According to him, a corporate group would consist of units which may be "subject to the decision-making power of a common authority". In his definition "controlling interests" in the companies which could be tied together as belonging to the same business house is of considerable importance. But, his concept of a business group becomes somewhat loose when he mentions that "the group is not always a close circle, rather it may be compared with a series of concentric circles". On this basis, he mentions that the Tata Group consisted of 102 companies in 1951 and 120 companies in 1958. According to him the Birla Group included within its fold the Kanorias, Thiranis, Kotharis, Mantris, Navatias, Kajriwals, etc. He could then put together as many as 256 companies under the control of this Group in 1951 and 298 companies in 1958. The Mafatlal complex, according to Dr. Hazari, comprised 29 companies in 1951 and 38 companies in 1958. But the judicious approach of

This article by the Director of the Department of Company Affairs, is taken from the Annual Number of "Company News and Notes", Vol. VII, just published. The footnote to the article says: "The Government is not in any way bound by the inclusion or non-inclusion of any company in any of the groups covered by this article or views expressed therein."

the Monopolies Inquiry Commission brought down the number of companies belonging to the Tata Group to 53 in 1964. In the case of Birlas the number of companies was placed at 151 and for Mafatlal at 21. The Monopolies Inquiry Commission defines a business group as comprising such concerns as are subject to the ultimate and decisive decision-making power of the controlling interest in the group—the “Group Master”. Accordingly, the Commission categorised companies belonging to various other groups, viz., Kotharis, Himatsingkas, Kajriwals, Somanis, etc. under the relevant groups as distinctly separate from the main group, viz. the Birla Group. Following the guidelines laid down by the Monopolies Inquiry Commission it has been found that the total number of companies at work which could be included in the Tata Group were 53 in 1967 and had assets of Rs. 551 crores. In the Birla Group, 159 companies in respect of which financial data are available could be taken as belonging to the group in 1967. These companies had assets of nearly Rs. 510 crores in that year. The Mafatlal Group covered 23 companies in 1967 with assets of Rs 127 crores. The detailed position in this respect group-wise is as follows:

The Tata Group

For the purpose of this article 53 companies have been taken as belonging to this group in 1967. The Monopolies Inquiry Commission had also shown 53 companies as belonging to this group. It seems that after 1964, three companies, viz. Bettmann Kupfer Ltd., Industrial and Domestic Appliances Company Limited and Mysore Chromite Limited went into liquidation. M/s. Investa Machine Tools and Engineering Company Limited merged with Tata Engineering & Locomotive Company Limited. As against the loss of these four companies the following four companies have been added to the Tata Group:

- (i) Tata Merlin & Gerin Co. Ltd.
- (ii) Unval Industries Ltd.
- (iii) Tata S & L Sales Ltd.
- (iv) Scottish India Machine Tools Ltd.

Though four companies ceased to exist after presentation of the Monopolies Inquiry Commission Report, the number of companies in 1966-67 for the Tata Group remained at 53. As already mentioned, the assets of these 53 companies work out at Rs. 551 crores for the year 1967.

The Birla Group

It has been ascertained that since the presentation

of the Report by the Monopolies Inquiry Commission, out of 151 companies shown in the Report, two companies got merged with other companies belonging to the same group, and one company, viz. Orient Jute Press Co. Ltd., whose registered office was in East Pakistan, was taken over by the Government of Pakistan in 1965. Another company, viz. East India Investment Company Limited, went into liquidation in 1966. Thus, in relation to 151 companies shown as belonging to the Birla group by the Monopolies Inquiry Commission, 147 appeared to be at work in 1967. To this number has been added 12 new companies which have either been taken over by the group during the period under review or are new ventures floated by the group in the same period. These are:

- (1) Assam Fruit Products Limited
- (2) Century Enka Limited
- (3) Indian Rayon Corporation Limited
- (4) Atlas Iron and Alloys Limited
- (5) Bihar Alloys Steel Limited
- (6) Hindustan Heavy Chemicals Limited
- (7) Mysore Cement Limited
- (8) Jaishree Export Limited
- (9) Moon Corporation Limited
- (10) Autometers Limited
- (11) Lionel Edwards Limited
- (12) India Steamship Company Limited

In addition to these 12 companies, there are a few other companies the balance sheets of which are not yet available. These companies have been left out for the time being from the purview of this article. The assets of 159 companies work out at Rs. 510 crores for 1967.

The Mafatlal Group

The Monopolies Inquiry Commission had shown 21 companies as belonging to this group in 1964. Since then one company, viz. Navin Fluorine Chemical Ltd. has ceased to function. But the group acquired control over the following two companies and floated one new company during the last three years:

- (1) Ahmedabad Jupiter Spinning, Weaving and Manufacturing Company Limited,
- (2) Hoechst Dyes & Chemicals Limited, and
- (3) Polyolefins Industries Ltd. (new company).

The assets of the 23 companies amounted to about Rs. 127 crores in 1967.

II

THE TATA GROUP

Financial Position in 1966-67

FOR the 53 companies shown as belonging to the Tata Group in 1963-64, the Monopolies Inquiry Commission had worked out total assets at Rs. 417.7 crores. A careful examination of the annual accounts

of these companies for the year 1963-64 shows that the assets of the Tata Group amounted to Rs. 418.1 crores. The difference of Rs. 0.4 crore is explained by the following three companies :

	M.I.C Figures	Balance Sheet figures 1964	(Rupees in lakhs) Difference
1. Central India Spg. Wvg. & Mfg. Co. Ltd.	6,25	6,73	+48
2. Tata Chemicals Ltd.	10,15	10,11	-4
3. Forbes Forbes Campbell & Co. Ltd.	1,21	1,13	-8
			+36

It appears that the annual accounts for the year 1963-64 were not available to the Monopolies Inquiry Commission for these companies for which data seem to have been taken from balance sheets for the earlier years. After allowing for adjustment on account of liquidation and merger of four companies mentioned in Part I of this article and addition of four companies not taken into account by the Monopolies Inquiry Commission, the assets of the group increased over the period 1963-64 to 1966-67 by Rs. 132.5 crores. As would be observed from the Table below, the increase in assets was financed to the extent of over Rs. 100 crores by growth of borrowings, both short-term and long-term, and net worth (paid-up capital and reserves) of the group companies:

Overall financial position of the group

Items	(Amount in Rs. crores)		
	1963-64	1966-67	Percentage increase 1966-67 over 1963-64
No. of Companies	53	53	Nil
Paid-up capital	102.3	127.3	24.4
Reserves	95.5	106.9	11.9
Net worth	197.8	234.2	18.3
Long-term loans	78.5	105.0	33.7
Short-term loans	50.2	89.6	78.6
Other liabilities and provisions	91.5	121.8	33.1
Total assets (tangible)	418.1	550.6	31.7
Fixed assets	202.9	252.7	24.5
Investments	43.0	51.0	18.8
Loans and advances	19.3	42.8	122.0
Turn-over (main income)	325.0	443.6	36.5
Profits before tax	37.0	44.0	18.8
Profits after tax	24.9	21.0	(—) 15.9

While the total tangible assets of the group companies increased by nearly 32 per cent over the three year period ending 1966-67, the growth of fixed assets over the same period was comparatively lower at 24.5 per cent. The rest of the assets represent investment in shares of other companies and loans advanced. A striking feature of the financial position

as is apparent from the above table is the negative growth of profits after tax of the group companies. Over the three-year period under review, while aggregate profits before tax recorded an increase of nearly 19 per cent, profits after tax stood lower in 1966-67 by nearly 16 per cent than the level operating in 1963-64. This point is dealt with in some detail at a later stage.

The capital structure of the group companies as has emerged for 1966-67 does not show wide variation from that for 1963-64, except borrowings and net worth. The table below illustrates the position:

Item	1963-64	1966-67
1. Percentage of paid-up capital to total assets	24.5	23.1
2. Percentage of net worth to total assets	47.3	42.5
3. Percentage of total loans to aggregate assets	30.8	35.3
4. Percentage of other liabilities to total assets	21.9	22.1
5. Percentage of fixed assets to total assets	48.5	45.9

The proportion of fixed assets to total assets of the group in 1966-67 was lower at 45.9 per cent as compared to 48.5 per cent in 1963-64. Some details about the growth of certain important sources of funds that became available to the group during the period under review are set out in the paragraph below.

Paid-up Capital and Reserves

The paid-up capital of companies belonging to the Tata Group was Rs 102.3 crores in 1963-64. By 1966-67 it had increased to Rs. 127.3 crores indicating growth in absolute terms of nearly Rs. 25 crores. Of this increase nearly Rs 2 crores are accounted for by the inclusion of four additional companies in the Tata Group. The rest of the increase of Rs 23 crores is in respect of the old companies.

It would be of interest to know the sources from where the increase of Rs. 25 crores in paid-up capital over the three-year period under review was financed. According to the data culled out from the annual accounts of the group companies, nearly Rs 15 crores were added to paid-up capital by capitalization of reserves. Only three group companies issued shares of the value of Rs 2.7 crores during the period under review. The table below shows that shares of the value of Rs 2.6 crores were offered to the public. While at the initial stages the entire amount had to be underwritten by underwriters, the general public subscribed over Rs 2.2 crores to the shares issued by the group companies. The remaining amount of nearly Rs 40 lakhs had to be taken up by the underwriters themselves.

Companies that approached the Capital Market for raising Share Capital

(Amount in Rs lakhs)

Name of the Company	Date of issue of capital	Total amount issued	Total Amount offered to public	Amount subscribed by public
1 Tata Engg. & Locomotive Co. Ltd.	... Sep 65	200.0	200.0	200.0
2 Scottish India Machine Tools Ltd.	... July 65	19.2	19.2	11.9
3 Tata Merlin & Gerin Ltd.	... May 66	54.9	42.3	9.7
		274.1	261.5	221.6

The underwriting of the share issues were by and large done by almost all important Government controlled financial institutions, viz. I.F.C., U.T.I., I.D.B., I.C.I.C.I. and L.I.C. as is shown in the following table :

<i>Institutional Underwriters</i>		(Rs. in Lakhs)
1. L. I. C.	...	15.4
2. I. C. I. C. I.	...	61.5
3. U. T. I.	...	25.0
4. I. F. C.	...	42.7
5. I. D. B.	...	11.9
6. General Insurance Cos.	...	20.0
7. Others	...	85.0
TOTAL	...	261.5

As mentioned elsewhere the reserves of the group companies increased from Rs. 96 crores in 1963-64 for nearly Rs 107 crores in 1966-67 indicating growth of about Rs. 11 crores in absolute terms. As already mentioned, about Rs 15 crores were capitalised and added to paid-up capital. The reserves position as shown in the annual accounts of the group companies naturally does not include the

amounts capitalised which by and large were in respect of the following four companies:

(Rs. crores)		Reserves capitalised
(1) Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd.	...	11.0
(2) Voltas	...	0.7
(3) Telco	...	2.1
(4) Tata Oil Mills	...	0.4
TOTAL	...	14.2

Borrowings

The group, as already mentioned, has considerably increased its reliance on borrowed funds. Loans, both short-term and long-term, which amounted to about Rs. 129 crores in 1963-64, increased to nearly Rs 195 crores in 1966-67 showing an increase of about Rs 66 crores over the three-year period. A very large amount of the total loans outstanding in 1966-67 was obtained by the group companies from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Washington and Agency for International Development in the United States. As would be seen from the following table, these two agencies account for nearly Rs 67 crores outstanding in 1966-67.

Financing of Loans

(Break-up of institutional financing of outstanding loans is based on balance sheet data)

(Rs. in crores)

Serial No.	Source	1963-64	1966-67	Net increase over 1963-64
1	Financial Institutions			
	(i) I. F. C.	...	1.1	1.1
	(ii) N. I. D. C.	0.5	0.7	0.2
	(iii) Investment Corpn. of India	0.01	0.1	0.1
	(iv) I. C. I. C. I.	1.0	2.4	1.4
2	Central/State Govts.	11.2	6.2	(-) 5.0
3	Foreign Loans.			
	(i) I. B. R. D.	41.4	42.8	1.4
	(ii) U. S. A. I. D.	9.7	23.8	14.1
4	Deferred Payment credits	0.3	3.0	2.7
5	Other loans i.e. loans from Banks, Mg. Agents, Subsidiary and holding Cos., Trade & Other deposits etc. (short-term loans)	50.2	90.2	40.0
6	Debentures	14.4	24.3	9.9
	TOTAL	128.7	194.6	65.9

The group companies had outstanding debentures Rs 24 crores in 1966-67. Companies whose annual accounts indicate substantial debenture issues are as follows:

	(Rs crores)
Debentures outstanding	
(1) Tata Iron & Steel Company Ltd.	... 2.0
(2) Telco Ltd.	... 4.7
(3) Swadeshi Mills Ltd.	... 1.0
(4) Andhra Valley Power Supply Co. Ltd.	... 2.9
(5) Tata Power Co. Ltd.	... 6.7
(6) Tata Hydro Electric Power Co. Ltd.	... 2.3
(7) Voltas Limited	... 1.0
Total	20.6

Of the total amount of Rs 24.3 crores of debentures outstanding in 1966-67, Rs 57 crores were raised during the course of the three years from the public and Rs 1.5 crores was taken over by the under-writers. Of the balance of Rs 17 crores nearly 14.4 crores are accounted for by debentures still outstanding since 1963-64. The amount of Rs 26 crores represent outstanding debentures in respect of private limited companies subscribed by other group companies.

Profitability

The profits before tax of about Rs 44 crores in 1966-67 had recorded an increase of about Rs 7 crores over the level in 1963-64. But, profits of the group companies after allowing for tax provisions amounted only to Rs 21 crores in 1966-67 as against nearly Rs 25 crores in 1963-64, showing a decline of Rs 4 crores. As percentage of paid-up capital, profits after tax were lower at 16.5 in 1966-67 as compared to 24.4 in 1963-64. Though some five companies in the group have shown to have suffered losses aggregating to nearly Rs 60 lakhs in 1966-67, the overall profitability position of the group does not appear to have recorded sufficient improvement when viewed in the context of the growth of the turnover of the group companies. The aggregate income from sales amounted to Rs 443.6 crores in 1966-67 which stood higher by nearly 37 per cent than the 1963-64 level. The reason for profits after providing for tax being lower in 1966-67 than in 1963-64 could perhaps be attributed to the group companies allowing for comparatively higher provision for taxes than the other two groups. In aggregate terms tax provisions account for about 55 per cent of profits before tax.

Out of the aggregate "gross profits" earned, the group companies paid nearly Rs 1.5 crores by way of managerial remuneration including managing agency commission, etc. In addition, the companies paid Rs 0.5 crores to their sole-selling agents by way of commission on sales executed through them in 1966-67.

Industry-wise distribution of assets and net increase in assets.

(Amount in Rs lakhs)

1963-64				1966-67				
Name of Industry	No. of Cos.	Total assets	% of investments in each industry to total assets	No. of Cos.	Total assets	% of investments in each industry to total assets	Net increase in assets	% of increase in assets in each industry to total assets
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1. Railway & Automobile	2	58,76.2	14.0	2	94,43.5	17.2	35,67.3	26.9
2. Iron & steel	3	1,60,52.0	38.5	3	1,82,23.8	33.1	21,71.8	16.4
3. Chemical and Allied Products	5	21,93.8	5.2	5	37,16.8	6.8	15,23.0	11.5
4. Insurance Business	3	26,16.1	6.2	3	37,88.4	6.9	11,72.3	8.8
5. Trading and Property Business	8	23,78.5	5.7	8	34,23.6	6.2	10,45.1	7.9
6. Cotton Textile Industry	5	23,45.9	5.6	5	33,63.9	6.1	10,18.0	7.7
7. Electricity Generation	3	50,76.2	12.1	3	59,86.0	10.9	9,09.8	6.9
8. Tube Industry (Metal)	1	15,97.4	3.8	1	25,02.8	4.5	9,05.4	6.8
9. Radio and Appliances and other Machine Tools Mfg. Industry	3	3,68.9	0.9	4	7,89.7	1.4	4,20.8	3.2
Total	33	3,85,05.0		43	5,12,38.5		1,27,33.5	

Industry-wise Growth of the Group

Of the total tangible assets owned by the Tata Group in 1963-64, more than 90 per cent were invested in nine industries though the group's investment did spread over to as many as 21 industries in all. In 1966-67 the pattern of investment did change *inter se* in so far as the nine priority industries are concerned. But, the bulk of the group's investments at a higher level remained confined to those nine industries. The Table below indicates that, three industries, viz., "Railways & Automobile," "Iron and Steel" and "Electricity Generation"

between themselves accounted for over 61 per cent of group's investments in 1966-67 as against 65 per cent in 1963-64. Within the overall position, however, Iron and Steel industry accounted for larger investments in 1963-64 than in 1966-67. But Railways and Automobile attracted greater share of total assets for investments in 1966-67 than in 1963-64. (See Table on page 17)

A more detailed statement bringing out the industry-wise investment position for the two years, viz. 1963-64 and 1966-67 for the Tata Group of companies is appended here below.

APPENDIX I

TATA GROUP

Industry-wise Distribution of Assets, Net increase in Assets

(Amount in Rs. Lakhs)

Name of Industry	1963-64			1966-67			Net increase in Assets	% of increase in assets in each industry to total increase
	No. of companies	Total Assets	% of investment in each industry to total Assets	No. of companies	Total Assets	% investment in each industry to total Assets		
1. Railways & Automobile	2	5876.2	14.0	2	9443.5	17.2	3567.3	26.9
2. Iron & Steel	3	16052.0	38.5	3	18223.8	33.1	2171.8	16.4
3. Chemical & Allied Products	5	2193.8	5.2	5	3716.8	6.8	1523.0	11.5
4. Insurance Business	3	2616.1	6.2	3	3788.4	6.9	1172.3	8.8
5. Trading & Property Business	8	2378.5	5.7	8	3423.6	6.2	1045.1	7.9
6. Cotton Textile Industry	5	2345.9	5.6	5	3363.9	6.1	1018.0	7.7
7. Electricity Generation	3	5076.2	12.1	3	5986.0	10.9	909.8	6.9
8. Tube Industry (Metal)	1	1597.4	3.8	1	2502.8	4.5	905.4	6.8
9. Radio & Appliances & other Machine Tools Mfg. Industry	3	368.9	0.9	4	789.7	1.4	420.8	3.2
10. Tea Plantation	1	111.4	0.3	1	221.0	0.4	109.6	0.8
11. Cement & Refractories	2	586.2	1.4	2	678.9	1.2	92.7	0.7
12. Managing Agency Business	5	967.2	2.3	5	1057.2	1.9	90.0	0.7
13. Investment Business	4	1147.8	2.7	4	1209.3	2.2	61.5	0.5
14. Publishing Business	1	40.1	0.1	1	89.3	0.2	49.2	0.4
15. Tobacco Industry	1	72.6	0.2	1	120.4	0.2	47.8	0.3
16. Hotel Business	1	82.0	0.2	1	125.7	0.2	43.7	0.3
17. Vegetable Oils	1	69.7	0.2	1	91.3	0.2	21.6	0.2
18. Fishing Industry	1	24.4	0.1	1	28.6	0.1	4.2	...
19. Safe Deposit Business	1	3.3	...	1	5.6	...	2.3	...
20. Coal Mining	1	196.0	0.5	1	193.5	0.3	(-)2.5	...
21. Mining Manganese	1	2.3	...	...	...	...	(-)2.3	...
TOTAL	53	4,18,08.0	100.0	53	5,50,59.3	100.0	1,32,51.3	100.0

(Next Week : The Birla Group)

Leo Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi

S.A. MIKOYAN

THE spiritual contact and exchange of ideas between Leo Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi should evoke a great variety of reflections and conclusions on those who look back to their mutual understanding and correspondence, for both were outstanding thinkers.

Gandhi's first letter to Leo Tolstoy was dated October 1, 1909. It was addressed to the estate Yasnaya Polyana, situated some 130 miles south of Moscow, where Leo Tolstoy lived then. Tolstoy was already 81 years old, and known all over the world as a writer and philosopher. And Gandhi was deeply engaged in political activities in South Africa on behalf of the Indian settlers and the poor Africans.

On October 8, 1909 Tolstoy mailed his answer to the Mahatma. This was the beginning of that fruitful correspondence between these two great men, though divided by long distances but close to each other in their views on many matters.

But their spiritual contact began much earlier. Gandhi had received from Britain an English translation of an article written by Tolstoy, entitled "The Kingdom of God is Within You." Gandhi was in those days going through a spiritual crisis. He had already drawn heavily from the deep well of Indian philosophy and he was also acquainted with Western philosophy. But what Leo Tolstoy had to say on human problems came like a

fresh breeze, like a new insight. And Tolstoy was his contemporary, though living in the very heart of Russia. The strength of Tolstoy's sincerity, his remorse, his understanding of the nature of happiness, his readiness to give up everything alien to his way of life appealed to Gandhi.

In the history of Russian attitude to religion, we can find diverse approaches. We can even find sects rejecting the official Church, which became an instrument of the Tsarist tyranny and the ruling elite. The official church worshipped Mammon rather than God; instead of searching for truth it played deception on the people. It is difficult to say whether there was a spiritual tie between these sects and Tolstoy. In any case, it is known that his rupture with the official Church was decisive and final. The Church retaliated by ex-communicating him.

The problem of religion and its importance in the convictions of both Gandhi and Tolstoy is too vast to be discussed here. But I shall dare to express the opinion that what they both understood as religion was more the belief in Man, belief in his goodness, belief in the strength of his spirit, his love, his readiness to make sacrifices and not so much the adherence to conventional beliefs and practices. Tolstoy was a Christian, and Gandhi was a Hindu. But it is true to say that among the supporters of these two religions, it is more than easy to find many who are farther away from the principles of these men as the earth is from heaven. On the other hand, it is possible to meet many among other beliefs and cults and atheists, people who agree with Gandhi and Tolstoy.

Tolstoy re-discovered for Gandhi what perhaps Gandhi had already read in Indian philosophy. But these ideas when seen through the mind of Tolstoy acquired a new meaning and significance. This demonstrates the power of ideas, spanning centuries and travelling long distances.

What is the most precious heritage of these great men of two great nations for the people

Dr. Mikoyan presented this paper at the UNESCO-sponsored International Conference on Central Asia, at New Delhi. February 11-15, 1968. The author, incidentally, is the son of the Soviet leader, Anastas Mikoyan, former President of USSR.

Introducing his paper, Dr. Mikoyan said "I think I should explain why so much attention is paid to a Marxist evaluation of Tolstoy and Gandhi. Surely Marx never lived in Central Asia. But Marxism as an ideology has undoubtedly taken firm roots in this part of the world. This teaching is now an influential factor in almost any movement of ideas within or beyond the region.

"I have another reason for this approach to the topic. In conformity with the whole spirit of the UNESCO activities and with the spirit of our conference

I am concentrating my attention on those spheres where the teachings involved come more or less close to each other. Of course there are other spheres where we can find important differences. I hope to deal with these problems in their greater complexity in a book on Gandhi which I propose to publish this year.

"I think I should also explain why I chose to dwell here on a problem closely related to vital aspects of the political historical process, and why I allowed myself to speak of Leo Tolstoy who did not belong to Central Asia. My plea for doing these was the fact that we cannot altogether leave discussions on the historical process altogether and that Leo Tolstoy was a clear instance of the influence of ancient Central Asian cultural heritage beyond the boundaries of the region."

of today? Of course, views will differ about their heritage and there must be many aspects to their contribution to mankind. I should like to stress only a few of these aspects, and to defend only one point of view among the many.

One of the most important aspects from my point of view, common to both Gandhi and Tolstoy, was the fact that they were relentless critics against oppression of men by the men of power and wealth: their hatred of unjust and alien regimes over people and of racial, religious intolerance. They were against colonial oppression.

Their thoughts and attitude to world problems enable one to draw certain comparisons which would perhaps seem rather unexpected but not without a solid base. I mean to say that the approach of Gandhi and Tolstoy to human problems may on analysis be found to have certain similarities to that of Marxism.

There is no doubt that there are serious differences in the practical applications of their teachings with Marxist teachings. Both Gandhi and Tolstoy stood for non-violence in the struggle against evil. Both Marx and Engels believed that violence was the midwife of history. As the Mahatma wrote to Tolstoy in 1909, he had not the slightest doubts in the final success of the liberation struggle based on non-violence. The founders of Marxism had no doubts that the toiling masses would succeed if they united their forces and if necessary used violence against their oppressors.

But it is not necessary for one to be either a Marxist or well-versed in Marxism in order to see, for example, something in common between Marxist outlook and the question asked by Tolstoy: "What right had a 'few of us' (since he was a Count and a landlord) to enjoy the luxuries of life while thousands of human beings are condemned by the existing social system to live without any hope of escape from filth and destitution?" Every real Marxist would substitute 'thousands' by 'millions' and 'us' by 'them' because he is more

often not a landlord (though we know the precise examples too.) The principle of Tolstoy not to use the labour of others—and he went to extreme lengths by making his own shoes and sweeping his room—if developed from relations between one person and another into a problem of social relations between classes and if based upon a thorough understanding of the economic process as was developed by Marx, we get a new type of society, a new social system, a new type of human relationship which will be the socialist society. What is more, we will see the need for the liquidation of exploitation of man by man.

While making his shoes or ploughing his land, Tolstoy understood the necessity for the division of labour. But he believed that society had a right to insist that the division of labour should be a fair one. Isn't it a good platform for a Marxist? Tolstoy said that work was happiness in itself, and Lenin was to repeat this later. Lenin himself did physical labour, not for payment, and called it the future communist toil. Tolstoy pointed out the need "to relinquish all right to private property and to the possession of money". What is this in essence other than the Marxist call for making property the property of the people, to relinquish right to hold private property of productive forces?

The historians of today have the advantage of hindsight. A study of the history of Russia shows that V.I. Lenin was right when he wrote that Tolstoy reflected the emotions of peasants so truly that he even showed the naivete of the peasants, their alienation from politics, their proneness to mysticism, their fear of change, their non-resistance to evil, their impotent rage against capitalism and against the power of money. Tolstoy was averse to politics and he himself kept away from it. (But we know his sympathies and antipathies in this matter).

But the teachings and activities of Gandhi are different in this respect. He was not only not averse to politics, but deeply involved in it. Gandhi did not

follow Tolstoy's dictum of non-resistance to evil. He did in fact create the technique of passive resistance. This is partly to be explained by the historical environment in which Gandhi lived. Gandhi believed that mere exhortations alone would not help and that there was an equal need for strong organised movements for attaining his social and political objectives. His entry into politics gave the national movement not only fresh life but a soul and discipline. This was a revolutionary step on his part.

And Gandhi not only plunged into the vortex of politics himself, but involved many millions in it. The involvement of the millions of people of India in politics was in itself of great importance to the country and it was the revolutionary consequence of Gandhi's political activities.

It is pertinent to recall here what Marx said in this connection. He said that ideas become transformed into material forces when adopted by the masses. Ideas are most powerful weapons. This is what Marxism-Leninism teaches. It is possible that there is a subtle bridge between the Marxist approach and the approach of Tolstoy and Gandhi.

But let us come back to non-violence because this principle is at the core of their teachings. Non-violence is part of the heritage of Central Asia, first of all of India. In today's conditions, it reflects humanitarian tendencies in the social life of people. And if we analyse the aims of socialism, of communism, we see it has the same objective—it wants to create a society in which violence of one man over another is excluded. This principle is cardinal to the teachings of scientific socialism.

We might thus say that while the approach to human problems of scientific socialism and of Tolstoy and Gandhi can be compared, their methods differ rather sharply. Their understanding of the economic basis of such a new society also differed.

From the moral point of view, non-violence and peaceful ways of change is something which everybody should strive for, including Marxists, but can this ideal be realised in life? And if so,

how soon can it be achieved? Because Tolstoy is right when he says, "Men are unhappy: they suffer and perish. There is no time for waiting..."

This is not only a philosophic question, but a political and practical question. The answer of Marxists and that of Tolstoy and Gandhi is different, but the difference is not so great as some people try to make it out. For example, it is well known that Gandhi did not exclude the use of force when unavoidable. At least he opted for violence in preference to cowardice.

And I, being a Communist, would agree with Dr. Radhakrishnan who has said in his introduction to the book by Pyarelal, *Mahatma Gandhi*; "Our scriptures have said that though it may not be possible for us to abolish violence altogether, we should try to reduce its scope as much as possible."

India, with her heritage and with such a leader like Mahatma Gandhi, has contributed to the enrichment of the humanitarian aspects of life. But we should not hope that the Indian experience under Gandhi can be achieved in other times and in other parts of the world. Albert Einstein was right when he said: "Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth." Perhaps Gandhi's uniqueness itself proves the point. However, even in India in the last years of his life, the principle of non-violence, of which he was the great apostle, fell victim to religious and communal passions stirred up by the method Britain carried out the process of granting independence to India. "Disillusion entered his heart before the bullet entered his body"—wrote Dr. Radhakrishnan.

However, reducing the scope of violence in the world is a noble aim, and every Marxist will support this approach. Deviation from it, not imposed by unavoidable circumstances, or objective conditions, is a deviation from scientific socialism. Unfortunately, Asia, the ancient home of the humanitarian philosophy, has not itself been able

to withstand such deviations.

The philosophy and methods of Gandhi were certainly steps ahead of Tolstoy. Tolstoy overestimated the power of words as also of his personal example. Gandhi realised that only organised force could be the true base for effective non-violence. This is not a paradox. This is dialectics.

The power of the organised millions of Indians was a force potentially stronger than that of their oppressors, though it was not used. Under such conditions, the scope of violence can often be reduced. And this not only applies to India.

Today there is less scope for violence—at least we might say less need for violence—because the forces of liberation are potentially more powerful than their oppressors. And this accords with the current thoughts of scientific socialism.

The teachings of Tolstoy and Gandhi show that ideas important for the historical process know no boundaries. Peoples and regions of the world mutually enrich each other. The broad contact between peoples and the interaction of ideas help them in their struggle for happiness and welfare, for mutual understanding and peace.

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Berlin Provocation

M.S.N. MENON

DURING his election campaign President Nixon said that America would give greater attention to European affairs in the coming years. Bonn has obviously taken the hint. The current crisis over the question of holding the West German presidential election in West Berlin on March 5 shows that Bonn is determined to keep up the East-West tension and if possible provoke Moscow. In this, its principal aim is to prevent any detente between Moscow and Washington, especially when Moscow expects new initiatives from the Nixon Administration for solutions to world problems. Of course by creating a new crisis over Berlin, Bonn wants to demonstrate that it has not given up its "eastern policy" objectives.

The Berlin crisis is not an isolated affair. It is to be seen against the background of Bonn's deep involvement in the events in Czechoslovakia, the provocation of the US 6th Fleet warships in the Black Sea and the NATO Council decision to create a multi-lateral naval fleet in the Mediterranean. What is significant about all these events is the fact that they have been characterised by the Western press as a confrontation between Moscow and Washington.

Bonn contends that West German presidential elections were held before in West Berlin setting a precedent for the future. And so did US warships call at the Black Sea ports before. Then, why this hysteria? The reason is not far to seek. The Western global policies are being increasingly frustrated and in the pursuit of these policies the Western nations, mainly the USA and Britain, have gone bankrupt. The only way to cover up their

failures is by drawing world attention away from these by fresh show of force.

It is however reported that Western reaction, particularly of the US, Britain and France, to Bonn's proposal to hold the election in West Berlin was at first cool. However, under Bonn's pressure, they decided to let the plan go through, though they knew that this was a violation of the Potsdam agreement.

In the face of these developments, the GDR was left with no option but to impose travel restrictions to West Berlin by road and rail. And it is within its rights to do so, for only the US, Britain and France enjoy free travel right under the Potsdam agreement. Bonn has no *locus standi* in West Berlin though it claims West Berlin as part of its territory. Bonn has now decided to break the restriction by air-lifting 1,000 members of the Federal Electoral College.

East Germany and particularly the Soviet Union have another reason for taking this election as a provocation, for the West German contingent will include 20 neo-Nazi deputies. The appearance of the neo-Nazis in West Berlin is not new, but this time it has an added significance. The Berlin court, on the complaint of a neo-Nazi member, has only recently countermanded the decision of self-dissolution adopted by the West Berlin neo-Nazis. All these would appear as Bonn's encouragement of Nazism and of the neo-Nazi National Democratic Party, which is a clear violation of the Potsdam agreement under which the Allies took the responsibility to root out Nazism from Germany. And yet, here they are 20 neo-Nazi deputies in West Berlin, a

city controlled by the Allied powers! Bonn cannot hide the growth of Nazism in West Germany anymore. It has, however, taken the risk of adverse publicity because it considers its present objectives more important.

American Kremlinologists have recently confessed that one of the reasons for the provocations against Czechoslovakia was to test the Soviet response. They were of course not calculating that Moscow would respond in the way it did. The present brinkmanship of Bonn seems to have the same objective. This time Bonn wants to test whether the Soviet Union will act according to its treaty obligations to the GDR, for here the two super-powers will directly be involved unlike in Czechoslovakia and this is precisely what Bonn very much wants. Bonn is hoping that if the Soviet Union does not respond to the provocation particularly because of world criticism over its intervention in Czechoslovakia, it would expose the Soviet inability to defend its own rights and interests as also of its socialist allies. This, Bonn hopes, will help to encourage the anti-Socialist elements in the socialist countries to carry out further subversions. It is also assumed that it will help to discredit the GDR regime in the eyes of its people.

On the other hand, if the Soviet Union responds sharply, as in Czechoslovakia, Bonn could, as it did earlier, call upon its Western allies, particularly the USA, to strengthen the European defences, which in fact would mean the further militarisation of West Germany, and possibly its access to the atomic bomb. The refusal of Bonn to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty clearly shows that Bonn is holding it up to bargain with the USA for control over the US nuclear arsenal in West Germany.

The Berlin developments are also to be seen in the light of the current policy of London towards Bonn. Mr. Wilson has already visited Bonn and West Berlin, and given support to Bonn's plan to hold elections in West Berlin. This close understanding between West German leaders and the

Labour Party of Britain in a way demonstrates not only the betrayal of socialism by the British Labour leadership but the utter bankruptcy and opportunism of British policy. Mr. Nixon is also supposed to visit Bonn and West Berlin soon, and this too has encouraged the West German leaders in their present brinkmanship. Bonn is being wooed by all and sundry, almost as Hitler was in his days.

Bonn's position today is certainly much stronger than what it used to be in the Adenauer era. It has already built up the most powerful army in Europe and has become the dominant element in NATO affairs. Its financial position is better than that of any Western country. Britain needs Bonn's support for entry into the Common Market (which of course cannot be realised so long as de Gaulle lives) and the US needs Bonn's support not only for NATO but to prop up the crumbling world dollar system. Bonn is willing to undertake these jobs, but at a price. It wants nuclear parity with Britain and France. It wants to be accepted as a political giant, too, as Herr Strauss stressed.

The recent agreement between West Germany, Britain and Netherlands to jointly produce enriched uranium by the gas centrifuge method clearly shows what Bonn wants and what others are prepared to concede for the moment. It is reported that Wilson has urged Bonn to sign the non-proliferation treaty in order to cover up the present agreement which has the ultimate objective of enabling Bonn to manufacture nuclear weapons.

All these developments seem to favour Bonn, and Bonn is asking for more by way of support to its "eastern policy". It was natural therefore that the US, France and Britain have taken the position that the GDR has no right to restrict travel to West Berlin and that it is the responsibility of the Soviet Union in any case. This is obviously absurd, for the Potsdam agreement does not allow West Germany any travel facilities to West Berlin. The GDR has not restricted the travel rights of the Allied Powers.

Moscow has made it clear that the West German actions are in the nature of "deliberate provocation". The visit of Marshal Ivan Yakubovsky, supreme commander of the Warsaw Pact forces to East Berlin has clearly indicated the seriousness in which Moscow considers the latest developments.

And Moscow has yet another good reason for its sharp reaction to Bonn's activities in West Berlin and this is the continuing instigations by Bonn of the extremist elements in Czechoslovakia in spite of the debacle of its "eastern policy". This was made clear in a speech by President Svoboda of Czechoslovakia recently when he said that "insincere voices coming from the West assure us of their friendship and almost their interest in the efflorescence of socialist society... We are in favour of development of equitable and mutually advantageous relations with capitalist countries, too. But we do so without any illusions and false notions. We are closely following their policy, their military preparations and their plans."

The West has now the services of many of the emigrants who left Czechoslovakia after the recent events there. Ivan Svitak has joined the Russian Institute of Columbia University in New York and Evzen Lebl, who held a top economic post under Ota Sik in Czechoslovakia has set up his headquarters in Vienna. And many more have placed their services at the disposal of Western governments and their intelligence and subversive organisations. A number of new organisations have been formed in the past few months "to free" Czechoslovakia. It stands to reason that their sponsors would not waste their good money unless these people show that they can deliver the goods. That some of the emigrant Czechoslovaks should place their services at the disposal of men like Douglas Home, the ex-Prime Minister of Britain, who took an active part in the betrayal of Czechoslovakia to the Nazis show their true nature.

The holding of military manoeuvres on the borders of Czechoslovakia by the combined forces of America and West Germany

and the constant radio appeals to extremist groups to carry on pressure on the Czechoslovak government are continuing provocations to the entire socialist system.

The self-immolation of the Prague student Jan Palach has been exploited by the Western press to create anti-Soviet hysteria.

All these fall into a pattern. The American global interest is to make the world safe for their unhindered dominance. In this scheme of things, Bonn has a role to play and an aim to achieve, which is the complete domination of Europe.

If one were to scan the Western press, it would almost appear that the people of Czechoslovakia are in revolt against their new government and that the present government has already given up the "January programme".

What Richard Davy of *The Times*, London, had to say about the current developments in Czechoslovakia after a recent visit to that country is instructive. He says: "Most of the 60 or so people whom the Russians wanted removed completely from public life have been shuffled around a bit, but still have important jobs..." and that "everyone knows that many of the present leaders, including Mr. Dubcek, the party leader, and Mr. Cernik, the Prime Minister, were completely unprepared for the great explosion of freedom last year and did not really want it... They were hustled and pushed into it by the press..." Davy also says that the present regime has not given up the "January programme".

If this is the view of an experienced Western journalist of a conservative paper of standing, it is clear that the sporadic events in Czechoslovakia and the continuing Western propaganda, particularly by West German radio and press, have a different objective. That objective is the overthrow of the socialist system in Czechoslovakia and the eventual disruption of the socialist community.

Moscow can neither ignore the past events while judging the current crisis over Berlin, nor can it treat the Berlin episode as an unconnected issue.

Government Employees and Fundamental Rights

SWAROOP RANI MATHUR

THERE is little doubt that the Central Government employees are getting a raw deal from the Union Government. Not only did the Government adopt a stern attitude towards its employees during the September strike, but despite bitter opposition in and outside the Parliament, the Essential Services Bill was passed into law with the help of the Congress majority of the Centre. The Government seems to be still unsatiated with the powers it derives from the Essential Services Bill, and has now, as reported in a section of press, prepared a new set of Services Conduct Rules which are full of curbs and gags on the employees. The new rules, aimed at taming the employees, ask the Government servants to refrain from publishing books, contributing articles and writing letters to newspapers and periodicals. When these rules come into force, under no circumstances will a member of the service be allowed to make a statement of fact or give his opinion amounting to adverse criticism of Government policy both at the Centre or State. Not only this, a Government servant will be responsible for the members of his family participating in political movements or activities aimed at subverting the Government. Every Government employee shall be expected to dissuade his family members from indulging in such activities. If he fails in his attempts, he shall be expected to report the matter to the Government.

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Under the circumstances, accepting a position in Government would tantamount to mortgaging the fundamental right of freedom of speech enshrined in the Constitution of our Republic. Whether such a move is legally and ethically desirable, is indeed debatable.

One would be entitled to ask the question: if the Government employees are denied the freedom of expressing their opinion after twenty-two years of freedom then what is the difference between a national Government and the Foreign Government against which the Father of the Nation waged a war for about three decades? Freedom of speech was very dear to Gandhiji. Every freedom-loving citizen in the country knows about the historic Civil Disobedience campaign which Gandhiji planned to launch in Bardoli in February, 1922. The immediate concern of this campaign was not *Swaraj* but the fundamental rights of freedom of speech and association. According to Gandhiji, no price was too great for purchasing these fundamental rights.

It may be argued that there is a fundamental difference between the freedom enjoyed by a citizen and a Government employee, and that both cannot be kept on par. Nevertheless, what seems ethically wrong is putting an indiscriminate blanket ban on the freedom of the latter. At best, the Government may put certain restrictions on the officials responsible for framing Government policies and for maintenance of law and order.

One, who carefully goes through the writings of Gandhiji, will find the proposed restrictions much

too severe. In the pre-Independence days, the Congress was recognised as the biggest enemy of the British rulers. In a country under subjugation the Government can impose all sorts of restrictions it likes on its employees. Even under such circumstances, Gandhiji called the Government employees to join the Congress, as was done by Justice Ranade. A relevant quotation from his speech delivered at the AICC meeting held on August 8, 1942 at Bombay has a direct bearing on the role of the Government servants: "I have a word to say to Government servants also. They may not, if they like, resign their posts yet. The late Justice Ranade did not resign his post, but he openly declared that he belonged to the Congress. He said to the Government that though he was a Judge, he was a Congressman and would openly attend the sessions of the Congress, but that at the same time he would not let his political views warp his impartiality on the bench. He held the Social Reform Conference in the very *pandal* of the Congress. I would ask all the Government servants to follow in the footsteps of Ranade and to declare their allegiance to the Congress." (*The Selected works of Mahatma Gandhi. Vol. VI. The Voice of Truth*, Ahmedabad. Navajivan, 1968. p. 73.)

The proposed restrictions, it is feared, will have unwholesome effects on democracy. The Government employees form a large part of the intelligentsia of the country in which the majority of the people are illiterate. The number of politically conscious citizens is small, and a good section of them belong to the Government services. If they are put under gag by indiscriminate restrictions, it is the country which is going to pay for it. The children in the family of the Government employees will be reared up in an atmosphere where fear of the Government will reign supreme.

If these rules come into force and if they are also adopted by the State Governments, many teachers in Government Colleges will be put under muzzle: those in the

habit of contributing thought provoking articles on current topics will refrain from doing so for fear of violating the Government rules. It will not be so much a loss to the individuals as to the country at large, since such contributions help in creating an enlightened public opinion.

There is a stronger anomaly in this ban on contributing articles. For several posts advertised by Union and State Public Service Commissions, the essential and/or desirable qualifications include the publications of articles by the applicants. If the Government ban on contributing articles become operative, the employees will be handicapped wherever published articles are regarded as

part of the qualifications.

What particularly pains an objective thinker is the Government's remorseless attitude towards its employees. The Chief Justice of Supreme Court, who, it may safely be conceded, understands the laws and rules better than the bureaucrats and leaders, expressed his views in his individual capacity on Sri Nath Pai's Bill on Fundamental Rights. Several MPs questioned the propriety of Chief Justice's remarks while others including Acharya Kripalani, found nothing wrong in the Chief Justice's expressing views in his individual capacity. The Prime Minister requested the MPs not to carry on a debate that may create acrimony. For valid

reasons she did not want to discuss the Chief Justice's stand. What is exactly the Government's attitude towards the issue is anybody's guess. In the absence of a clear official statement, one is inclined to believe that the Chief Justice has a right to express his views in his individual capacity. What is worth considering is that if the Chief Justice can, in his individual capacity, express his views, should the Government employees be denied the right to express their views? The answer has to be in negative by analogy. It will be wrong from social, political, economic and moral standpoints to put a blanket ban on freedom of expressing opinion, a right which is inalienable.

campus journal

The Fossil Dwellers

LET us take off from where we stopped the last journal, namely the conceptual bracket. The failure of the recent strike in the University was essentially one of an inadequate conceptual jump. The issue was, among other things the question of student-teacher participation. This is not just a demand, it is the opening of an entirely new dimension, for which the Campus was not yet psychologically readied. It could not have been reduced to an agitation for better conditions. It concerned the larger question of system which has lost all meaning.

The psychologist will find the present loss of meaning extremely interesting. It might be worth his while to find out how people with years of academic training behind them could reconcile themselves to carrying on in fraudulence and ritual. For this is precisely what has happened to almost every Faculty in the universities. I came across a research-

er who had spent as many as three long years on a certain subject which pertained to a foreign country, and had visited that country a couple of times, whose thesis was kept in cold storage by his Supervisor for another two years after which it was returned without a single scratch. When questioned by the researcher, the Supervisor said that he did not agree with the basic premises. Nobody expects the Supervisor to agree with all the premises of his researcher. Then there would be no need for research. There would only be examinations. The whole idea of research is to disagree and in disagreement, to explore different angles of the same truth. If the Supervisor insists on conformity of this kind the result can only be academic paralysis and the ultimate death of every quest for deeper learning.

I was told of a certain professor of philosophy who during

the incredibly long years of his reign forced his Faculty to learn Kant and Kant alone. His own dissertation happened to be on Kant. So he had decided that none of his students would do anything different from or beyond Kant. Poor old Kant was the one who spoke about his wonder at the stellar universe outside and the moral law within. It was the universities who were in dire need of this moral law within. I shall not digress here into other forms of morality, into the other crasser violations of it. I shall confine myself to where it concerns learning and teaching. The factors which prevent such honesty are the ones that need be investigated.

Recently there was a strike or a near strike in one of the language Faculties. The trouble arose out of the students' discontent with the institution of the M. Litt. Degree. The students felt, rightly or wrongly, that this mid-way research degree which was

part thesis and part examination helped the Faculty to manipulate the results. It also added to the confusion prevailing in the Department regarding the norms of research and the level of the Degree's content. Not that the doctorate itself could not be manipulated; we have before us the infamous instances of the Banaras Hindu University where during its days of scandal a certain Head of Department was supposed to have ordered his subordinates to write his son's thesis.

So ultimately it becomes a matter of having a cross checking mechanism somewhere, and of accommodating this mechanism within the larger concept of the University's autonomy. Like with any other principle of freedom, with the notion of the University's autonomy also, there arises a considerable amount of contrariness. Freedom has to be realised by perennial feeding back and correcting. In its extremities it often becomes its opposite. Which is the case with the autonomy of at least this University. Whether it be in the matter of the wayward governing bodies or in the matter of out-dated examinations, the University is holding on to certain irrational postures and resisting criticism. It does this in the name of its precious autonomy. No one would grudge it its autonomy, but certainly the University, like the bus transport system, is a public utility, feeding on public funds, and training the sons and daughters of the lay citizenry. Hence there has to be a nexus of responsibility.

So, the most sensible thing we can do is to leave abstract positions and come to the practicalities of such autonomy. The questions to be asked are: (1) Has the autonomy been used for the betterment of education? (2) Has it been used to further democratic practices within the administration itself? (3) Has it helped to make academic practices more in keeping with the fundamental aim of furthering learning? And (4) Where has autonomy placed the subordinate servants?

Each of these questions will draw a most depressing answer. Everything has been done to make the educational system more and

more alienated from meaning. When we had trouble in the Campus earlier this year senior academicians suggested that pass course students should be shifted away to a new chain of satellite colleges which will not be constituents but merely affiliates.

This would have left the University with only Honours students, post-graduates and research workers to manage. Apart from being academically more committed, these boys and girls would be brighter things and also would be far fewer in number. And further, most of them would be assured of jobs by their being a cut above the average and would be less frustrated in their general attitudes. Well, this would certainly have cleared the University and made it look like a little Oxford or Cambridge. But what happens to the depressed classes sent unceremoniously away to the satellite colleges? They would be demarcated from the other students, they would be marked out as the doomed ones who would go through a ritual of inadequate education, would face a thin system of examinations, would be declared as passed, mostly in the third division, and would rot away before the employment exchanges. The idea was callous. The professors who mooted this, among whom was the radical of the Campus, Dr. Raj, spoke with criminal irresponsibility and with a conservatism that dated back to the forgotten centuries. But that seems to be the truth, however. Behind a thin facade of contemporaneity, these learned men are persisting in fossil systems.

All the marginal, peripheral solutions suggested by the pedantic academic bosses are intended to safeguard their positions for their life times. They are not bothered about inducting into the University a community of students who will receive meaningful education. Such meaningful education can be given only if the education itself is related to what the student is to do in his life as a citizen. The clerk, the telephone operator, the bus conductor, these categories will never be able to apply in their pro-

fessions and their life what they learn during the three years of their pass course. And there is no point either, in forcing them to learn seriously. The pass course student realises as well as his teacher that the metaphysics, the chemistry, the higher mathematics and the philology that is taught him will not make him a better bus conductor.

Like a cancer this knowledge eats into everything else. So when the students are subjected to the added provocation of a thing like a convocation address, which normally is full of truisms and bombast, they flare up. They flared up recently, when Dr. Kothari was addressing one of the convocations. The Chairman of the University Grants Commission became furious, he thought the behaviour of the assembled students undignified, and he further advised them that shouting slogans will not get them jobs. A more profound truth never come from Dr. Kothari, whose research into the nature of the universe is considerable. But at the same time, an education which leads the student nowhere except to joblessness or to unmeaningful jobs, makes of him an irrational personality, a depraved personality who can do little else than give vent to immense wrong in a couple of futile slogans. Dr. Kothari, in compassion ought to have had the patience to listen to this hoarse cry of those whom his own system has most cruelly wronged.

So, from Kothari to Deshmukh, from Dr. Rao to the petty bureaucrat in the Ministry and in the University executive, how then do people manage to live steeped in a lie? They are perpetrating a dead system, which has no right to the time or the loyalty of the young. Yet how do they manage to write those long and idiotic convocation addresses? If only they could free themselves from this ghastly self-hypnosis, free themselves for just a moment, they would look at their own hedious caricatures and go into hysterics of laughter and weeping.

—Nalanda

Revisionism in Present-day Philosophy-II

D. CHESNOKOV

LET us proceed to an examination of the functional role of revisionist philosophy in the ideologico-political struggle. Here we shall speak, not of the simple establishment of the anti-socialist actions taken by various revisionist philosophers (for instance the publicist activities of Svítak, which are hostile to socialism and the national interests of Czechoslovakia; the signatures under the "2,000 Words" counter-revolutionary programme of some of that country's philosophers, etc.), but of the establishment of a logical epistemological and historical link between philosophical revisionism and political revisionism.

The thesis, advanced by the present-day revisionists, regarding the "distortion" of Marxism, and the allegation that Marxists have forgotten "the activities and the mind of Man" are merely a device used to eliminate the "ontological" aspect of the problem, to regard "practice" etc. as the basis of all "pure" activity, and to substitute "praxeology" or "philosophical anthropology" for "positivist" dialectical materialism.

Does not one discern something familiar in these calls? Of course, one does. Several decades ago, the reactionaries advanced, with similar fanfares, the "philosophy of living experience," "emperiocriticism," "emperiomonism" and other "isms" which claim to substitute "experience" for the "outmoded" oppositeness of mind and matter. At that time Lenin showed that there can be an idealistic and a materialistic understanding of experience. The former recognises nothing that lies beyond the borders of experience, outside it; the latter regards experience as a consequence of the effect of the external world on Man in the process of the latter's active

influence on the world which, of course, exists outside and irrespective of the human mind.

Today "practice" is presented in lieu of experience. However, practice is also understood in a double sense: Marxists-Leninists understand by material, socio-historical practice a process which takes place between Man and a Nature that exists objectively, a process in which Man, by exerting an active influence on Nature, transforms it, basing himself on a cognition of the objective laws of Nature and the character of his activities, controls the exchange of substances between himself and Nature, and governs that process.

It will readily be seen that material practice is, in its essence, the practice of productive labour activities and that it is ultimately the prime mover of the historical process. Practice always bears a historically conditioned form. It lies at the foundation of, and finds its completion in, the revolutionary, critical and practical struggle of the masses, who are transforming the old society into a new one. It achieves the culmination of its development in the social revolution which overthrows the outmoded social system. It turns the philosopher into a revolutionary. To the Marxist-Leninist understanding of practice, there stands opposed another understanding of practice—the idealist, according to which practice does not link Man with Nature, but is something self-sufficient, and primary in respect of, not only theoretical activity but of the outer world as well. Further, practice loses its concretely historical form, while socio-political practical activity sheds its class content and revolutionary character. The philosophers who are grouped about the journal *Praxis*, and those who sympathise with them, incline towards such an understanding of practice. "Praxeologism" is as far removed from materialism as are "pragmatism," "emperiomonism" and other idealistic "isms."

"Philosophical anthropology"* differs but little from "praxeology." The former ever more openly transfers its attention to Man's inner world, separating that world from external processes and converting it into an independent substratum.

With Feuerbach and his followers, the anthropological principle in philosophy, however abstract it may have been, was a form of the transition from idealism to materialism and a method of asserting it; with those who want anthropologism to be brought into the philosophy of Marxism, anthropologism is a path that leads away from materialism, towards idealism. These people would substitute for the progress of science—which is linked with the transition from anthropologism to the concretely historical Man of dialectical and historical materialism—a reverse movement from concrete Man—contemporaneous with his epoch and the focus of its social relationships, member of a definite class and an active participant in its struggle—towards

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* To avoid misunderstandings, we would at once mention that we are far from denying anthropology as a science. The study of man by all the sciences, including philosophy, is a pressing need of the times. That kind of study, however, has nothing in common with speculations designed to revive outmoded ideas under the flag of a new science.

an abstract and extra-historical personality called upon to bear the abstract ideals of an abstract humanism, which are in keeping with the eternal "Nature" of the individual.

Moreover, man, as a "generic" creature, as a synonym of humanity and the embodiment of social relations, which is what Marx had in view even in the "anthropological" period of his developments, is replaced by the individual as distinct from classes. By degrees, society and classes, the objective laws of history and the working people's struggle for their liberation, are first relegated into the background and then fully become the object of critical exercises, while in the foreground stands the isolated individual, his values and inner world, a personality divorced from social relations and the class struggle, or linked with them in the measure and the framework in which this is *recognised by all bourgeois philosophy*.

In essence, the revisionists have returned to the position of bourgeois individualism and the bourgeois concept of personality. They cannot admit this openly and frankly, so they speculate in every way on the problems of humanism. There has appeared on the scene a version according to which it was only the young Marx who developed humanistic problems which were later allegedly "rejected" by the Marxists. Consequently, according to Petrovic neither the mature Marx, nor the Marxists "elaborated" humanist problems. Only bourgeois ideologists engage in that, as do the revisionists of today. Marxist philosophy should be "enriched" with the discoveries of these ideologues. Without batting an eyelid, Petrovic has declared forthright that Yugoslav philosophy (the reference is to *Praxis*) has discovered that "Man stands in the centre of genuine Marxist philosophy." Well, it is but a stone's throw from "genuine" philosophy to "genuine" socialism, which for a long time did not possess its own "humanist face," something it can now possess. What is necessary is only to create a model of "humane socialism."

Inasmuch as the slogan of "humane socialism" has become one of the main calls of present-day revisionism in general and of those anti-socialist forces that hide behind the mask of socialism and place their stake on "peaceful" counter-revolution in the socialist countries, it has to be dealt with separately.

But, first of all, we shall ask the question: who *actually* elaborated, continue to do so and implement humanist ideals: the "mature" Marx and Marxists-Leninists, or the bourgeois liberals and the revisionists of today?

Marx and Engels turned socialism from an abstract and humane idea, held by the utopian socialists, from an incorporeal dream, into a precise science and an actual movement of the millions. Lenin and the Communist Party he created headed the movement of the masses in our country and led them onwards to the victory of socialism and the creation of genuinely worthwhile conditions of life. Nothing can be loftier or more humane than the conversion of socialism from a well-meaning phrase and a dream, as it has remained with the petty-bourgeois socialists, from the abstract preaching of

the equality and fraternity of people in general, into the scientific theory and practice of the class struggle of the proletariat, the doctrine of its dictatorship and the forcible overthrow of the system of exploitation, and the employment of that theory to emancipate labour and the individual. All this was done by the "mature" Marx and the masses.

There is no need to "introduce" humanism into socialism, which is profoundly humanist, since it does away with the exploitation of man by man. It is humanist even when, to achieve its victory, people sacrifice their lives and display ruthlessness to an enemy who refuses to surrender. It is also humanist when, at the price of suffering and hardships and in a stubborn struggle against the old, the edifice of the new society is built. It is also humanist when the conditions have been created for the all-round development of the individual, but society is still obliged to control the activities of the individual, his labour discipline and, within that framework and in the interests of all society and the communist education of a given individual, individuals are not allowed to abuse the freedoms granted by socialism, and those with an insufficient sense of responsibility are prevented from infringing the norms of socialist life, the anti-socialist forces' resistance is crushed, and so on.

There is not, neither can there be, a non-human socialism, if it is genuinely a socialism that is based on scientific theory, in exactly the same way as there is not, and there has never been "humane" slavery or "humane" capitalism. (There can, however, be bourgeois humaneness. Even in our days there can be, and there actually are, personalities and scientists belonging to the bourgeoisie in position and mode of thought, who come out against fascism, racialism and nationalism, wars of plunder, and so on. Marxist try to work together with bourgeois humanists in the struggle for peace and democracy without, however, merging with them, and preserving their political and world-outlook identity.)

The struggle for socialism is a profoundly humane one. Though it cannot but be connected with revolutionary violence in various forms, against the forces and defenders of the old world. This is an expression of the class nature of socialist humanism, which is the opposite of pre-bourgeois and bourgeois humanism.

The class essence of socialist humanism and its indissoluble links with the proletariat's class struggle and the intense struggle against all anti-socialist forces is seen by the revisionists as something that contradicts the nature of humanism. As they see it, humanism stands "above" classes, is incompatible with revolutionary violence or any restriction of the individual, as dictated by the demands of socialist society. They see in humanism only that content which the liberal bourgeois are capable of accepting. They approach humanism in exactly the same abstract and extra-historical way as they approach man in philosophy.

Petrovic and his fellow-thinkers may object to this and ask whether socialism does not know distortions that are contrary to its nature, or whether, in a number of cases, the rights of the individual have not

been infringed upon, as for instance, infractions of legality in socialist society, and so on. The answer is that distortions of the norms of socialism, and gross errors by individual leaders, bureaucratic distortions, have, to our regret, taken place in the socialist countries, and sometimes assumed considerable proportions. However, the socialist countries have successfully coped with such negative phenomena, which have never abolished either the principles of socialism or its humane character in general. That is why we must speak, not of introduction of humane principles into socialism, but of the elimination of everything extraneous that *contradicts the nature of socialism*, its humane character, and the revolutionary role that socialism and its ideology play in historical development.

The hullabaloo over the alleged "vices" of today's socialism, raised by bourgeois propaganda, is needed by the latter so as to smear socialism. Under the guise of criticising the "existing model" of socialism, the principles of socialism are criticized, and new "models" of a "liberalized socialism" are recommended, which are in fact nothing but an embellishment of present-day capitalism and its political trappings. Embourgeoisied and partly "petty-embourgeoisied" socialism—such is the latest "model" of socialism which the revisionists of today are doing their utmost to evolve.

From this example, one can see who has really elaborated the problems of humanism and actually promoted the cause of humanism, and who has given vent to hypocritical vociferation about humanism so as to hamper the development of humanism on the basis of socialism; who is trying to substitute "liberal" capitalism for socialism.

However, the problems of humanism in theory have been most of all discussed by bourgeois philosophers, not by the Marxists, the revisionists may claim. Let us consider the statement, although we are in no way obliged to provide our opponents with arguments. At first glance this point may seem to have a basis. Have not bourgeois philosophy and sociology specialised in problems of the individual and humanism, and produced an extensive literature on the subject? Have not the revisionists, not only on any pretext but frequently without any pretext at all, talked loud about humanism and the individual? Did not the works of genuine Marxists, Marxists-Leninists once lag behind in this field of theoretical work, a fact which has been often acknowledged by Marxists themselves?

Yet, if we proceed from the statement of the obvious and external aspects of the matter to its essence, the picture will change completely. Indeed, during the last 50 years bourgeois philosophers and sociologists have used up vast amounts of paper by adding to the bourgeois literature on the individual and humanism hundreds of thousands of new writings. We shall add, moreover, that unlike works which were published at the close of the last century and the early years of the current century, these works have revealed a healthy tendency to base themselves on the achievements of psychology, mathematics, the physiology of the higher nervous activities, cybernetics, medicine, anthropology and so on. Many of

these achievements have been successfully used in the study of personality. Some results have been obtained, which are being successfully used in the organisation of industrial management, in the bourgeoisie's control of public opinion, advertising, the brainwashing of the population, the creation of certain skills in military personnel, and so on. All these examples refer to the servicing of capitalist production and institutions of bourgeois society, with a view to their consolidation. What have the "problems of humanism" to do with all this? Where and by whom have they been elaborated? Has bourgeois humanism proved capable of abolishing the enslavement of labour, found new methods of countering the war psychosis, the urge to amass money, nationalist feelings, and the like? Finally, perhaps, bourgeois philosophers and sociologists have declared a ruthless war against capitalism, or organise the working people for a struggle against misanthropic imperialism?

No, the reverse has been true. The preaching of the abstract principles of humanism, even with the finest representatives of bourgeois philosophy, serves not only to condemn the "extreme" behaviour of capitalism but most often to bolster the action of anti-socialist forces in the socialist countries. This was again and again revealed by the Hungarian events of 1956, and in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Such is the actual contribution made by bourgeois ideologues to the elaboration of problems of humanism. As for the revisionists, their conceptions have only paved the way for the anti-socialist forces, and facilitated their actions.

Not only in practice but in theory as well Marxists-Leninists are taking actual steps towards a genuine elaboration of problems of humanism on the basis of the theory of the class struggle. Marx's *Capital* and his historical works; Engels's *Anti-Dühring*, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, *Ludwig Feuerbach* and other writings; the entire correspondence between Marx and Engels; the numerous works of Lenin, especially those written after the October Revolution; the entire heritage of Marx, Engels and Lenin—all these are profoundly humanistic. Their ideas have been developed and are being developed by Marxists. If we consider only problems of ethics, these have received vast attention from such well-known Marxists as Lafargue and Mehring, Bebel and Plekhanov, and Lunacharsky and Vorovsky. Problems of ethical behaviour in the revolutionary and the working man in general have come in for major attention from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the fraternal Communist Parties. It is not fortuitous that these have produced revolutionaries whose principles and high integrity even the most bitter enemies of Communism have never dared to deny.

The principles of socialist humanism have revealed themselves with special force in the USSR since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the construction of socialism in the USSR. The moral force and steadfastness of the Soviet people, who have been educated in the spirit of socialist humanism, amazed the world during World War II. The attention of Soviet Marxist has been focused with

special intensity on problems of humanism, following the adoption of the CPSU's new Programme in 1961, and the decisions of the October, 1964 and ensuing Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. The CPSU's decisions have theoretically enriched these problems and posed a number of new and important tasks in this field. Numerous Marxist works have appeared in the USSR and the other socialist countries in the sixties, in which problems of freedom and personal responsibility, the relation between the material and moral incentives, moral ideals and many other questions have been given genuine development. Perhaps all this is insufficient, but it has been an actual contribution to science, and not parasitism on the themes, or the use of problems of humanism so as to smuggle through bourgeois ideas.

That is why the revisionists' attempts are in vain when they try to ascribe to themselves "services" to Marxism in the field of the theory of humanism. They have indeed rendered "services" but only to the forces of the opposing camp, the forces of imperialist reaction.

The organic links between revisionism in philosophy and in politics is indisputable of course, the direct connection between the philosophy and the policies of today's revisionism cannot always be established. It is highly complex—no less so than

the connection between politics and philosophy in general.

With the revisionists too, not all their philosophical twistings and turnings automatically lead to the political conclusions of revisionism; at certain periods and in individual representatives of revisionism, one can see that their philosophical and political views are not always in accord. An individual's biography may witness zigzags and profound contradictions in views, and especially contradictions between philosophical and political views. We have already pointed out that even individual Marxist philosophers, who are on the whole opposed to revisionism, may regretably make revisionist errors in philosophy. But what is correct with reference to the individual stands in a different relation to entire socio-political trends, in which basic philosophical principles and socio-political ideals are usually in accordance with each other. That is why philosophical revisionism as a *current* is organically linked with revisionism in politics.

The struggle against political revisionism will not be carried through to the end until its epistemological roots are uncovered, the bankruptcy of its methodology is revealed, and philosophical revisionism—the theoretical basis of opportunism—is smashed.

(Concluded)

ICAR PUBLICATIONS

Ornamental Bulbous Plants by S. Jindal (14 cm x 21.5 cm—1969) Price Rs. 19.75, Postage Rs. 2.25

The cultivation of ornamental plants has gained enormous popularity in recent years. However, there is a lack of adequate authentic information on these plants suited to our country. The "Ornamental Bulbous Plants" gives in detail description of Bulbous plants which can be grown under Indian conditions, so that garden enthusiasts can fully exploit their beauty.

The author of this publication, who has the practical experience of growing many of the plants described has brought together information on various aspects of growth and culture of these plants. The publication has been written in a simple language to be of help to the amateur gardeners and is profusely illustrated.

Rose Annual, Royal National Rose Society, London

Flowering Shrubs by B.P. Pal and S. Krishnamurthi, (Pp. 156-14.5 cm x 21.5 cm) Colour Plates-37, Black and White-4, Price Rs. 20.00, Postage Rs. 2.50.

Describes in detail 90 select varieties of flowering shrubs suited to Indian condition with hints for their propagation and arrangement. The colour plates provide a true picture of the shrubs in their natural condition. A useful guide for gardening enthusiasts as well as professional and landscape architects.

Farmers of India—Vol. IV (Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra) by M.S. Randhawa, V. Nath, Suresh Vaidya, H.M. Patel, M.D. Patel and B.S. Kadam., (Pp. 318-XV, 16.5 cm x 23.5) —1968; Ills. 101, Price Rs. 29.00, Postage Rs. 2.50

The present volume is the fourth in the series of books on farmers of India which the Indian Council of Agricultural Research is bringing out to promote a fuller understanding of the farming communities in the country. It presents a panoramic view of the agricultural conditions obtaining in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra and provides a succinct account of the topography, soils, climate, crops, agricultural practices, village organisation and folk culture of these states. The select photographs included in the book make the study more interesting.

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Ghalib

and

Revolt

of 1857

RALPH RUSSELL

I am well aware that in electing to take up a subject involving the revolt of 1857 I am treading on controversial ground. It was the first great confrontation between Britain and India—or, at least, between Britain and forces ranged over a wide area of Northern India—since the effective establishment of British rule about a century earlier. It aroused passionate feelings in both countries, and ended in the defeat of the Indian side only after a long drawn out struggle.

It is not surprising therefore that there grew up in both countries varying views about the revolt in which history on the one hand and myth on the other were mingled in various proportions. If you will allow me to strike a personal note for a few moments I would like to illustrate in terms of the development of my own ideas about 1857 the sort of problems which this myth-making raises. I well remember that at the tender age of nine my mother bought me a book called *India's Story*, a book written for children. In this book 1857 is presented in terms of heroic British soldiers fighting gallantly to stem the attack of ignorant fanatical Indians who are hardly human led by a King who is called "King" only in inverted commas. Over these forces the heroic British ultimately achieved a glorious victory. I suppose that this was the sort of picture I retained until the middle 1930s, when in my teens I ultimately came to hold the convictions which, by and large I still hold, and which led me to the conclusions that

India's struggle for independence was a just one, and that those of us in Britain who could see that it was a just struggle had a clear duty to support it in any way we could.

When against the background of this new understanding I looked again at 1857 I ultimately came to the conclusion that it was, at any rate in Delhi and the present-day UP area, a popular revolt, a plebeian revolt, led by the rebel sepoys, who did what other historical forces, including the British, had done before them, and legitimised their action by securing the formal approval of the Mughal king. It became clear too that the sepoys were the driving force of the revolt, and that, looking back on the revolt, it seems certain that they undermined their own prospects of success by a mistaken conviction that the aristocratic elements in the revolt were prepared to fight for India's freedom much more strenuously than was in fact the case. Later on, through the study of Urdu I came to know in more detail what have been the reactions of at least the Urdu-speaking community to 1857. I was puzzled to find that the people for whom they felt the greatest sympathy were not those who fought most resolutely for freedom in 1857 but the Mughal royal family and similar aristocratic elements, the majority of whom perhaps never wanted to join the revolt, who having joined it under duress were naturally not enthusiastic in its support, and who by their weakness, weakened the whole cause. Today I am an older and, I hope, a wiser man, and this attitude no longer puzzles me as once it did. I do, however, venture to say still that the attitude is, if no longer puzzling, still at any rate remarkable, and has had important historical and political implications which have still not been adequately studied. But I must not diverge into that field now.

It hardly needs saying that if one wants to assess accurately Ghalib's attitude to the revolt, one has to try to put aside all such presuppositions as those I have exemplified in these preliminary remarks, and to face up to the conclusions which the evidence compels us to draw. What is this evidence?

I think it can be divided into three categories.

The first category of evidence is purely negative, and consists of the no longer extant letters which Ghalib wrote to the Nawab of Rampur and which on the Nawab's instructions were later destroyed. Of course one can only estimate what was the content of letters which no longer exist, but there seems to me to be no adequate ground for disagreeing with the view expressed by Imtiaz Ali Arshi Sahib. He writes in his preface to *Makatib i Ghalib*: "Only a few months after the renewal of Ghalib's relationship (with the Nawab) as his ustad, signs of the coming Mutiny... began to appear. Ghalib wrote a number of letters to his shagird and benefactor which, on the latter's instructions, were destroyed. The only reason for these instructions that suggests itself is that their subject-matter was political." He goes on to say that the policy which the Nawab pursued during the revolt (of *de facto* support for the British without overt hostility to the rebels) could not have been worked out had he not been "provided beforehand with a correct appraisal of the situation and of the real

The author, who is the Reader in Urdu, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, presented this contribution at the International Seminar held under the auspices of the Ghalib Centenary Committee, in New Delhi, last week.

causes that had given rise to it." This clearly implies that Ghalib's own policy was that which Arshi Sahib describes, and indeed Ghalib himself, in a letter to the Nawab dated January 14, 1858, writes that during the rebel occupation of Delhi he had "continued inwardly estranged but outwardly friendly." This is, if I may anticipate a little, not surprising. Ghalib certainly had no great faith in the ability of the Mughal power to resist for long the constant encroachments of the British. He had written to Junun in the period immediately preceding the revolt: "... this assembly (the Mughal Court) itself will not last many days more .. It can vanish at any moment..."

The second category of evidence is positive, and comprises such of Ghalib's own writings as throw light on his position. But this category needs to be further subdivided into two sub-categories. The first comprises the diary of the revolt in archaic Persian (or, more accurately, in what he believed to be archaic Persian) written during the months from May 1857 to the end of July 1858. Why this needs separate consideration is clear. Before he had finished writing it, he had already decided to use it as a major weapon in his efforts to regain British favour and to get his pension rapidly restored. And it has, apparently quite reasonably, been said that he must have gone through it very carefully to remove any expression of feelings which would have seriously offended the British authorities to whom he presented it. Why I say that this supposition is *apparently* reasonable I will explain later.

The second sub-category is that of other writings of Ghalib—more specifically, his private letters to his friends. Here it seems to me that there is no very strong reason to think that he writes anything more or less than what he feels. Firstly, they *were* private letters. It was not until years later that he decided that they could be published. Secondly, I think that his statements in a number of letters that he is afraid to write a full account of what is going on should not be taken to imply that it was a fear of the censorship of the mail and the difficulties that might befall him if his letters should express any suspect attitudes that made him write in this way. At any rate we in our day, with so much experience of these things, know very well that to write that you are afraid to say that you think is itself enough to put one under suspicion.

Finally, there is a category of external evidence. I certainly make no claim to have carried out any independent research in this field, but the only significant piece of evidence that has come my way is given in the article of Professor Khwaja Ahmad Faruqi about the *sikka* incident—that is, the problem of whether or not Ghalib did in fact write an inscription for the King's coinage during the period of the sepoy occupation of Delhi. Faruqi Sahib argues, and to me at least his argument is convincing, that Ghalib did. But though this evidence has its value, it does not in fact alter very much the picture which we can build up even without it. For Ghalib himself eventually admits that he could have written it and subsequently forgotten that he had done so. In a letter of June 1859 to Yusuff Mirza he writes: "I did not compose the inscription, and if I did, I

did it under duress, to preserve my life and honour."

Having listed the main sources for an assessment of Ghalib's attitude, let me now say in summary form what I think it was. I think there can be no doubt that he was entirely out of sympathy with the revolt, not, I think, because of any fervent loyalty to the British, but because he was a shrewd and realistic man: he estimated that the revolt was bound to fail, and that failure would bring disaster in its train.

Moreover, he was a very self-conscious aristocrat, and it was evident to him that it was men whom he regarded as plebeian riff-raff that were the driving force of the revolt. His contempt for them and his sympathy for the aristocrats who suffered at their hands is clear from one of the most intensely emotional passages in *Dastambu*. He writes: "Illustrious families lack even the lamp oil to illumine their homes. In the dark nights when raging thirst assails them they await the flash of the lightning that they may see where the pitchers and the goblets lie. See and admire his serene indifference! Men of no rank, who once toiled all day digging earth to sell, have found bricks of gold in that earth; and men of high rank who once in the assemblies of music and wine lit the bright lamps of pleasure and delight with the rose's fire, lie now in dark cells and burn in the flames of misery and degradation... One, once of high resolve and high renown, has seen his honour dragged in the dust of his own lane; and another, who once had no name, nor pedigree, nor gold, nor jewels, is suddenly become master of rank and status beyond reckoning and wealth and property beyond compute. He whose father tramped the streets and bye-lanes as though blown by the idle wind, has made the wind his slave; and he whose mother begged fire from her neighbour, has the fire at his command. Shallow men aspire to make fire and wind their servants, and we are of those ruined ones who long for one sigh of contentment and one cry proclaiming justice." He goes on to write of the position of the King: "The King was powerless to repulse them (that is, the sepoys), and he fell under their duress engulfed by eclipse..."

But if his sympathies were not with the rebels, neither did he condone the excesses which the British committed, especially against the Muslims. He writes in a short poem written at the time:

Now every English soldier that bears arms
Is sovereign, and free to work his will...
The city is a thirst for Muslim blood
And every grain of dust must drink its fill.

In my view it is worth stressing that in *Dastambu* itself he often writes with considerable courage. I will quote a few passages, and the reader may see if he shares my estimate. He writes: "When the raging lion-hearts set foot in the city, they held it lawful to slaughter the helpless and burn the houses; and indeed in every territory taken by force of arms these are the sufferings that people must endure." The last sentence is true, but people engaged in these activities don't usually like one to say so. Later he writes: "I surmise that in this assault the orders were to spare the life of him who bows the head of submission and take only his goods, while

he who resists must yield his life and wealth and property all three." Then, in a passage too long to be quoted, he speaks of the death of his brother Yusuf, and mentions the intolerable restrictions on the Muslims which compelled him to arrange a makeshift burial for him. Finally, in one short sentence which has much wider political implications, he writes with quite scathing sarcasm of the hanging of three Muslim nobles, Nawabs of three territories in the Delhi region. "(They) have been taken separately, on separate days, and hung on the gallows tree, that none might say that their blood has been shed."

I think passages like these force us to wonder whether the presumed revision of *Dastambu* to free it from anti-British references was ever in fact carried out. I would myself suggest that no such revision was necessary, firstly, because in my view there is no doubt that Ghalib was not in sympathy with the rebel cause and therefore would not in any case have written favourably about it, and secondly, because such passages as those I have quoted show that he was prepared to say things which English officialdom would not have been pleased to hear.

Later, perhaps in mid-1858, when he looked back upon 1857, what grieved him perhaps most of all was the loss of so many of his friends. He had friends in all camps—among the English, among the Hindus, among the Muslims who aided the British and among the Muslims who supported the revolt—and he mourned all of them deeply and sincerely and felt their death as an irreparable loss. The undated letter to Tufta in which he speaks of this is too well known to need quoting here.

In short, one can say that Ghalib certainly foresaw the imminent ending of Mughal power, and possibly the revolt, that he thought it was bound to fail and would bring disaster in its train, that he was too much of a realist to blind himself either to the effectiveness of Mughal power or to the shortcomings of the British, that he was a man of strong personal loyalties and not of strong political loyalties, and that to him 1857 primarily represented a year in which fate overwhelmed large numbers of his friends, bringing him distress, privation and above all perhaps the terrible loneliness which more

than anything else inspired the voluminous correspondence of the last twelve years of his life. In short, he did not understand anything like the full historical significance of 1857 as we today, living a hundred and more years later, can understand it—or, perhaps I should say, *should* be able to understand it.

It seems to me relevant to conclude by posing the question, how does all this affect our estimate of Ghalib's greatness? The answer, in my own very emphatic view, is very short and very simple: it does not affect it at all. There is a certain crude logic about the position I have been discussing which runs something like this: The most important historical event that occurred in Ghalib's lifetime was the Indian struggle for independence. Every right-thinking man, and indeed every truly progressive man throughout the world, must recall with pride the facts of which the Indians proved themselves capable in those heroic days. It is an easy step from this to assume that Ghalib, living at the time, shared this view of the struggle, and, if it can be shown that he did not, to feel somehow that this lessens his status in the eyes of posterity. I said that there was a crudity of logic in this approach. It would in fact, be truer to say that there is a great deal of crudity and very little logic. Ghalib's greatness for us is not based to any significant extent on anything he did or did not do in 1857, but on what he has to say to us in his writings—whether Persian or Urdu, whether verse or prose. I have not undertaken here to analyse this. A month ago I told a largely British audience in London what I think he has to tell us, and those who feel sufficient interest will in due course be able to read what I said.*

For the present, let me simply say that in my view he had, still has, and perhaps always will have, a great deal to say to mankind as a whole, and he deserves, so to speak, every mite of the tribute, which we from so many different countries join with our Indian friends in paying him today.

**The paper, referred to was presented at a Seminar held in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in January last. It will appear in next week's Mainstream.*

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Ghalib

and

His Times

B. S. UPADHYAYA

I stood under the great arch of the mausoleum of Timur at Samarkand at whose feet once lay all Asia and part of Europe, and recollected a line of Asad : *Main hun apni Shikast ki awaz*—'I am the Voice of my Defeat'. This could well have been the voice of Timur who made and unmade his times, trounced the clamorous towns, and now lay locked up in the obscurity of earth. The great tomb symbolizing monstrosity of human misery and built upon the cries and laments of men conceals within its vault the pitiful shadow of a body, the empty echo of a voice. But the voice of one who called himself Ghalib, now lying under the turf of Nizamuddin, refused to be stilled and is floating across the climes of space and the corridors of time.

The world of the last quarter of the eighteenth century was disturbed. The American War of Independence had just wrested power from England and inscribed in its constitution the famous Rights of Man. The great ideas of the encyclopaedists Diderot, Rousseau, Voltaire, Holbach and Helvetius had culminated in the French Revolution. Napoleon, undoing the work of the Revolution, was casting longing looks at India from across the Arabian Sea when in 1797 our poet Asadullah Khan was born at Agra.

The stirring times were discernible in India too for there lay a great empire in ruins. India stood at the crossroads of a dilapidated epoch and the unrest of a new age seething to burst forth and record in blood its own annals. The shadow of the glory of the Great Mughals still lingered in the twilight of the Red Fort. The thunder of Edmund Burke had just remonstrated against the misdeeds of the barbaric hordes of Warren Hastings following the resurrection of India's great past by Sir William Jones. A series of political trials had mocked

the British justice and shocked the Indian people. One by one the ruling houses of the land had been dispossessed of their rights and revenues, and the wick was trailing along the cord slowly but steadily towards the magazine, and the explosion was only a matter of time. A curtain of uncertainty hung over the fate of the royalties impoverished to the core. Poverty stalked like a spectre across the length and breadth of Hindustan.

The language of the people had found a thousand tongues, and Urdu, which had replaced Persian in high places, was already the chosen darling of poets. The Deccan had nursed the literary tongue for long and had now yielded it to the north while the north had been shaping it with new styles and forms based on the Persian tradition but enriched with a local freshness seeking to be expressed. The Deccan had been cast amidst alien environs but had abandoned its insularity and was bequeathing its varied heritage to the courts of Oudh, Rampur and Delhi. Oudh had already come up and was trying new models in poetical sensitivity and expression touching on emotional themes recounting the martyrdom of the blessed ones at Karbala through its moving *marsias*. Shujaudaula and Asafuddaula attracted men of the Muse from far and near. Delhi was rehabilitating at Lucknow. Delhi, despite its dilapidation, was still the court and those who loved its breached battlements and pierced parapets refused to join the exodus to the east and rallied round their poet-emperor Zafar, the feeble and impecunious Bahadurshah who still played the munificent and sought to relieve the hardship of the agonised men of letters.

The migrations to Rampur, Lucknow and Murshidabad had thinned the composing array at Delhi but enriched the new venues, and the language came to take over a new form and the melody a new strain. Insha, breaking away from the traditions of Iran, had experimented on new motifs and opened the way to a new world (alas abandoned since !) through his *Ketaki-ki-Kahani*, proving the potentialities of the Khari boli, formed of words drawn from the diglects, the erstwhile pariah in the literary traditions. Nazir Akbarabadi was trying the tongue of the declassed masses and was bringing within their reach the forbidden fruit the enjoyment of which had been restricted to the fortunate few, the leisured classes. Creating a diction a hundred years ahead of the times, Nazir prefaced the progressives of the present day and catered for the have-nots in literature, a task both risky and difficult. He had to brave the consequence of his experiment by being consigned to oblivion for a century. For a century he remained unrecognized, dubbed a parvenu, far below the highbred and the highbrow. It was at his altar the sophistication and urbanity of the most sophisticated and urban poet of Urdu, the affluent and reticent Ghalib was to burn the incense, whose wisdom and weight of thought proved many a time too heavy for the strain. The simple blended with the complex and Ghalib proved too soon that the simple was indeed the culmination of the complex. Passing the bounds of endurance, Ghalib posed the enigma 'pain

This article is based on Dr. Upadhyaya's contribution before the International Seminar under the auspices of the Ghalib Centenary Committee, held in New Delhi last week.

becomes the balm to the sore'. The ebbing life refuses to pulsate anew and the end mocks the treatment.

Ghalib drew on the century-behind-Bedil and set the stage for the century-after-Iqbal in austere poetry and set off Nazir Akbarabadi against Hali in the flowing vogue of the simple. Hatim and Mazhar had laid the foundation of a rhythmic composition on which the melodious Dard, Sauda, Mir and Nasikh built their soft and sonorous music, and afforded the ripple and murmur of the vagrant brook to the language now scintillating with the lustre of a newly-cut diamond. Curves and nuances and individual tints were being given to the literary bloom. The fast fading footprints of the distant adventures were laid over with new sands to take in the new impressions of the succeeding age. Love held sway over the minds of men of letters, wine trembling and shimmering in the decanter drew them forth and flaming flowers claimed their attention. But the human and humane too had come to dominate the times. It was certainly not a lone furrow that Mir was ploughing when he had reminded his readers :

*Mat sahal hamen jano phirta hai phalak barson,
Tab khab ke parde se insan nikalte hain !
Don't take us for simple : the firmament rolls for years*

Then do men emerge from behind the screen of dust !

The 'strain was carried down the century by those that came to underline man. 'Born of man', wrote Ghalib, 'I bear his will and ways and am proud of committing the sins I can.' He strikes deeper when he longs for the punishment for sins uncommitted yet, for desires limitless entailing boundless sins :

*Nakarda gunahon ki bhi hastrat ki mile dad
Yarab agar in karda gunahon ki saza hai !*

Ghalib seeks man, finds none, is pained for want of him. Man bites him, as a dog bites a man, and he cannot face a mirror, for it will reflect him, a man, and he cannot stand the shame ! The man-bitten he fears the mirror as the dog-bitten man fears water :

*Pani se sag-ghazida dare jis tarah Asad !
Darta hun aine se ki mardum-ghazida hun !*

Man emerges with all his weaknesses which make life attractive and charm the spell of his existence. Torn between the injunctions of the faith and the temptations of the forbidden, the man in the poet yielded to the latter, for he seems to have realized that the best way to conquer sin and passion was to yield to them.

Sin appears to have been the only colour element left in life. And it was much in the temper of at least one section of Indian thought. The Tantrist had said : 'It is wrong to say, as the Brahman does, wean away the senses from their objects or else they will soil you. I say, catch the object with the senses, enjoy them to exhaustion, so that exhausted, they will rise no more to soil the senses. Prize women, drink wine, suck the poison off your lover's lips with your own, and make her and yourself immortal.' Sufism negated in the foreground of the Krishna cult which provided to the former

its own rich heritage. The traditional Krishna could intrigue in love and stoop to the meanest passions of men and hold the learner of human weaknesses aloft. Already Vyasa in his great epic *Mahabharata* had declared man greater than all the rest of the creatures, than all the gods. 'Let me tell this supreme secret unto you', says he, 'the most hidden of the truths : there is none nobler than man'. No one indeed realized the secret of Vyasa's declaration better than the Urdu poet of the times inasmuch as they swept off their feet both the Sheikh and the Brahman with their rosary and the sacred thread :

What is the temple, what is the K'abah !

Baffled passion for union constructing

Myths and illusions, asylums to shelter

Its ardour, its hope, its dreams and despair.

The intense humanism of Ghalib looked for the man who was missing.

Man indeed could not have remained the glory Mir and *Mahabharata* had declared him to be when life was calling out for sheer existence and was denied its due. Man mutinied. Delhi and Agra, Meerut and Lucknow, Jhansi and Kanpur had braved deeds and suffered the consequences. Great women had abjured confinement and come out in the open and were riding the storm and heading towards their heroic doom.

The avalanche of vendetta following the Mutiny had descended on India and its humanity had been demoralized. Children had been orphaned, husbands unwifed and wives widowed in the holocaust. Ghalib had seen friends and relatives hanged in the open without compunction or ceremony. Life became difficult, its basic necessities withheld and rendered beyond reach. Man was demanned, debased, demoralized, and he fell to doing what would have been normally repugnant to him. Ghalib himself had to cast away his dignity and repair to quarters he would have shunned to court. His pressing luckless environs comelled him to apply to for pittances and take long journies. The unrest around and the attending cruelties generated an unrest in the heart and mind and the days became cheerless and the nights endless hours of gloom. Hard buffets of life and fate tore away the exalted man from his moorings. Bruised and broken humanity, soaked in sin, nursed its grief in silent shame. Pain exceeding limits and getting beyond endurance was held in disgust to be its own cure, and passed beyond prescriptions. One can well guess the signs of the times and inhibitions choking life closed in compositions like:

Bana kar fakiron ke ham bhes Ghalib

Tamasha-i-ahle-karam dekhte hain !

or such ones as sounded the world hollow and illusory :

Hasti ke mat fareb men ajaiyo Ghalib

Alam hamen halq-i-dame-khayal hai.

Lucknow was prospering while Delhi had been decaying. Lucknow had begun only as an extension of Delhi but had now assumed an independent role. Uprooted poets had found quarters under the Nawabs and new forms in arts and literature had been tried and developed there. Ghalib's great contemporaries in the court of Oudh had been Musahfi and Insha and

Furta' too, for a brief space. Fur'at had died when Ghalib was fourteen, Insha had passed away when he was twenty-one, and Musahfi still lived when Ghalib had attained poetic maturity. Nasikh, Atish and Nasim lived long into his life as did also Anis and Dabir their full-length age parallel to his own. But they all had died, except Anis and Dabir, before Delhi was brought to its ignominious trial or Lucknow to its shameful travail. Anis and Dabir had lived across their town's fire of baptism and had watched Gomati dyed with blood and the fighters under Hazrat Mahal, the gracious queen, taking and losing the Residency.

At Delhi Momin and Zauq had been spared the debacle of their town and the patron-poet. Momin had been born later than Ghalib but he died earlier. The mantle of Ghalib fell on Hali, his pupil, who, however, preferred a different habit, his own. Hali's forerunner Dagh was another luminary of rare brilliance who cast his lustre on the topless towers of Delhi.

Ghalib, tall among his contemporaries, taller than those who went before and come after him, suffered more and more as the evening of life closed on him. He was only seventy-three but looked much older than his years. Whether had beaten him, his ways and many had not been fair to him, and the untimely old age had contrived to crumble him. His eye-sight had suffered and a gloom, as dark as history, had come to settle over him and he died a decrepit man, a lone man cast in undeserving solitude. Ghalib had composed what life had prosed. But his gift to humanity was great for it was created with his life blood through suffering and privation. He will live as long as we live, as long as sensitive man pulsates with feeling indeed as long as he suffers and lives across his suffering.

There slumbers Ghalib under the soft turf, raising eloquent curses that mock the pinnacles on the chambers of the mighty, muted by the weight of the chiselled rocks of marble.

SEARCH FOR NATIONAL CONSENSUS (Continued from page 12)

the surest corrective or remedy to that historic tragedy. But the Jana Sanghite ideology is now doing the greatest service to Ayub and Co, or Bhutto and his ilk—not the progressives and anti-communal leaders like Shiekh Muzibar Rahaman Khan and others.

The other factors greatly determining the question of national unity, is the Centre-State relation in a situation in which the Centre is ruled by one party and the States by other parties. The constitutional safeguards for the States' autonomy have been eroded by Central practices and today India is practically a unitary State, instead of a federation or Union of States. It is safe to assume that the coming political struggle in India will not be over communal issues, but on this issue of more powers for the States, more Swaraj for the units. This question was not very ably discussed in this convention, although some such inter-State council has been proposed to deal with problems between States and the Centre and the States. In my view, the immediate practical danger to Indian unity and democracy comes from this issue—namely, the issue of more

centralization versus more decentralization of political and economic power and it should have been more seriously discussed in the Convention.

It was heartening to see how the representatives of CPI(M), Sri Ramamurthi and Sri Sundarayya vigorously defended the case of democracy and unity of India. Sri Sardesai of CPI also spoke in the same vein. I wish that their speeches or rather talks over these issues had received wider publicity. I am sure that all other participants in the Convention, holding on to misgivings about the Communists' attachment to the country or to democracy, might have been feeling reassured of India's future.

The biggest success of this Convention lies in this that so many parties could sit together and could talk informally and cordially in a rather friendly atmosphere. The Parliament is no doubt the most important representative democratic institution in the country, but there every party is trying to overdo itself, every party is ready with "package-programmes" and vie with one another to suppress or corner others' points of view. But in this Convention, everybody seemed very tolerant and pre-

suasive and defensive—not aggressive. This itself is a healthy convention. A democratic country must develop a healthy spirit of mutual understanding, particularly in a large country like ours, full of heterogeneity and with few areas of homogeneity. A search for National Consensus on every critical question cannot but help the country to grow. The party leaders get committed to certain norms of thought and code of conduct.

It will be wholesome for our body politic if every State should now try to follow up with such conventions in their respective capitals.

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The Decline Of Dharma

'FRIEND', said His Excellency Dharma Vira, tapping the Chaprassi's shoulder gingerly, 'will you defect?'

'Me, Your Excellency?' said the Chaprassi in bewilderment. It had never occurred to him that he could defect, or in other words, that he was precious merchandise.

'Oh, hell', said Dharma Vira, making a visible effort to uncloud mind. 'Really, you ought to pardon me, brother. Sometimes, I do get off the track, talking.'

'Old age, Your Excellency?' suggested the Chaprassi in sympathy.

'No', said Dharma Vira, who didn't want the impression to get round that he was too old for Tatas or Martin Burn, 'rather, a matter of habit. I really meant if you could get me a glass of water.'

The Chaprassi scratched his head, and put on a delicate grin.

'Really, Your Excellency', he said, 'I never guessed you ever needed water in the steel frame.'

'We do', said Dharma Vira.

'Oh, I'm sorry then,' said the Chaprassi. 'I was guessing. For, after all, who among the likes of me ever saw a Civil Servant feeding or in bed?'

'True', said Dharma Vira. 'The people are being kept in

ignorance by the United Front politicians. But now, how about defecting? I'm sorry, how about getting me a glass of water?'

The delicate grin reappeared, and the Chaprassi said, 'I'm afraid, Your Excellency, it isn't properly within my functions...'

'Heavens', said Dharma Vira, trying heroically to moisten his lips, 'then whose function is that?'

'You had better try the Home Minister.'

Dharma Vira reddened. He tried to stamp his foot, then becoming aware of the situation, began painfully unstamping it. He wished the heavens would open up, and Sri Chavan descend on him with a pail of water, with Smt. Gandhi tumbling after. He even wished it could be Morarji instead, sliding down from the skies with a gimlet. Well, dear reader, this only shows what extremes the toughest of men can be driven to by thirst. You will know presently what this one was driven to.

So Dharma Vira saw that there was nothing he could do to intervene in the Chaprassi. He tried to wet his lips, to swallow his prerogatives, but nothing worked. In great humiliation there fore, he went up to the Minister and said, 'Dear colleague, how about defecting? I'm sorry, I meant how about giving me a drink of water?'

Again that delicate grin; Dharma Vira wondered whatever was coming over the faces of men. Something *was* coming over them. And he was getting parched.

'Come, come, Your Excellency', said the Minister. 'You sure are kidding me.'

'Heavens, no', said Dharma Vira. 'Dear colleague, I'm dying of thirst.'

'In that case', said the Minister, 'don't tell me you're trying to wangle a state funeral.'

Dharma Vira kneeled verbally.

'I'm angling for nothing, dear colleague', he said. 'I shall be grateful if you prevent the state funeral somehow. I'm parched, and can bear it no more. It's the Centre that's doing this dirty work...'

'Hold it', said the Minister. 'What did you say of the Centre?'

'It's used me, dear colleague', said Dharma Vira. 'Now, please give me that glass of water.'

'The Centre used you?' said the Minister, liesurely. Dharma Vira felt the man's gaze cynically scraping up and down his dry gullet.

'Yes', said Dharma Vira. 'I'm an innocent man. A poor Civil Servant. I was used, sir, Water!'

'Talk', said the Minister.

'I was used', said Dharma Vira. 'I would like to go back, but they wouldn't let me. They're using me. Still using me. Water!'

'Talk', said the Minister again.

'They're still using me', said Dharma Vira, his voice coming desert-dry. 'I have no ambitions of dying of thirst here and being involved in a spectacular state funeral. I'm a humble man, and should like die to somewhere in the Private Sector like many of my other colleagues. Water!'

'It will have to wait', said the Minister, his grin now menacing. 'It will have to wait till the larger Centre-states questions...'

Dharma Vira blacked out.

When he was aware of himself again, he was stretched on the floor carpet at the Calcutta Club, and a dozen extras from the Calcutta cine studios were smothering him.

'Defect', said Dharma Vira. The starlets understood him, and one of them rushed to get him a life saver. Dharma Vira downed the cocktail neat, as there was no drinking water anywhere in those precarious outposts of the Free World. It burned down his gullet, but he felt it better that way.

'One more defection', said Dharma Vira, and the starlet brought him another drink.

After the fifth drink, Dharma Vira stood up, and said, 'Where's the bally United Front?'

And the starlets read out of the *Gita*:

Whenever Dharma declines
And his throat gets parched,
And the starlets gather to
lament,
A quick one is mixed to restore
Dharma.'

—Charvaka

UNDERSTANDING INDIA'S COMMUNAL POLITICS (Continued from page 11)

majority community itself is a heterogeneous congregation, fragmented by caste and sub-caste, which are further divided by regional variations and separated by language-dialect, urban-rural and region-locality distinction, communal-orientation serves the immediate purpose of integrating the majority community around a religious base. The projection of such a communal integration into national politics, accentuates further the communal consciousness of the minorities, who due to their smaller proportion in the population complex, feel greatly alarmed by such a development.

Thus the repercussion of Hindu revivalism in recent years and its political expression in the form of congealed Hindu parties like the Jana Sangh, and para-military organisation like the RSS, leads to the aggravation of the communal situation, as seen in the simultaneous increase and appeal of Muslim and Sikh communal parties in various parts of the country. When this 'communal-orientation' manifests in its abnormal and aberrant form, like communal conflicts and riots, which, incidentally, in the last few years have sometimes taken a form of organized persecution and calculated genocide, and not merely of sporadic violence, the malady acquires an alarming proportion. Minority-consciousness entailing a feeling of separatism is essentially a defence-mechanism, an in-group feeling based on imaginary or real sense of personal and political insecurity and fear of social domination and

loss of cultural identity. Situation like this naturally promote 'particularistic' interests, like communal interests, articulated by 'exclusivistic' parties.

In the transition from socially traditional and politically segmentary polity to a socially modernized and politically integrated polity, 'communal idiom' and communal aggregation of politics is difficult to avoid. The duration of the transition, as the nature of the tensions and conflicts (unavoidable as they are during any transition) depends on the resilience and capacity of the political system itself, and on the manner and style in which that system (including the 'rules of the game') is worked out by the politically discrete segments. In India, the worst enemies of the participatory democratic political system, which the country has adopted after independence, are those who are using the system against the system itself, that is, those who are making the *structure* serve *functions* that will wreck the *structure* itself. Communalism in politics, in either naked or concealed form, either negates or at least vitiates the basic assumption of democratisation, like universalism, achievement-criteria, functional differentiation, healthy competitiveness, social mobilization, political participation and mobility.

This hampers the process of secularization of the polity and impedes integrated nation-building, and thereby undermines the very foundations of modernization.

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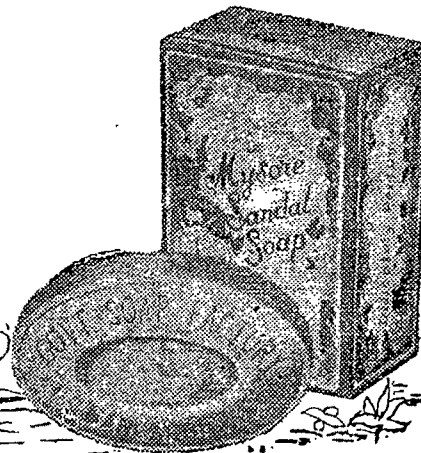
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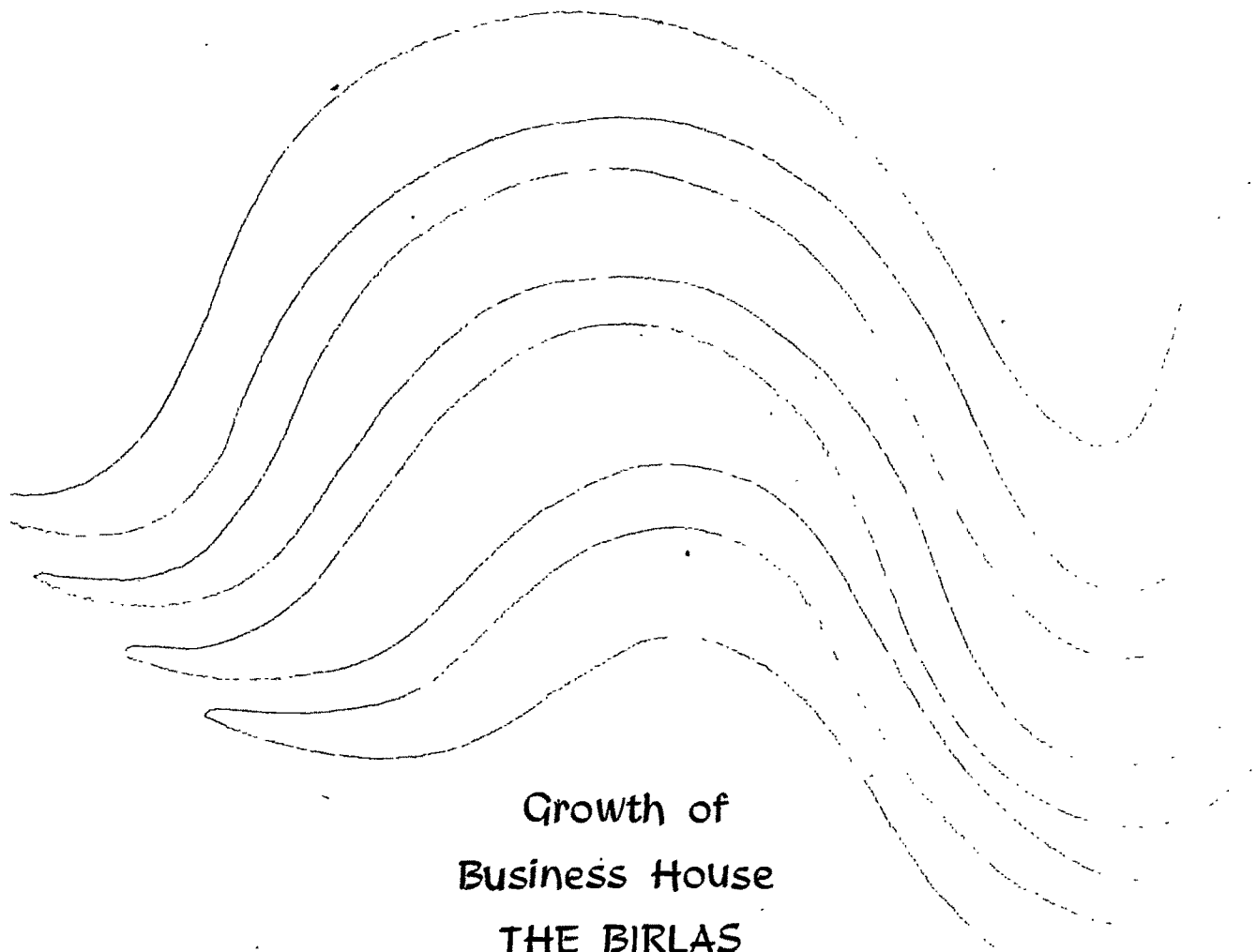
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1955

SPOTLIGHT ON BUDGET

Morarji's Dilemma
Tight-rope Dancing

KERALA

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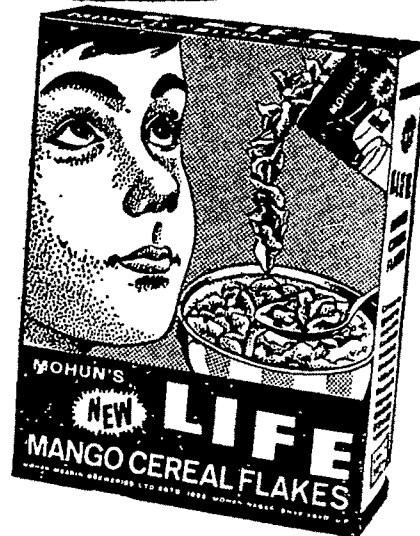
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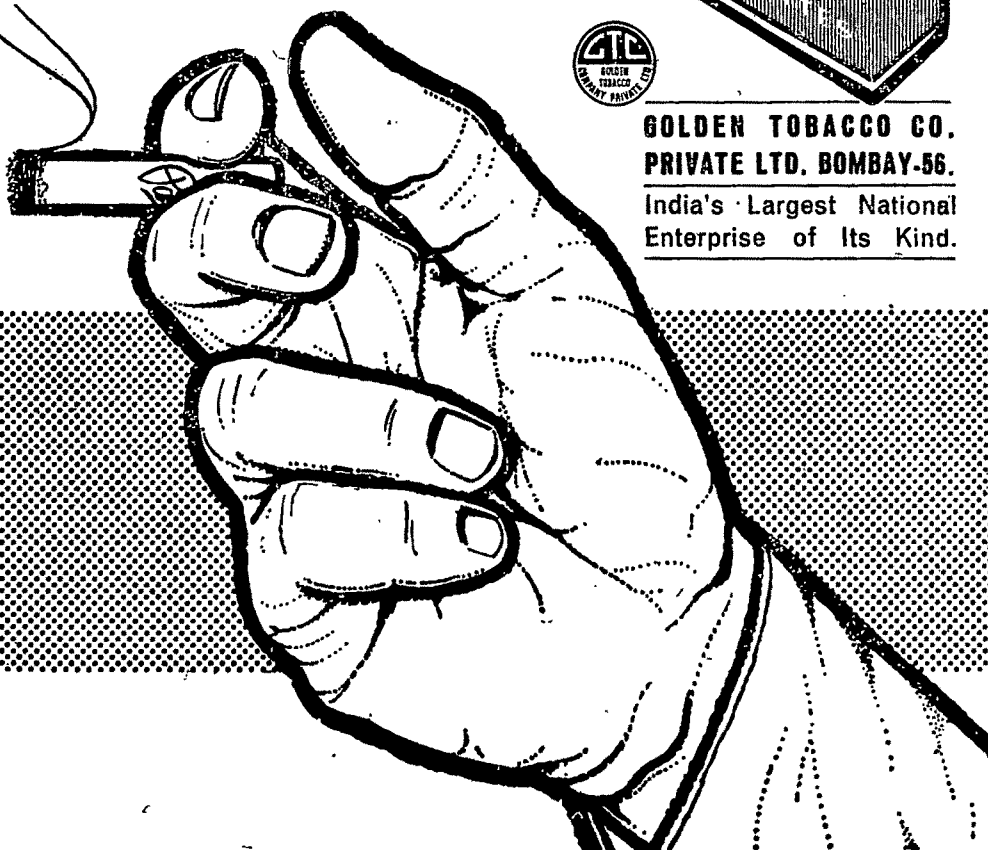
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BANKRUPTCY ABOUNDING

THE storm over the West Bengal Governor is one of those crises which could have been easily averted had the Centre had the capacity to think and act in a statesmanlike manner as behoves those holding the reins of power in this country.

But the way Sri Chavan has handled or mis-handled the entire controversy bears eloquent testimony to his bankruptcy as Home Minister. Right from the moment the last United Front Government was dismissed by Dharma Vira upto this week, Sri Chavan has displayed a remarkably singular aptitude for letting himself be a plaything of the entrenched bureaucracy over which theoretically he is supposed to exercise political authority but in reality allows his own judgement to be mortgaged to them. The result has been that the prestige of the bureaucrats has come to be equated with the prestige of the centre under Sri Chavan's dispensation.

What is perhaps still more amazing is that Sri Chavan in Parliament has taken up a posture of "firmness" in dealing with the duly elected State Government, thereby earning for the Central Government the just indignation of the overwhelming mass of West Bengal's public opinion. Sri Chavan's heroics have only helped to show him up as one devoid of political wisdom, preferring to rely on the crutches that the bureaucracy provides him with. He has made it clear that he would rather parade the discredited Governor than listen to the voice of the majority in West Bengal.

The Home Minister brought no credit to himself or the Central Government when he disclosed Dharma Vira's offer to quit his present post as early as October last year. If Sri Chavan cannot make up his mind about selecting Dharma Vira's successor in four long months, it hardly speaks highly of his ability as Home Minister; nor does it show his readiness to strengthen Centre-States relations and place them on a sound footing. More than three weeks have passed since the victory of the United Front in the West Bengal mid-term poll, and yet the centre has displayed nothing but drift in dealing with this highly explosive situation. The most charitable interpretation that can be put on Sri Chavan's conduct is that he is at his wits' end as to how to stage a strategic retreat, a quality required of any politician with acumen; while the public would be justified in suspecting that Sri Chavan is deliberately spoiling for a fight with the United Front whose resounding victory at the poll is

a virtual slap in the face for Sri Chavan's exploded politics of toppling non-Congress Ministries.

It is time that the Prime Minister understands the dangerous implications of her Home Minister's line. As head of Government, she will be held responsible for the crisis that Sri Chavan and his bureaucrats have contrived to land her Government in. Srimati Gandhi must realise that her public assurance of dealing with non-Congress Ministries without discrimination has little in common with the line pursued by her Government over the Dharma Vira episode. There is no valid reason for the Centre to unnecessarily annoy the West Bengal Ministry when the United Front leaders themselves started with an attitude of responsive resilience in not refusing to take the oath of office from Dharma Vira. Nobody can accuse the United Front Ministry of impatience in dealing with the Governor whose acts of provocation and recklessness have no parallel in the annals of parliamentary democracy in India.

The ugly controversy over the Governor's address the West Bengal Assembly could have been easily avoided had the Centre cared to veto Sri Chavan's suicidal politics. No government in its senses can afford to be reckless, least of all a government beset with so many problems and difficulties as Srimati Indira Gandhi's Cabinet is. Sri Chavan's playing with fire may prove a costly pastime not only for himself but for the Centre as a whole.

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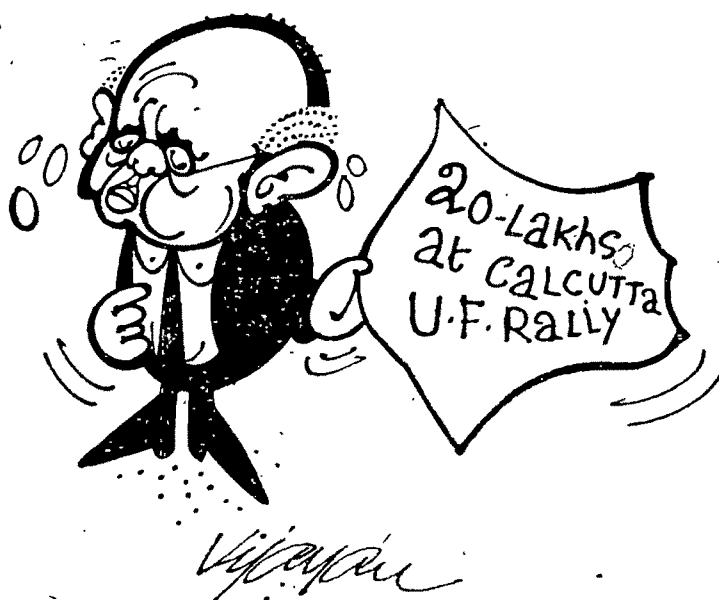
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You've no idea of
my popularity—
20 Lakhs turned out
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SPOTLIGHT ON BUDGET - I

The Tight-rope Dancing

ECONOMIST

FOR a change Morarjibhai has thought of the Plan. Both in the Economic Survey and the Budget speech he made a loud protestation that at least now the opportunity to resume the "threads of progress" would not be wasted.

This is a welcome statement. But how does he propose to fulfil his own promise? He apologetically revealed that "I have not adopted the simple

approach of deciding on a certain desired level of Plan outlay and of proceeding then to raise resources on the required scale." Thus, when he comes to action, the Finance Minister, in his own words, resorts to "tight-rope dancing".

Sri Morarji-Desai pleaded for indulgence for his failure to do much for the plan in spite of economic revival. This only leaves doubt on the extent and depth of

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the economic revival. Let us see what official spokesmen have to say on the subject.

There is no doubt that 1968 witnessed a period of relative price stability and improvement of external viability. But, as the Economic Survey itself revealed, the price stability was achieved not by increasing the supply but by curtailing the demand. For instance, it is stated in the Survey that "while the restoration of a measure of stability to the economy has been welcome, it is to be recognised that this has been possible as a result of a considerable restraint on development outlays."

As for the supply, it should be added that the net per capita daily availability of foodgrains was "lower than the availability in 1965 by 3.6 per cent and not substantially higher than the availability in earlier good years." It was only 457 grams in 1968 against 474 grams in 1965.

'Revolution' Not So 'Green'

This has forced official experts to make a more sober assessment of the so-called 'green revolution.' In the Economic Survey, for the first time, an attempt has been made to separate facts from fiction. Comparing the levels of output in 1967-68 with the 1964-65, the latest previous year of normal monsoon, the Economic Survey has come to the conclusion that marked improvement in productivity has been registered in the case of only wheat and maize. The impact on rice, pulses and commercial crops is "not yet evident".

It also revealed that "region-wise also, disparate movements are noticed in different parts of the country. On the whole, Punjab and Haryana seems to have done better in these four years than States like Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar. Similarly, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu have shown less instability than Orissa and West Bengal."

Unfortunately the analysis stops here and no attempt is made to find out the causes of this regional disparities. The poor showing of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and West

Bengal is directly related to the outmoded land tenure system and the pattern of land distribution in these states. Cultivators of Eastern India, who had been brought by Britishers under the Permanent Land Settlement system, continue to remain the most oppressed, finding it difficult to take to any new agricultural strategy.

There has been a distinct improvement in external viability owing to increasing exports and decline in imports. Without belittling its significance it should, however, be underlined that there is no room for complacency. One is not sure how far this phenomenal increase in the export of engineering items and steel has been the result of slack domestic demands and adventitious factors such as the closure of the Suez Canal. Also, it should not be forgotten that the total export earnings in the current year, even according to the official assessment, "will be only somewhat higher than the levels in the years 1964-65 and 1965-66".

What is more, even after devaluation of the rupee by 57.5 per cent, the pre-devaluation level of export earnings has been regained by the artificial prop of cash assistance to exporters. The total quantum of assistance will increase from Rs. 34 crores this year to Rs. 44 crores next year. This is over and above periodic reduction in export duties levied earlier to protect the per unit value of major items of Indian exports.

Similarly, as regards imports one is not sure how much of the decline is due to import substitution how much on account of 'investment freeze'. But what is more significant is that this improvement in external viability has not given the courage to policy-makers to move forward faster and more confidently towards the goal of self-reliance. On the other hand, by a strange logic, the Economic Survey has come to the conclusion that there is need for "a significant step up in the fresh authorisations in the coming year both for project and non-project assistance"

Sri Desai translated this assertion in the Budget. He has

assumed that the total foreign aid, exclusive of PL-480, would be all-time high next year. It will amount to Rs. 790 crores against Rs. 688.54 crores this year. In the last five years, the total foreign aid, exclusive of PL-480, has increased from Rs. 349.06 crores in 1964-65 to Rs. 482.41 crores in 1965-66, Rs. 516.05 crores in 1966-67, Rs. 538.93 crores in 1967-68, Rs. 688.54 crores in 1968-69 to Rs. 790 crores next year.

When the Finance Minister is wedded to the concept of more and more aid, will it be possible to achieve the much-publicised objective of reducing foreign aid to half during the Fourth Plan? This looks all the more doubtful in view of the actual trend of the last five years.

Whose Fault ?

Sri Morarji Desai lamented that the most serious bottleneck he is encountering is the ever weakening financial position of the Government. The ratio of public savings to national income which had been in the range of 2.5 per cent to 3.0 per cent during the Third Plan is likely to have declined to about 0.5 per cent in 1967-68. Also, the ratio of total domestic savings to national income have declined from about 10.5 per cent in 1965-66 to around only 8 per cent in 1967-68, the year of agricultural recovery. This decline in public savings is due to "avoidance and evasion" of taxes and the shift of income towards rural gentry from urban gentry.

However, in no small way the declining trend of public savings is the result of ever-increasing non-developmental expenditure of the Government. For instance, in the last five years the defence expenditure has increased from Rs. 805 crores in 1964-65, to Rs. 1,110 crores in 1969-70 : representing an increase of 38 per cent, which is much higher than the growth of national income in this period.

The police expenditure of the Centre has increased by 165 per cent in four years ; from Rs. 29.10 crores in 1965-66 to Rs. 74.71 crores in 1969-70. The total non-

developmental expenditure of the States and Centre has increased by more than Rs. 1,000 crores in four years; from Rs. 1,815 crores in 1964-65 to Rs. 2,816 crores in 1968-69.

Poor Performance

No wonder, therefore, that year after year both Centre and States are showing revenue deficits since the revenue expenditure, which denotes non-developmental maintenance expenditure, is increasing at a much faster rate. For instance, next year there would be a revenue deficit of Rs. 60 crores at the Central Budget on the basis of existing rates of taxation. Thus, out of the net additional taxation of Rs. 100 crores, only Rs. 40 crores would be available for the capital Budget.

Yet another reason for the falling rate of the public savings is the continuing poor performance of public sector economic investments. Public investments in economic undertakings and services now are of the order of Rs. 15,000 crores. This is distributed in Railways (Rs. 4000 crores), industrial undertakings (Rs. 3,500 crores); Power (Rs. 3,500 crores); irrigation (Rs. 3,500 crores) and P. & T. (Rs. 400 crores). In addition, there is about Rs. 1,000 crores of public investments in ports, shipping and State transport and industrial undertakings.

The contribution of this massive chunk of investment in generating resources for the national economy is most pathetic. For instance, in 1967-68, Rs. 3,500 crores of investment in Central Government industrial and commercial enterprises resulted in a net loss of Rs. 35 crores. Out of 55 public sector concerns, 31 showed a net profit of Rs. 48 crores and the remaining 24 showed a net loss of Rs. 83 crores.

On a rough estimate, surpluses which include profit or loss, dividend, depreciation and interest on loan from this huge investment of Rs. 16,000 crores would be only three per cent or so.

Sri Desai has perhaps expected the inevitability of this basic

economic situation. Preceding from this basic, he, from his own point of view, has made a heroic effort towards raising additional taxation. In this process, he has again hit his familiar target, the common man.

For the second consecutive year he gave concession to the corporate sector. The total relief in the corporation tax in the two years would be of the order of Rs. 7.80 crores. Against this relief, he increased excise duty by Rs 141 crores in the same period.

In five years, the total incidence of excise duties has increased by over 90 per cent; from Rs 802 crores in 1964-65 to Rs 1,526.20 crores in 1969-70. In this period, direct taxes in the form of income tax and corporation tax, have increased only by less than 20 per cent; from Rs 581 crores in 1964-65 to Rs. 688.50 crores in 1969-70. If relief to the higher income bracket group as a result of the annulment of the annuity deposit scheme effected last year is taken into account, the increase from this sector would be considerably less than 20 per cent.

However, Sri Desai claims that he has broken fresh ground by his proposal of agricultural wealth tax and 10 per cent excise duty on fertilizers. As regards the wealth tax, it is yet to be seen whether it will be finally through or not. This doubt arises because of the stiff opposition this proposal has encountered from his powerful Cabinet colleagues.

Bad Economics

As regards excise duty on fertilizers, Sri Desai claims he has been motivated by the laudable objective of mopping up part of additional income accruing to rich farmers. But the method he has selected is open to question. It is bad economics to make the basic input like fertilizer costlier through imports. If basic inputs are costly, it distorts the entire structure of economy by perpetuating a high cost economy. In this case it is likely to perpetuate high cost food economy in this country.

Already the Government is

giving subsidy to the tune of Rs 24 per quintal in the case of indigenous Mexican wheat, Rs 9 per quintal in the case of indigenous common white wheat, and Rs 4 per quintal in superior indigenous wheat. After the imposition of excise duty on fertilizers, even the Finance Ministry experts concede that it would not be possible to implement their own proposal of bringing down the procurement prices from the current level.

In this situation, the alternative left open to the Government is either to increase the consumer prices of wheat or go on giving subsidy. If the issue prices of wheat are increased, it will have an inflationary pressure by pushing up the cost of living. If the Government continues to give subsidy, it would more than offset the gains from the excise duty on fertilizer. For instance, in the next year the food subsidy would amount to Rs 20 crores and the revenue from the excise duty on fertilizers would be Rs 22 crores.

The food subsidy will assume serious proportion in the coming years as the quantum of indigenous wheat handled by the Food Corporation increases. According to one estimate if the present procurement and issue prices are maintained, the total incidence of subsidy during the Fourth Plan will be in the neighbourhood of Rs 500 crores. In other words, the excise duty on fertilisers will prove self-defeating.

Notwithstanding the economics of it, Sri Desai has mustered enough courage to give some pin-pricks to the powerful farmers' lobby. It is, however, true that he is doing this most unwillingly and is acting under the compulsion of desperate need of resource raising. All the same it is interesting to watch in the coming weeks whether the so-called strong man Desai will be able to stand up to the pressure of this lobby or beat a hasty retreat as his Government did in 1963.

Another favourite technique resorted to by him, is deficit financing. Last year, he left an uncovered gap rather unwillingly. This year he is doing it without any guilty conscience. He feels

bold from the experience of the current year.

But is there any justification to feel so bold? According to the latest estimate, the foodgrains production this year would be of the same order as that of last year. But imports are likely to be lower. Taking into account the normal increase in population, the per capita availability of foodgrains is likely to decline than to increase in the next year. Also the increase in national income in 1968-69 is estimated to be only three per cent. In this situation one needs to show more caution than what the Finance Minister has shown in respect of deficit financing, if inflation is to be avoided.

Central Question

However, the central question is: can additional taxation and deficit financing alone solve the problem of the country? This is an important question since some enthusiasts have reduced the problem of Plan and development to additional taxation and deficit financing. The Budget certainly gives hope that Sri Desai may fulfil the Fourth Plan target of Rs. 1,600 crores of additional taxation set by the Planning Commission for the Centre. As regards deficit financing, he is sure to over-fulfil the target of Rs. 850 crores, since in one year alone he has envisaged deficit financing of Rs. 250 crores. Similarly, he will not disappoint the Planning Commission in respect of foreign aid targets.

But Planning Commission's expectations would be belied in respect of revenue surpluses and surpluses of public enterprises including Railways for Plan resources. For instance, the

planners have assumed that the balance from current revenue at 1968-69 level would yield Rs. 2,355 crores at the Centre during the Fourth Plan period. Against this expectation, Sri Desai has shown a deficit of Rs. 60 crores in the first year of the Plan. Similarly, against the Plan target of Rs. 1,175 crores, the contribution of Railways and other public enterprises to the plan resources in 1969-70, will be only Rs. 165 crores.

In other words, in totality there would be serious shortfalls even after some heroic actions of additional taxation in the resources envisaged by the planners for the public sector.

As regards the private sector, Sri Desai's whole philosophy is to leave its development to the normal forces of market. With this end in view, he made some desperate attempts to revive the dead horse of capital market. It did revive but only for speculators and manipulators to make some money. But the contribution of the capital market to the growth of economy has been most disappointing. In fact, the total fresh capital raised through the capital market for the private sector has been continuously declining. From Rs. 102.6 crores in 1965, the amount fell, to only Rs. 56.1 crores in 1968.

This only proves the dearth of genuine private investors and the limited scope of voluntary savings in this country. This is further highlighted by the fact that the voluntary public provident fund scheme, launched following the scrapping of annuity deposits last year, proved a flop. It netted only Rs. two crores against the budget estimates.

To sum up, the country is launching the Fourth Plan in a situation in which agricultural revolution is not so wonderful as thought to be earlier. As a result, the food supply position is not as easy as it should be. The previous investments, particularly in the public sector, continue to remain poorly managed. Non-developmental expenditure of the Government continues to increase. Affluence has not reached the stage where resource mobilisation could be left to voluntary private savings.

It is obvious that if this basic situation does not change, it may not be possible to sustain the growth process. As has happened in the past, the first thing to be jettisoned at the emergence of slightest difficulty will be the developmental outlays. It is not without significance that Sri Morarji Desai has already warned that he is performing "tight-rope dancing" whenever he apprehends a danger, the dancer will not mind throwing away anything, even his mask, which in this case happens to be the Plan.

Solicitude, Morarji-Style

Sri Desai has shown much solicitude towards States even to the extent of offering to collect agricultural wealth-tax for them and giving them some debt relief. But in actual practice, the total net resources transferred from the Centre to States would decline from Rs. 1321.43 crores in the current year to Rs. 1,307 crores next year. The usual dichotomy between profession and practice.

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Morarji Desai's Dilemma

BALRAJ MEHTA

SOME pep has been added to the conventional post-Budget reactions. In the midst of the traditional chorus of criticism of its being an "anti-people budget", "burden on the common man" or the more subdued "status quo budget" came the news that the presentation of the Budget itself had run into serious differences in the Union Cabinet when Finance Minister Morarji Desai disclosed to his Cabinet colleagues its precise contents.

The differences were apparently so serious that a powerful Finance Minister such as Sri Morarji Desai was obliged to insert a qualifying clause to one of his tax proposals at the very last minute. This was in regard to the proposal to bring agricultural land within the ambit of the Wealth Tax. The modification introduced restricts its scope to such land owned by only non-agriculturists who are otherwise liable to Wealth Tax and Income-tax so that "genuine agriculturists" are not touched by it.

Such a modification of a tax proposal contained in the Budget speech and the manner in which it was brought about are something unprecedented. That it should have happened with a proposal which in the overall structure of the Budget and the totality of the tax effort it contained was comparatively a small item (only Rs. 5 crores out of Rs. 150 crores) adds greater significance to this unusual event. The fact is that even if the attack was concentrated on this particular item, the critics were perturbed by some other levies too, specially the 10 per cent excise duty on fertilizers and to a lesser degree

the 20 per cent excise duty on power-driven pumps. In fact, objections were raised to both these levies but were not pressed to a point where a full-fledged government crisis would have been precipitated.

Even if such a crisis was avoided on Friday—since none in the Cabinet is quite in a position to challenge a risk of this kind—the issues have nevertheless been joined in the hour before the Budget was presented in Lok Sabha. The follow-up will be interesting to watch. There can be no doubt that the position will worsen in the days to come and resistance to the Budget proposals which was initiated in the Cabinet will mount within the Congress Party as well as from the side of the Opposition parties. One can hardly miss the interesting coincidence of the happening in the Cabinet with the opposition to the very introduction of the Finance Bill by Sri Madhu Limaye in Lok Sabha—something which too is unprecedented.

In the midst of the prevailing complex of political relations in the country as a whole and more particularly within the Congress party itself, this development is obviously of considerable significance and might open up interesting possibilities. Knowledgeable observers are well aware of the leg pulling that goes on all the time within higher echelons of the ruling party around certain issues, not on merit, but on purely factional grounds. Suspicion will not be entirely unfounded if the critics of Sri Morarji Desai, or at least some of them, in this case too may be found to be working on similar calculations

in making their sortie.

Temptation is quite strong in this context to recall an earlier budget—also presented by Sri Morarji Desai in 1963—and the events that unfolded afterwards. Then also the political leadership—far stronger and mature than it is today—faced a crisis point in the processes of economic development and planning. The Chinese aggression a few months earlier had created unusual tensions and added new burdens to these processes. Sri Morarji Desai's Budget embodied a bold attempt, to the point of recklessness, to face up to the new situation. He personally had soon to pay the price for it. The price for the established political leadership; also proved to be heavy in due course.

In the absence of structural reform in the economy and social set-up which the dominant political leadership has been unable and unwilling to introduce, the tension and the burden of "development and defence" which was put out as the aim before the country, proved far too onerous for budgetary devices alone to match. They were far too fragile and lost much of their relevance when the crisis of the economy deepened. The entire process of development ground to a halt and the country soon entered the stage where planning and development were all but abandoned. And yet, it is undeniable that the 1963 budget staved off the collapse of planning for sometime.

When Sri Morarji Desai returned to the Government after a spell of political wilderness he was again called upon to head the financial and economic management of the country. He was quite aware of the challenge and political risk involved when he reluctantly took this office. He frankly declared immediately afterwards that henceforth he would be "bold but not mad" in his job. But events appear to have pushed him once again to a position where he might again be soon wondering if he is not committing the same mistake as in 1963—to rely on budgetary solutions for problems which require more fundamental treatment.

In the first two years of his office as the Finance Minister, Sri Morarji Desai could evade the challenge of economic development of the country. The situation was such that he could give a back place to this task and make of the financial and economic management a dreary holding operation. This is no longer possible. The emerging economic and political situation and the gentle goading by the Planning Commission made it impossible to disregard the claims of development altogether in the budgetary policies.

In doing so he has been quite restrained. He has not allowed himself to be pushed into any significant step up in the development effort merely because the coming year will be the first year of the new Fourth Five Year Plan. The central sector investment outlay is merely Rs. 93 crores more than the level of the last year—the third year of Plan holiday. The Plan outlay is also very judiciously and carefully deployed. The industrial part of it is entirely on continuing schemes of extreme urgency to the economy. Moreover, as he emphasised, it will have the additional advantage of giving “a fillip to industries engaged in construction activity and specially the engineering industries”—both in the public and private sectors. And yet, even such a modest effort required of him to raise additional tax resources of Rs. 150 crores together with Rs. 250 crores of deficit financing which will be running at that high level for third year in succession—evidently a fairly risky venture.

A close study of the Budget speech and the structure of the Budget will clearly show that even this inescapable resource raising effort was not something he relished. He stressed his awareness of the “limits beyond which resources cannot be raised in the short run without impairing the functioning of the economy” such as we have in our country. Earlier, he had been engaged in a prolonged tussle with the Planning Commission on the issue of resource raising for the Plan, fighting every inch

of the way against any demand for setting the targets high and calling for the effort which will be beyond his capacity to undertake. But he could not escape the minimal commitment entailed if a plan was to be there at all.

Though he had no intention of “stealing the show from the Planning Commission” what he spelled out in his Budget speech underlined the modest aims and dimensions of planning and the Plan so far as the public sector is concerned. He started on a cheerful note—the current year has been a good one—“a year of revival” and the “general economic conditions in the country are propitious for resuming the threads of progress over a wide front during the next Plan period.” But he was quite explicit on the limited scope of effective planning in the public sector—the rest is to be all indicative planning in future for the benefit of the private sector. Investments in agriculture by way of research, inputs such as fertilizers and water, provision of credit and storage facilities, together with family planning, will have prior claim. In the industrial sector, the development of capital goods industries that has *already* taken place (a significant part of it in the public sector) will be used to step up investment outlays for expansion of the consumer goods industries (which lie in the sphere of the private sector). Socialist society, meanwhile, was defined as a response to the “natural urge of our people for basic amenities, such as drinking water, for education and medical aid, for opportunity to work and indeed for a growing measure of equality in general.” Another important aim outlined was promotion of self-reliance through export promotion and import substitution in which already heartening trends have been noted in the current year.

What stands out within even such limited scope of development planning is the paucity of resources at the command of the Government. He frankly admitted that the “financial position of the Government has weakened

over the past few years.” This is proportionately more than even the slow down in the rate of growth of economy and incomes. The shift to an extent in the secular distribution of incomes as between urban and rural sectors and industry and agriculture as a result of price scissors moving significantly in favour of agriculture and sizeable step up in agricultural production while industry was in the grip of recession in the last two years has made the position more tricky for government finances.

Two devices had been used to raise domestic resources for developing planning in the first decade or so, in addition to exhausting the reserves inherited from the war years. The first was to use price mechanism against agriculture, and second, to load the urban sector, both the middle classes and the industry, with taxation, direct as well as indirect. This course was emphasised by the 1963 Budget of “defence and development”. It has now become untenable and is impossible to persist in because the very bases for its effective operation no longer exist in the prevailing system of resource raising within our established economic and social structure. Hence the insistence of the planners as soon as they began serious work on formulating the new Fourth Plan for mopping up resources from agriculture and the implicit assumption that the scope for tapping industry for resources for the Government has exhausted.

Radical opinion will not be impressed by such assumptions because it questions the very system of resource raising and the established social and economic structure. It calls for revolutionary land reforms, on the one hand, and extensive nationalisation in the industrial sector, on the other. If such structural changes are made in the economic order, the scope of resource raising by way of taxation will necessarily become limited. Direct and physical command of resources and their deployment, suitable pricing policies and physical regulation of current consumption will become available as instruments of planning. A discussion

on the social and political viability of such a solution in general will be quite in order and highly stimulating, but it is clearly not the point under a discussion on the Budget presented on behalf of the *present* Government at the Centre.

Within the framework of mixed economy and the present system of resource raising by the Government (specially when the large investments already made in the public sector are not giving returns to finance further development) Sri Morarji Desai has done a fairly efficient job of budget making. A noteworthy feature of the budget is that it fits within a policy frame which in the past has generally been absent. It is not a budget which has been conceived merely in terms of somehow or other raising financial resources of a particular order fixed *a priori*. Its structure fits in a system of policies and is designed to respond to actual movements within the economy over a period of time. The touch of Planning Commission's approach and thinking is unmistakable in its framing. It is also for this reason that the Budget has found it possible to meet the essential commitment to the Plan as it is being framed by the Planning Commission.

The excise duty is the most important element in our budgetary structure. Besides bringing within its net new commodities which are expected to steadily show larger consumption in the coming years—among them fertilizers—and will therefore bring in automatic accretion to the Government revenue in future, the switch to *ad valorem* basis will impart them dynamism and resilience. Coupled with other suitable adjustments in the tax structure, this has brought certain reliefs to industrial sector and substantial incentives for export promotion. The objective of stimulating savings for investment in private business and the corporate sector has been emphasised. There is no deceptive pretence of socialism and socialistic objectives. It is frankly a budget to stimulate economic activity within the existing capitalistic structure and

to promote it. The need to find resources for the Government has not been allowed to obscure commitment to the needs of resources for the private sector. In doing so, the boldest incursion is made into the new rural incomes—quite modestly and tentatively yet but if the effort succeeds it may create the basis for further advance in that direction such as correcting the price scissors to more realistic levels and economic returns from inputs into agriculture.

Those who have taken up cudgels against making any claims on agriculture for resources have raised the interesting point that this was reprehensible when industry was given reliefs and incentives. Apart from the general economic rationale of levies on agriculture it will be useful to point to the irrationality of such critics. Even Leftist leaders, Sri. S.A. Dange for instance, have openly proclaimed their distress over the slight upward revision of excise on fine and superfine cloth. This burden has been considered by them too much to bear for the cotton textile industry even when substantial relief has been given by downward revision of excise on coarse and medium cloth and several other incentives have been offered, including bringing it within the priority industries list. If that is so, there could be no escape from treating the industrial sector more leniently as things stand at present unless it is decided to nationalise a large part of it. Oddly enough, Sri Dinesh Singh is among those who are reported to have protested against the levies on agriculture. He was the Commerce Minister before he took over as the External Affairs Minister only a couple of weeks before the Budget was presented. The concessions given to the cotton textile industry must have been on his insistent advocacy in the background of the claims or great export performance under his stewardship. The Budget had to provide not only a large sum for sustaining exports next year but also to suffer a sizeable loss by way of reduction in export duties on jute and tea etc.

The cry of disincentive to agricultural production on account of the modest claim made by the Budget on rural incomes and on the use of agricultural inputs is as phoney as it is deceptive. The only way agricultural production can suffer is if it can be shown that the excise duty of 10 per cent will result in the fall of fertilizer demand. That is clearly out of question. The demand is rising because the farmer who uses knows its large profitability; and even if he will not like the new levy he will not give up its use on that account. The same applies to power-driven pumps.

The powerful clamour raised by the rich peasant lobby against the fertilizer levy and the wealth tax on land has to be against the background of renewed persecution of agricultural labourers, as seen in the Venmani massacre in which their only crime was that they had asked for their due share in growing rich peasant-landlord prosperity by some improvement in their wages. If the rich peasant landlord is allowed to get away with their demands it will not only defeat all efforts at some sort of planning in our economic development but will also spell social disaster in the rural economy. It will also hold up and weaken the process of industrial development, specially in the public sector which alone is in a position to undertake basic industrialisation in our conditions. That will pave the way for a link up of a small stratum of the rural rich and sections of urban trader and industrialist to thwart the emergence of even a welfare capitalist society which is the aim of the present planning and which the Budget for the next year is designed to serve.

(The second article by the author will be published in *Mainstream* next week.)

Ralph Russell's article on Ghalib's Urdu verse is held over for unavoidable reason. It will appear in *Mainstream* next week.

Golwalkar

Sets the

Clock Back

V.M. DANDEKAR

THE RSS Chief, Sri Golwalkar, in a recent press interview in Bombay, made two important pronouncements regarding the nature of Hinduism. Firstly, he asserted that Hinduism was the only original and legitimate religion of India; that all non-Hindus in India were originally Hindus and as such they should forthwith return to the Hindu fold; that this was the only and the surest method of achieving national integration. He suggested that as the persons concerned were in fact Hindus, their explicit return to Hinduism was a mere formality; and therefore it required no more than a simple formal ceremony. He made it clear that their return to Hinduism would not require them to give up their respective forms of worship; that in fact, they could very well continue with their faith in their respective prophets, sacred books, prayers and forms of worship if they found this to be more convenient and satisfying. This was consistent with Hinduism because of lack of dogma in Hinduism, and its tolerant nature and capacity to accommodate different faiths and forms of worship. Indeed, Hinduism, as it is, consists of several such faiths and forms of worship and adding a few more would create no difficulty.

It would seem that this is no more than a semantic quibble; that Golwalkar is no more than identifying Hinduism with Indian citizenship; that he would call all Indian citizens Hindus but would extend to all of them the same freedom of faith and worship which the Indian Constitution guarantees. Has Hinduism then no content other than Indian

citizenship? Why, in that case, Golwalkar would extend the Indian citizenship automatically to all Hindus but would want all non-Hindus to undergo a formal ceremony of 'return' to Hinduism before citizenship is granted to them? These questions are answered in his second pronouncement.

For Golwalkar, Hinduism consists of what was revealed in the Shritis and Smritis. He asserts that what was revealed therein is permanent, unchanging, unchangeable and indeed verifiable by modern science. He refers, for instance, to the Hindu cosmology; the nature of Universe as postulated therein, its being without a beginning and without an end and it being unbounded; and he opines that all the recent advances in modern science have done little except to verify the same. Thus, what was revealed in the Shritis and Smritis several thousand years ago is permanent, unchanging and unchangeable and that constitutes the essence of Hinduism. This would appear to be hardly different from what is called the dogmatic position of the 'revealed' religions; in any case, it would make their accommodation within the Hindu fold extremely difficult; it would also make the 'return' of the non-Hindus to Hinduism much more than a mere formality.

But let us neglect these issues and listen to what he has to say on the scientific bases of Hinduism and how they affect the Hindu society.

Golwalkar proceeds to give an object lesson in his popular science and chooses not Hindu cosmology but a much more vitally important matter, namely the Hindu social organization. He refers to the four Varnas, that is the four social classes postulated by the Hindu Law-givers and asserts that having been revealed in the Shritis and Smritis, the principle of four social classes is also permanent, unchanging and unchangeable and offers support from the modern science.

First, we have the Social Sciences. Golwalkar says that even the western social scientists have now come to the view that a competitive society, even if it achieved material progress, cannot attain social peace, harmony and welfare. This needs cooperation and not competition. The principle of four Varnas or social classes postulated by the Hindu Law-givers is essentially the principle of cooperation.

Next, we have Civil Engineering. Golwalkar says that modern civil engineering recognizes four different Varnas or classes in stone and that a combination of the four classes of stone adds to the strength of construction.

Finally, we have the Biological Sciences. Golwalkar says that modern biological sciences recognize four classes in all animal and plant kingdom.

This is indeed a formidable support that the modern science can give to the principle of four Varnas or social classes postulated by the Hindu Law-givers. However, it seems that a more convincing scientific support escaped the acute scientific and modern mind of Golwalkar. If Golwalkar had only remembered that the Mother Cow has four udders, he would have found it superfluous to seek elsewhere scientific support for the four social classes in the Hindu Society.

Golwalkar is quite clear and categorical that a

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person belongs to one or the other four social classes by birth and not by choice. Referring to the script that the four classes are based on Guna and Karma he rejects the suggestion that Guna and Karma in in this context may be interpreted to mean aptitude and training. Instead, he insists on the original meaning of Karma, namely the doing and undoing of the previous birth, and asserts that it is the accumulated Karma of previous births that places a man in one or the other social classes by birth in this life. He approves of this order. He does not find it revolting and says that no Hindu would revolt against it either. To console those condemned, by birth, to the lower classes, he refers to another principle of Hinduism, namely, to pursue allotted functions without expectation of reward or fruit. He exhorts all Hindus to pursue the functions allotted to them, by birth, whether high or low, with a sense of duty and without any expectation; if they did this, they would find no reason to revolt against the order of the four classes.

It is quite clear that the origin of the doctrine of the four social classes lay in the mistaken notion, natural in an age when little was known about the genetic principles, consequences of race-mixture and the consequent anxiety to maintain racial purity by those who regarded themselves superior. Supporting this doctrine by the Karma doctrine was a clever move. By its callous use, the upper classes in the Hindu Society were able to coerce the lower classes into submission to the hierarchical social order. For ages, the lower classes suffered it without a revolt; they blamed their accumulated Karma of the past and not the injustice of the upper classes. The net result has been perpetuation of social inequities in the Hindu society, its fragmentation into innumerable castes and the ugly phenomenon of untouchability. It is the doctrine of the hierarchical order of four social classes, based on birth, which has prevented the Hindu Society from becoming a homogenous entity. All thinking persons have recognized that this constitutes the most serious weakness in its body politic.

Golwalkar is right in saying that all (at least most) non-Hindus in India were originally Hindus and it is gracious of him to invite them to return to Hinduism. But has he asked himself why so many Hindus left Hinduism and embraced other religions? There are of course many reasons for their conversion to other religions. In some cases, stupid Hindus excommunicated them on trivial grounds and pushed them into the folds of other religions. In some cases, they were converted by force or material inducements by the ruling powers professing other religions. But undoubtedly the most important single factor which pushed them out of Hinduism has been the doctrine of the four social classes; the doctrine which assigns a person to a class by birth; the doctrine which denies all opportunity to improve one's social and economic position in the society.

If this doctrine is an essential principle of Hinduism, as Golwalkar believes, how does he expect the non-Hindus to take seriously his invitation to them to return to Hinduism? To which

class would they return and which functions would be assigned to them? For all one knows of the operation of the laws of this class-based social order, the non-Hindus, if they returned to Hinduism, would be assigned the lowest of the low place and functions in the Hindu society. If this is true, why should they return to Hinduism?

Let us for a moment keep aside these questions. Let us also keep aside the question regarding the rightful place of the non-Hindus in the Indian society because, evidently, no dialogue is possible with Golwalkar on what is morally right and politically feasible in this matter. But Golwalkar is a skilled and able organizer of men. He is genuinely concerned about the solidarity and future of the Hindu society. Unlike the Shankaracharya of Puri, he is occupying not a traditional seat of religious leadership but the leadership of a modern organization of Hindu youths. Therefore, let him ponder over these questions. In answering them, there is no need for him to refer to the scriptures. He may also leave the modern science alone; for he is clearly ignorant of even the elements of the scientific method. As leader of men, his concern should be the solidarity and the progress of the people he calls his own, namely, the Hindus. Let him answer the questions by that test.

Is the hierarchical social order of four classes an essential element of Hinduism? Will its abolition destroy Hinduism to its roots or will it achieve solidarity and homogeneity in the Hindu society? Is the sacredness of the Mother Cow an essential principle on which Hinduism is founded or has this myth placed on the Hindu society an avoidable burden which makes the material progress of the Hindus more difficult than it need be? There is no reason to refer these questions to Shankaracharya. His Holiness has no authority in the matter especially when he uses, as does the Shankaracharya of Puri, the religious seat for conducting political activity. Many good Hindus have doubted and disputed, and will continue to doubt and dispute, these and several other so-called essential elements of Hinduism on grounds of both ethics and science; they cannot be excommunicated and they will continue to remain Hindus. Therein lies the strength of Hinduism namely its ability to be revised and reformed. Let Golwalkar lead the movement.

If, instead, obstinately sticks to the stupid pronouncements he made in Bombay and which he has refused to correct since then, it will be evidence of what many have long suspected, namely, that under the call of Hindu solidarity, Golwalkar desires to re-impose on the Hindu society an inequitable, hierarchical social order. Hindu society will survive Golwalkar. But let the young members of the RSS wake up to his challenge because he will surely undermine their solidarity. They should protest by means permissible within the dictatorial organization of the RSS. If that fails, they must protest openly. On the forthcoming Hindu New Year Day, which they celebrate, let them lower their Flag in shame and keep it at half-mast.

21-2-69.

Film Maker and Social Changes

KARUNA BANERJEE

IN war-ravaged Europe, after the Second World War, films came out of the four walls of the studio, out in the open, divested themselves of the artificial and elaborate studio surroundings and stood face to face with reality. The crudity and terrible destruction caused by the war shattered the old beliefs and faiths. Society could no longer go back to its old, familiar values of life. It looked for new ones, and films of Europe reflected the social realism of the day.

That war was not fought on our soil. But we could not escape its impact. It gave us a bad jolt, a class of ruthless blackmarketeers sprang up, a terrible manmade famine swept away half the rural population in Bengal. Independence brought Partition, and the fury of communal riots shattered all the vestiges of the tremendous communal solidarity achieved on the eve of Independence, July 29, 1946. Refugees poured in, and the suffering of the masses went on unabated.

The British left India but left behind the seed of dissension to do their work. That seed of dissension has grown like a poisonous cactus and has been spreading itself into hitherto unaffected areas. The states are at war with each other, over language, over boundaries. Everyday life is torn with dis-

trust, jealousy, and utterly selfish interests.

For a socially conscious filmmaker these are disturbing thoughts. He is not a politician who can try to change the trend of events, nor is he a moral preacher. His job is not to record the social events like a historian. His only interest lies in observing and keeping track of the human reaction in all the spheres of life.

Old values die hard. When they do not develop for the better, they deteriorate for the worse. When we refuse to recognise the changing needs of society, and stubbornly cling to the old dictum, we face obstacles that we cannot cope with. Human relationship is thus always at a tug of war between the old and the new, for life is never at a standstill. As a result a constant note of discord generates distrust, and warps our day-to-day life. Film, as a powerful medium for mass communication, plays a vital role in such a vast, overpopulated country like ours. It is not only an organ of entertainment, it has a positive social responsibility.

For side by side there is another picture of India. A fast developing economy is bringing in its wake a major social revolution. A new stirring is evident in the stagnant rural life. Industry and industrial products are penetrating the vast hinterland of our

country. Education is reaching new sections of the people. The old pattern of the middle class domesticity is being shattered under the impact of a new economic life. A small affluent society with its problem of boredom and need for excitement is emerging together with its opposite the angry young men. Many complex relationships emerge in a situation in which the developments of two centuries in Europe are being telescoped into a few decades in India.

For a socially-conscious filmmaker, here is a store-house of themes a venue for exploration and experiment. In this context, it is interesting to recall Truffaut's (one of the ushers of *Novelle Vague*) attitude towards film making :

"I honestly believe that pleasing people is important, but I also believe that every film must contain some degree of 'planned violence' upon its audience. In a good film, people must be made to see something that they don't want to see: they must be made to approve of someone of whom they had disapproved, they must be forced to look where they had refused to look."

Perhaps these very same words can be applied to our refusal to recognise and accept the changing face of society, the changing values, the change of habits and needs. The man who handles a tractor is not the same peasant who used to drag the wooden plough. The woman who works in an office with many strange men is different from her mother. So is the village girl who has gone to school. A young peasant thrown out of his land and forced to work in a factory emerges as a different person when he sees a mighty dam that he has helped to build.

There have been a few attempts at touching upon the existing social problems by a few socially aware film-makers. The problems of a working girl and the domestic conflicts born out of the breaking away from the Bengali middle-class tradition, religious fanaticism that leads to a crisis, love and marriage in conflict with the old world religious and caste prejudices, the

joy of an illiterate person to learn to read and write. But these are few and far between compared to the vast resources of material that are mostly untouched.

A national unity is forged when the nation is faced with a crisis. We fought in unison against the British. We thought of unity again at the time of the Chinese aggression and the Pakistani invasion. We feel lost without a crisis.

Independence has left us cold for more than one reason. One of the vital reasons is that we have never learnt to build. It does not appeal to our mentality. Perhaps that accounts for the lack of awareness of all the changes that is taking place in spite of our apathy towards them. Or, is it because we are living in the midst of these changes? Are these too close to us to be recognised? For, let alone the films, other communication mediums also do not study or project these social changes. Such studies are limited to the research of a sociologist.

Most of the socially aware films depend heavily on literature. Literature today, strangely enough, is moving more and more away from such problems of reality into the realm of the subconscious or into other theories of literature prevalent in Europe or caters to more popular taste as sex and spiritualism.

This is really due to a feeling of rootlessness and alienation that has developed among our intellectuals. It is much easier to skim the surface of reality and seek cheap popularity instead of diving deep in search of one's roots. There are a few exceptions, but they are very few indeed. The general note is that of a sort of intellectual bankruptcy, which we cover up by saying that the masses will not be able to accept any serious presentation of reality whether in literature or in films.

The argument to justify this is that the struggle for existence is so dreary and hard that the masses seek escape in films. Films provide the romance that they lack in real life. But when talking of socially-aware films nobody expects a film-maker to

write an essay or a thesis in celluloid, and such a film need not be anti-entertainment. The highly dramatic social changes have their own humour and pathos. They may have such fantastic possibilities as we may be unwilling to recognise, yet we must. These films will be more entertaining, because they will have a new approach. There is no reason why these should not be acceptable to the masses.

Communication

Singaravelu Chettiar

I have read with great interest in *Mainstream* (February 8, 1969) the article on Singaravelu Chettiar, the great revolutionary and pioneer in the Communist movement in India. Mr. L.V. Mitrokhin deserves thanks for this valuable research work on Singaravelu. I would like to add a few words more on Singaravelu in this connection. The credit for observing the first May Day in India goes to Singaravelu. The May Day was observed with great enthusiasm in Madras in 1923 under his leadership. The *Bombay Chronicle* reported on May 4, 1923: "The May Day Labour demonstration was held on the Madras Beach with great success. Comrade Singaravelu presided. It was resolved that the First of May was a common sacred day of labour all over the world and Government was urged to declare the day as a holiday. The president emphasised that the economic relief was an immediate demand and concluded with an appeal to world workers to unite."

Presiding over the First Communist Conference in Cawnpur (December 25-26, 1925) Singaravelu explained the attitude of the Indian Communist to Swaraj in the following words: "In the great struggle for Swaraj which is now in progress throughout the country, we Communists have to

It is exactly this point Satyajit Ray made when he addressed the students of the Film Institute of India on its sixth convocation:

"You must believe that the mass audience, in spite of the tripe they are fed year after year, is able to rise up to the level of a film—even a film of ideas, and not just plots—provided it is not couched in terms too unfamiliar to them".

take up the greatest share in the struggle." (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, December 28, 1925).

In 1927 Shapurji Saklatvala's visit to India evoked tremendous enthusiasm. Senior Congress leaders like Sarojini Naidu, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and others cordially welcomed him as the champion of Indian independence in the British Parliament. He espoused Communist ideals from the platforms of the Congress throughout India. His close collaboration with the Congress leaders was not liked by some Communists. Hasarat Mohani charged Saklatvala that he had become a "Congress victim" and reminded him that he could do genuine work in India had he not fallen a victim to the influence of the Congress and other nationalists. In contrast, Singaravelu sent a telegram to Saklatvala fully praising his role. It read: "Pray go forth and preach glorious doctrine of Indian worker's emancipation. Proclaim to them international unity. Kindly preside over Lahore Communist Conference" (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, January 19, 1927). It is needless to comment on his clear political understanding and the role of the Communists in the national liberation movement as expressed here.

Calcutta

Panchanan Saha

Heart-beat of Harlem

K. R. GANESH

I had my first feel of Harlem in a most unusual and dramatic way. I guess it was the weekend, November 8-10. During weekends, there is no work at the UN. I was not much interested in visiting places outside New York. Through the courtesy of a journalist friend I was the guest at a social meet in Nicholas Avenue.

The gathering finally settled to a serious, heated and at times acrimonious discussion on a wide range of political and social questions. Nixon's election to the Presidency of the United States was naturally the centre of the debate—what it means internally and externally. There was near agreement among the participants he would be flexible in foreign affairs and might like to start with a clean slate.

According to these knowledgeable friends, Nixon is a shrewd down-to-earth politician. He had fought for this coveted office too long and too hard. They said sarcastically he might like to leave a few lines for himself in history by making a flexible approach to some of the tougher world problems—like Vietnam, Middle-East and Non-

Proliferation Treaty. On internal questions he might find hard to adjust to the new realities of the American scene—like law and order, inflation and taxation, budgetary difficulties due to increasing welfare aid demands and commitment to military involvement, housing shortage and ghettos, problem of cities and unemployment—all these symptomatic diseases of the American system are getting accentuated and sharpened leading to ferment and resurgence.

The discussions continued till the early hours of the morning, and most of us just dozed off wherever we could find a stretching place. It was a stimulating debate. I had left roundabout 6 AM. A Black American woman, who was a very attentive listener to the bio-sterous debate, was detailed to see me off. After walking some distance we reached a broad avenue. It was a fine morning, chilly and cool, but not windy. She told me "You are in the centre of the much-dreaded Harlem". We waited some time for a wayside coffee shop to open. I was to learn she was the sister of Paul Boetelle, an active Black leader, who was the Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in the last November Presidential Elections. The sprawling avenue cast in a cloudy sky was deserted. The realisation I was in Harlem at that early hour of the morning sipping a cup of coffee in the wayside coffee shop in the company of a graceful

and proud Black American woman—Harlem where a white cab driver had refused to take me—Harlem, the barricaded and fortified centre of Black resurgence—all this had a deep impact on my mind.

Harlem is the cultural and spiritual centre of the awakened Black American humanity—which is now on its own with a vengeance. Some of the finest cultural centres, theatres, restaurants and night clubs are situated in Harlem. It is here one could eat the spicy soul food, hear soul stirring music from Black artists or feel a sense of involvement in the down-to-earth plays staged at the Lafayette Theatre. Harlem is also the centre of numerous community organisations concerned with education, social welfare, cultural renaissance, and innumerable grass-root activists organisations of political and mass actions.

One of the powerful manifestation of the Black awakening is the cultural renaissance. In this domain the Black American has no equal. I had occasion to see many plays on Broadway, the world famous theatre district of New York located in the glittering, dazzling and multi-lighted neighbourhood between 42nd and 60th Street. We saw "Hello Dolly", "Cactus Flower", "Golden Rainbow", "Bannana", "Mammi", and the "Great White Hope". Except the "Great White Hope", which had a theme based on White racism with stark realism, the rest of the musicals were just extravagances. "Cactus Flower" was a refreshing piece of light comedy. The musicals are just fabulous, dazzling and eye-filling entertainers. Broadway specialises in fantastic settings, dazzling colour, sophisticated and slick production values. The Black Americans say Broadway has no soul. From Broadway to the poorly lighted streets of Harlem is a long way off.

It was here in these neglected parts of Manhattan I had the privilege of seeing some of the finest and most sensitive plays—realistic and purposeful. Errol

The author is a Congress MP, was a member of the Indian Delegation to the last session of the UN General Assembly. In this series of articles, he jots down his impressions of his visit to USA, where he also took special interest in the Black movement. The first article in this series appeared in Mainstream (February 15, 1969).

John's "Moon on a Rainbow Shawl" staged by the Afro-American Studio for Acting and Speech, was a play based on the life in the Trinidad Chetatoes. The Afro-American Studio is dedicated to providing quality theatre training and productions within the Harlem community. This play staged far away from the glitter of Broadway in one of the backstreets of Harlem on a makeshift stage was a masterpiece of sensitiveness and realism. Afro-Arts Culture Center's musical "Ododo" (truth in Yoruba language) was another powerful and stirring play. Directed by Joseph A. Walker this dance drama was a symphony of the Black upsurge from the stage of slavery to the present resurgence. Two of the well-known poems of Langston Hughes, one of the greatest American poets, were included in this play—"Way Down South" and "Harlem". One of the poems used in the play is a powerful castigation of the Vietnam war policy. In an address to the Black soldier, one of the artistes says "You Black soldier; you are fighting the yellow people of Vietnam who are tending their green rice fields to save Vietnam for the White American; who has taken this country by killing the Red Indians." Two other poems "Status Symbol" and "America" were satirical condemnation of the American political and social systems.

The Lafayette Theatre is the premier professional playhouse in Harlem. The seasonal programme opened on November 22 with the premiere of "This Vine Time". This theatre is unique in many respects. To induce a sense of involvement among the audience, the stage covers all the corners of the hall. This stage arrangement enables the simultaneous depiction of a much broader canvas of life and activity.

Another pioneering cultural institution is the Olatunji located in Harlem. It specialises in the popularisation of African music and the use of African musical instruments. The Olatunji also trains Black children in the art of music and dance. Many more

of such community controlled cultural centres are symbols of the assertion of the Black personality.

* * *

THE general debate in the Plenary of the General Assembly was petering out. After the statements of the major powers the interests of the delegates in the debate had waned. Dean Rusk's statement was an exhibition of a tough posture by the USA. He laid the line on Czechoslovakia for most of the Western delegations. The Americans knew they could do nothing about this. But yet Rusk made a bitter attack on the USSR and its allies on the Czechoslovakian affair. He had hardly to say much positively on the solution of the Vietnam and the Middle East problems—which were immediate sources of world tensions. By taking a tough posture on Czechoslovakia he was satisfying conservative internal public opinion on the eve of the American Presidential elections. Gromyko's statement was also tough and hard-hitting. But there was a redeeming feature in it. He spelt out the positive Soviet solutions to the many intricate and intractable problems of world tensions—Middle East, Vietnam, European security, Non-Proliferation Treaty, Disarmament, decolonisation and economic cooperation.

Most delegations were worried about this new element of toughness in the international scene and slowing down in the process of detente which had characterised the relationship among the big powers for the past couple of years. Most non-aligned delegations were critical of the Czechoslovak episode but they wanted this problem to be kept out of the cold-war politics. In spite of Western efforts, Czechoslovakia ceased to dominate decisively the deliberations of the UN.

The Indian Delegation felt proud when the Indian Prime Minister addressed the General Assembly. Combining grace and dignity, the Prime Minister was

heard with rapt attention by a crowded Assembly. Her address laid bare the distinctive approach of India to such world questions as Vietnam, Middle East, Czechoslovakia, Non-Proliferation Treaty, Rhodesia, Apartheid, Decolonisation, Disarmament, economic cooperation, disparities among the advanced and developing countries and the alienation of the younger generation. She expressed the common concern of all the developing countries at the attitude of the advanced countries in relation to economic cooperation, and the disquietude felt by them at the results of the Second UNCTAD Conference at New Delhi. As a major statesman of the Non-aligned and the developing world she confronted the world community with the basic problems of these countries.

The Indian Delegation had a few anxious moments when Pakistan's Arshad Hussain in his statement to the Plenary session mounted a bitter attack on India on the question of treatment of minorities in relation to communal riots of 1968, and on Kashmir and Farakka Barrage. He sought to internationalise the Farakka Barrage issue. This statement was a violation of the ebbing Tashkent spirit, about which only India and the Soviet Union were now talking about.

It must be said frankly we had to be defensive on the riots since widespread communal riots had broken out in India just on the eve of the General Assembly session. It is not possible to shut out debate in the world Assembly. In the forums of our own country we have developed a habit of shutting out thorough discussion on the Hindu-Muslim communal riots. The Indian right of reply was exercised by the leader of the Indian Delegation B.R. Bhagat. Some of the members of the delegation had felt his reply was weak in comparison to the blistering attack of Arshad Hussain. The Permanent Mission of India to the UN was of the opinion that this issue had ceased to interest most of the other delegations, and much of this was only a Pakistani

exercise in publicity for home consumption. There is quite a lot of truth in this assessment of the Indian Mission.

Pakistan had not bargained for trouble from an unexpected quarter. The Afghan Ambassador in his statement made a powerful plea for Pakhtoonistan and accused Pakistan of suppressing the Pakhtoon people. This confrontation between Afghanistan and Pakistan continued for a couple of days and each delegation had to exercise successively their rights of reply. From then onwards Pakistan had to be on the defensive reaping the whirlwind they had sown.

After the statements of the major delegations, the delegates' interests centred round the Israeli and USA statements. The Israeli Foreign Minister Eban is a very powerful speaker. His diction, flawless English and powerful delivery kept the delegates spell-bound. But his statement offered no solution to the vexed Middle East question. His main emphasis was on an integrated peace settlement among the among the Arab powers and Israel without outside "interference". He advocated linking the consequences of the June 1967 war with secure frontiers for Israel and the right of access to international traffic.

Riad, Foreign Minister of UAR, speaking in Arabic also made a forceful speech. His statement was indicative of the flexible position of UAR on the many intricate issues involved in the West Asia crisis. From the position Israel took at the UN and its reaction to the Security Council resolution on the trafficking of the Beirut Civil International Airport it appeared Israel would resist even the Four-Power solution and would not vacate without a full peace settlement as they term it. The UN would be on test in such an eventuality.

Another distinguished Indian to visit the UN was the then Commerce Minister Dinesh Singh in the capacity of the President of the Second UNCTAD Conference. His statement in the General Assembly was welcomed by all the delegations of the developing countries. The Cuban and Alba-

nian statements were also occasions of some interest.

The spectre of the Chinese People's Republic hangs over the UN. Its ominous presence can even now be felt in the corridors, lounges and conference rooms of the UN. The ritual debate on it ended tamely. It was not indicative of any basic shift in the opinion of delegations. But the Chinese position in the African continent seemed to have weakened considerably. India voted for the resolution seeking to admit China but did not speak. The Soviet Union made a one-line statement in support of the resolution. Once China is admitted one can visualise how powerfully it would alter the balance of power at the UN.

* * *

NINA Simone is a powerful and sensitive Black artiste. She is known as the "songstress of the times" and the "high priest of soul music". Even this topmost artiste of the American music world reflects with all her grandeur and majesty the Black upsurge and the cultural renaissance which has become an integral part of it.

On a cold and windy December evening we had decided to visit the "Village Gate" in Greenwich village to hear Nina Simone sing some of her stirring songs. It was a very long drive from Bronx to the Village.

Even with a four-dollar entry ticket, the Village Gate was over-filled with White and Black admirers of Nina Simone. What I had witnessed at the Village Gate was a confirmation of and testimony to the ferment and stir in the United States.

*"People are gathering
Come mothers, come fathers,
Come Congressmen, come
Senators,
Do not live within walls
and barricades"*

*"I got no house,
I got no heat,
I got no seaters,
I got no class
.....
I got life
I got freedom
I got soul."*

*"Show me your Blacklash,
what do you want to do with
me
Increase my taxes
Freeze my wages
Give me second class schools*

*"Do you think all
coloured people have
second class rules"*

The above lines are from some of the songs which this great artiste sang that evening. It was a stimulating and soul stirring evening in the company of an artiste who has very few equals.

(To be Continued)

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Approach to State Taxation

KERALA GOVERNMENT TAXATION ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

This is the opening chapter of the Report of the Taxation Enquiry Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. M.J.K. Thavaraj set up by the Government of Kerala. The Report has just been released by the Committee.

Indian Union comprises States and regions of extreme diversities in size, density of population, historical and cultural heritage, natural endowments as well as social and economic development. Regional disparities in the pre-British period were mainly attributable to historical and natural factors. But the commercial and industrial development that characterised the British period (especially during the last hundred years) aggravated the lopsided development of the different regions. The layout of the railways limited the process of modernisation to the leading ports and other transport breaking points. The locational advantages indicated by the framework of transport and communication snow-balled the process of development in a few urban areas which attracted capital, raw materials and labour from elsewhere. The network of financial institutions helped forward the mobilisation of surplus resources from all over the country and channelled them into areas of intense economic activity.

2. Some of the regions possessing immense natural advantages had to remain backward in the face of strong locational pulls exerted by these man-made factors. Even a fair degree of activity in mining, plantations and processing could not elevate many of them to be ranked as developed regions. The existence of princely States with their predominantly feudal socio-economic fabric and in most cases with backward standards of administration added another dimension to the problems of regional disparities. Barring a few, most of these princely States constituted some of the most backward regions of the Indian Union. A measure of such disparity is the wide difference in the per capita income of the different States. The anxiety of the poorer States to overcome their backwardness in development can easily be understood. But the mechanism for mobilisation, allocation and transfer of resources has not been quite conducive to a progressive reduction of regional disparities.

3. As in most other federations there is a growing divergence between the responsibilities arising from the original distribution of powers and fiscal capacity between the Union and State Governments in India especially under the weight of successive Plans for economic and social development. As it has come to be, the Centre is concerned with the lized through the fiscal system besides those available from banks, insurance, foreign trade and assistance, postal deposits and other sources of non-tax revenue. On the capital side, the massive indebtedness of the

most generalised features of the national frame (such as the creation and maintenance of the credit and monetary system, railways and ports, as well as the facilities for national economic planning) and with highly concentrated action at a few strategic points (such as the regulation and development of large-scale industries exploitation of mineral resources, state trading, regulation of foreign trade etc.). On the other hand, the States are concerned with acting on the total life of the people transmitting the forces impelling economic development to all areas and units as well as with concretising the fruits of development to all the individuals within their territories. Infra-structure investment such as irrigation, power and regional and local roads as well as the outlays on human resources through the development of educational and health facilities are the responsibilities of the States. The generation of income and employment largely depends on the extent to which the State Governments could promote the primary industries such as agriculture, forests, fisheries, mining and the secondary activities in the small and medium industries apart from conserving traditional handicrafts.

4. In fulfilling these developed responsibilities the States have become increasingly dependent on the Centre for their current as well as capital resources. Of the total expenditure of States (Plan and non-Plan) excluding the discharge of repayment of debt, the resources from the Centre have increased from 42 per cent in the First Plan to 49 per cent and 52 per cent respectively in the Second and Third Plans. More than 53 per cent of the total resources so transferred consist of loans. Of the balance more than half is attributable to grants-in-aid (revenue and capital) the remaining being States' share of divisible taxes. The relative share of statutory grants has suffered a striking decline over the Plans and during the first fifteen years of planning discretionary grants were more than twice as large as statutory grants.

The same trend has continued since then. Such a dependence is the natural consequence of the enormous command enjoyed by the Centre over relatively larger and larger revenue resources mobilised by the States. This has led to a kind of creditor-debtor relations between partners breeding a sense of irresponsibility amongst the borrowing States.

5. The Centre has not used its fiscal dominance over the States to correct regional imbalances. Nor has the Centre used other instrumentalities at its disposal to narrow down the unevenness in regional

development. In the absence of an integrated approach to the development of the backward regions the location of the Central sector projects and the inducing of private industry through the licensing policy developmental rebates have not created much of an impression on the problem of regional imbalances. The indications are that regional disparities have grown under the plans. Even, the network of banking and other financial institutions has only helped to transfer resources from the relatively poorer to the richer areas. It would thus appear that the existing fiscal arrangements may have to be basically altered with a view to bring about a substantial increase in the free resources of the States, to scale down the indebtedness to manageable proportions and to transfer adequate resources to the poorer States so that they may have enough elbow room to adjust their plans to suit their own peculiar circumstances and fill in the gaps in their development and to catch up with the more advanced States in the Union.

6. Such a drastic readjustment in the fiscal framework may not have been necessary if the buoyancy of State revenues arising from the tempo of development was sufficient to take care of the expanding commitments for infra-structure activities and social services. The existing arrangements seem to have assigned a more favourable tax base to the Centre. Under the existing scheme of distribution of tax powers relating to property land constitutes the main base for State taxation, whereas taxation of industrial and commercial property is the preserve of the Centre. In a densely populated country the volume of land assessable to tax remains almost static. Therefore land as a source of revenue would largely depend on enhanced rates on the one hand and enlarged agricultural incomes on the other. In contrast, the step up in the pace of industrial development under the Plans has meant a tremendous expansion in the base of industrial and commercial property and the income and wealth arising therefrom. This seems to have given a buoyancy to the Central revenues which is not available to any tax head assigned to the States. Besides, the dominant resource position has enabled the Centre to make massive investments in large-scale industrial and commercial undertakings which have enormous revenue potential. In this respect the domain of the States could not extend far beyond the generation and supply of electricity, operation of road transport and so on.

7. No doubt, States where industrial and commercial activities are concentrated do enjoy a differential advantage over the others in respect of elasticity and buoyancy of their taxes especially in the case of commodity taxes. But commodity taxation is a field which is jointly being exploited by the Centre and the States. In this customs duties are a Central prerogative. So are the excise duties except those levied on alcoholic liquor and narcotics. There is already a ceiling placed on the rates on inter-State sales. Some commodities subjected to additional excise duties in lieu of sales tax seem to be suffering from neglect. These restraints along with the need to move in harmony with the neighbouring

States seem to give the Centre an edge over the States in commodity taxation. The scope for raising sizeable revenue through registration, motor vehicles and other taxes is clearly limited. When viewed within these overall limits set by the fiscal framework obtaining today the performance of the State Governments in tax effort can by no means be regarded as small. In fact many more constraints would become evident when we look at State taxation in the light of the Directive Principles of State Policy and the stated objectives of planned development in India.

8. Apart from certain generalised objectives such as the promotion of the welfare of the people and ensuring social and economic justice, the Directive Principles of State Policy have laid special emphasis on the need to secure the distribution of ownership and control of the material resources of the community to subserve the common good and to ensure that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment. Despite the ambiguities associated with the interpretations of the terms 'welfare', 'social and economic justice' and 'common good' and so on, the twin objectives of economic policy enshrined in the Directive Principles of State Policy may be said to be :

- (i) an equitable distribution of ownership and control of the material resources of the community ; and
- (ii) the prevention of concentration of wealth and means of production resulting from the operation of the economic system.

These objectives are loudly echoed in the Plan documents. Though the accent of the Five Year Plans has been on increased production, rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries, expansion of employment opportunities and so on, the planners have assigned an important place to reduction of inter-personal and inter-regional inequalities. As partners in the national effort towards planned economic and social development the State Governments may be said to be guided by the same objectives in the fulfilment of their responsibilities. In fact, these objectives are adequately reflected in our terms of reference. The tax policy of the Government of Kerala underlying the terms of reference may be briefly spelt out as ;

- (a) mobilisation of additional resources to meet the requirements of planned development ;
- (b) modification of the tax rates to ensure greater progressivity and equity ;
- (c) simplification and rationalisation of tax laws and tax structure ;
- (d) improvement of tax administration ; and
- (e) infusion of greater financial strength in local government.

9. It ought to be emphasised that the realisation of the broad social objectives outlined in the Constitution as well as in the Plan documents calls for a whole spectrum of policies designed to change the structure of production, property relations and contractual payments as well as fiscal measures inter-

fering with the process of income generation, the accrual of private and personal incomes and factors giving rise to disparities in standards of consumption. Only a simultaneous movement in all these directions would have facilitated the realisation of the stated goals and objectives. In other words, unless accompanied by some basic changes in the social and economic framework, fiscal measures will not be so effective in the realisation of our broad social goals and objectives.

10. Private property rights conferred by the Constitution constitute the major barrier to structural reforms. Powerful economic interests have been exerting pressures in favour of the status quo. But as mentioned earlier our heritage has been one of structural imbalances and gross social and economic inequities. Our socio-economic framework was such that agriculture and trade are almost entirely private. On the eve of planning, public ownership was restricted to a few economic and social infra-structures; the rest of industry was private. A few business houses dominated the corporate sector in industry, banking and wholesale business. Apart from feudal relations ownership of land was concentrated in a few hands and the problem of tenancy and landless labour was acute. So far the pressures exerted by the propertied interests in favour of the status quo and the protection enjoyed by them under the Constitution seems to have succeeded in preventing basic changes in the property relations in land, industry and trade. In fact, the institutional and regulatory measures initiated under the Plans have hardly touched the fringe of the problems of inequality in income and wealth. There is reason to believe that the problems have been aggravated. Progressively inclined State Governments can do very little in dealing with these problems so long as the initiative for removal of the Constitutional barriers rests with the Central Legislature.

11. In an important sense taxation is a political process. As such a tax system reflects the underlying economic and political interests. Tax legislation commonly derives from private pressures exerted for selfish ends. In a class ridden community those who feel the burden of taxation are naturally prone to relieve themselves from their fiscal discomfort. One class struggles to throw the burden off its shoulders. If it succeeds, the burden must, of course, fall upon others. They also, in their turn, labour to get rid of it and finally the load falls upon those who will not or cannot make a successful effort for relief. Often, in this struggle, the rich only engage and the poor go to the wall! Thus class politics is the essence of taxation.

12. In the Indian situation the political pressures exerted by the already entrenched economic interests have put a powerful damper on the progressivity of the Indian tax structure. This is equally true of State taxation. The progressivity of a tax system is determined by the extent to which it conforms to ability to pay. And ability to pay is properly measured by income and wealth. Highly graduated income tax and death duties are regarded as ideal levies based on ability to pay. But these measures

are repugnant to those who advocate the ideology of 'barriers and deterrents'. Their basic assumption is that Government is inherently wasteful. Therefore, they argue that income and death duties foolishly shift our economic resources from the thrifty ants to the irresponsible grasshopper! According to them, progressive taxes dangerously diminish the desire to work, fatally discourage the incentive to invest and irreparably impair the sources of new capital. It is also implicit in this argument that the greater the tax burden on the poor the harder they would work! A more sophisticated version of this line of thinking maintains that raising the savings ratio is the very essence of economic development and that a high rate of capital formation would depend on the extent to which consumption could be curbed and investment stimulated.

13. Since our planners are, by and large, persuaded by this outlook to economic development they have emphasised "the need for balancing the advantage of greater equality of income against the disadvantages of a possible fall in private savings and capital formation and general discouragement of production activities". In the absence of private property and striking income differential an overall curb on consumption to enlarge savings will not have serious social consequences. But in the context of wide economic disparities any such attempt to curb consumption and subsidise investment would only tend to aggravate the problem of inequalities even when there is a growing public sector. The enormous increase in commodity taxation (both excises and sales taxes) coupled with heavy doses of deficit financing has had precisely this effect on the Indian economy. It follows that so long as the basic economic power structure interests remain undisturbed the ideology of barriers and deterrents will continue to plague State taxation. A simultaneous search for more resources and greater progressivity within the existing framework is beset with a lot of difficulties. The search for one is likely to endanger the pursuit of the other. For instance, any shift from the consumption-oriented to property, or income-oriented tax structure may be conducive to greater progressivity in the system. But unless land-based taxes are made steeply progressive it is not likely to bring in a substantial increase in revenue.

14. The dilemma between increased production and equitable distribution of the burdens of resource mobilisation becomes more real when the State Governments assume the role of an underwriter of developmental efforts in their respective territorial jurisdictions. This has become all the more important in the hitherto industrially backward States where the local entrepreneurship has not been particularly aggressive. In their natural enthusiasm to get an edge over others in the race for development they are anxious to attract industries through tax inducements and stimulate production through subsidized inputs apart from providing the requisite infra-structure facilities. This is also true of subsidised social services which are sometimes rendered to the public irrespective of their differing abilities

to pay of the beneficiaries. But once people are used to a free or subsidised service it is only at grave political risk that the subsidy element could be withdrawn. In fact, the more widespread such services are the greater is the political risk involved in the discontinuance of subsidies. By and large the extra burden arising from these measures fall on the consuming masses of the population. As such the underwriter's or welfare approach to the development of the State economy or to public services tends to introduce an element of regressivity into the tax system.

15. As mentioned earlier, land is the main property base of the States. In most cases it is the major contributor to State (national) income. But its contribution to the State exchequer is relatively small. In an economic sense, mobilization from agriculture (especially in the form of marketed surplus) depends on the productivity, crop pattern, relative prices, marketing facilities, procurement machinery and so on which are outside the scope of enquiry of this Committee.

16. Landed property confers several advantages on the owner. Apart from psychic income arising from power, prestige, security and so on, land confers real economic advantages through income, rent, capital gains etc. Part of this is unearned. Consequently the land owners stand on a privileged position vis-a-vis the large number of landless peasants, urban workers and even a large section of the salaried groups. In recent years non-agricultural lands in the urban areas, more than agricultural lands, have registered an unprecedented appreciation in value on account of the rapid pace of urbanisation. Speculation in land has given a tremendous boost to land values. Considerable resources have flown into the urban sector by way of investment in land and other assets. On the other hand, land-use has become the crucial factor in town-planning. Mere taxation of land will, therefore, be far too inadequate in dealing with the complex problems of planned urban development. Only a carefully worked out programme of land nationalisation coupled with suitable measures of land taxation would provide the real answer to the problems created by speculative dealings and unplanned use of urban land.

17. As for land taxation the search is for a new basis which would combine the characteristics of productivity, equity, flexibility, progressivity and simplicity, and make land contribute its due to the State exchequer. Though simple, the basic tax of Kerala does not satisfy the other requirements. Land revenue based on cadastral surveys and settlement has proved to be regressive and static. But in so far as the results of capital improvements, infra-structure facilities and the pressure of population on land would be adequately reflected in the capital value of land, only this would offer a flexible basis for a progressive tax on land provided a machinery could be created for periodic revision of the capital value of land.

18. If suitably designed, wealth tax, estate duty and succession duty on agricultural land may constitute a powerful instrument for raising revenues while reduc-

ing inequalities in agricultural property and wealth. But, so far, this group of taxes are hardly exploited. Though wealth tax was levied by the Centre on the assets of individuals and companies excludes agricultural land, the competence of the State Government to levy an analogous wealth tax on agricultural land is yet to be established. Succession duty, if levied, will arise only once every generation. But, so far, the State Governments have not paid enough attention to overcome the difficulties presented by Hindu undivided property. Estate duty on agricultural land also lacks prominence. Under the existing arrangements the Centre collects this duty and distributes the proceeds to the States after deducting collection charges. But the resources so raised are negligible in relation to the enormous stock of agricultural property. A determined effort in this direction would certainly bring in considerable revenue while at the same time narrow down the existing inequalities in the agricultural sector.

19. Agricultural income provides a facile base for progression in the rates of taxation, though most of the States have taken to it somewhat grudgingly. With appropriate differentiation in the rates between personal and company incomes on the one hand and domestic and foreign companies on the other, agricultural income tax could serve as one of the most progressive taxes in the fiscal kit of the State Governments.

20. Even in agricultural income the scope for substantial mobilisation is limited. Planning has been accompanied by several half-hearted attempts at changing land relations and ownership pattern. Abolition of intermediaries on land and imposing ceilings on land holdings have been the most significant of these reforms. Zamindari abolition resulted in a once-for-all increase in land revenue in the States affected by such reforms. On the other hand, ceilings legislation is an attempt to reduce the concentration of ownership in land and its redistribution amongst the landless poor. If successful it would have been one of the most progressive pieces of legislation introducing structural reforms in land ownership. Unfortunately, in most cases, it has not produced surplus land on any significant scale for redistribution. On the other hand, large scale evasions (legal or otherwise) by way of distribution of holdings amongst members of the family have drastically reduced the scope for sizeable increases in revenue through agricultural income tax except in the case of plantations and orchards where large sized holdings have definite commercial advantages. In so far as such ceilings on size do not obtain in the industrial and commercial sectors, ceilings legislation on land may be said to have placed a serious constraint on resource mobilisation while at the same time it has not been so successful in redistributing land in favour of the poor.

21. Commodity taxation has become the pre-dominant source of revenue in most of the States. In recent years it has also been enjoying an unusual buoyancy on account of the sharp increase in the general price level. It much be borne in mind that the net increase in revenue from such buoyancy related to price rise is hardly significant. Most a

good part, if not the whole of the revenue, effects of rising prices is neutralised by escalations in the cost of public services (Dearness Allowance increase is just one of them). In a sense, both those trends, higher prices and increased commodity taxation are indicative of the enormous burden of taxation shouldered by the less affluent sections of the population, for the bulk of the revenue from sales tax is from commodities of mass consumption. It is true that with the combination of single point with multipoint levies it has been possible to isolate articles of comforts and luxuries which are subjected to higher rates of duties. But since the volume of transactions in such commodities is small, the proceeds from these sources do not carry sufficient weight to make the system progressive. Theoretically there is no limit to the rate of tax on articles of conspicuous consumption. In fact, sales tax on liquors other than toddy is as high as 50 per cent in Kerala. But in this case temperance more than equity or yield is the dominant consideration. In other case there are real constraints to imposing higher rates on luxury consumption. Some would argue that comforts and luxuries are in fact incentive goods and prohibitively high levies on them act as a deterrent on investment activities. For according to them entrepreneurs save and invest so as to carry spendable profit which would give them an advantage over others in conspicuous consumption. In many cases the real barrier in the way of higher taxes on luxuries is the fear of diversion of trader smuggling and black marketing unless the concerned States move in step with their neighbours. Difficulties would arise when there is a substantial difference in the ideological quotient of the neighbouring Governments. In the absence of uniformity in the ideological outlook regional councils in sales tax would only act as a curb on the progressive proclivities of the forward looking States.

22. Under these circumstances Governments inclined towards the strengthening of the progressive features of state taxation will have to resist the temptation for excessive tapping of commodities of mass consumption. Instead, they may have to enlarge the list exempting basic consumer goods and moderate the levies on others, while at the same time enhance the rates on luxuries and comforts. As indicated earlier, under the existing fiscal system, there are serious limitations in pursuing this without damaging revenue consideration. There may, however, be considerable room for improving the yield through simplification, rationalisation as well as by plugging the loopholes of evasion and avoidance. Recent years have also witnessed a considerable spurt in activities relating to the construction of residential buildings catering to the affluent sections of the population both in the rural and urban areas. Suitable fiscal contraptions may have to be devised to discourage such conspicuous consumption.

23. The scope for further increases in registration fees, stamp duties and taxes on motor vehicles appears some what limited. Logically, as part of the shift towards property-oriented taxes, there may be a case for enhancing the stamp duties arising from transactions in land and other immovable property.

But the effect of any such enhancement may be lost unless effective measures are generated to counter attempts towards undervaluation of property. The proposed land tax on the basis of its capital value revised periodically would provide a firmer basis for checking such evasion. Much depends on how soon such an effective evaluation machinery could be brought into existence.

24. In recent years road transport has grown into a fairly big industry. It has become a necessary complement of industrial and agricultural development. As such the promotional element in the development of road transport is still kept alive. Though hardly any comprehensive data on the economics of road transport are available the general impression created by organised interests is that the burden of motor vehicles taxation and sales tax on motor spirits weighs too heavily on the industry. The proprietors of motor transport companies have been clamouring for improved roads on the one hand and reduced tax burden and enhanced fare structure on the other. It would, therefore, appear that apart from rationalisation and simplification the scope for enhancement of rates may be limited for some time to come. It may, however, be necessary to review the fees charged for the various services rendered by the Motor Vehicles Department by way of enforcements of the various regulations governing the operation of motor vehicles. However, one has to guard against possible attacks on the tax element in fees. In recent years, there has been a progressive advance towards nationalisation of bus transport. Over time nationalisation may be expected to embrace the entire passenger traffic on roads and even extend to the bulk of goods traffic. In that event, State Governments would be more concerned with the efficient and economic operation of the net work of nationalised road transport than about enhancement of the rates of taxes on motor vehicles.

25. The role of the States as an underwriter and promoter seems to have constrained the tariff policy of the Electricity Boards in recent years. State Governments especially those with potential surplus of power seem to vie with one another in selling power below cost so as to attract some of the heavily power using industries. In fact some of them (like Kerala) have entered into long term agreements with some bulk buyers. It is not so easy for the Electricity Boards to give up their promotional commitments in the near future. In any case, very little can be done by any particular Board so long as their counterparts in the neighbouring States persist with their policy of gravitating industries through attractive terms for the use of power. It is true that some differentiation in tariff is possible between essential and non-essential uses of power. But if the Boards were to make profit it becomes necessary that the loss incurred on account of the subsidy element involved in the case of contractual buyers (large power using industries) can only be made good by throwing a relatively heavier burden on the mass of the consumers the bulk of whom belong to the middle classes. This is also true of the rapidly expanding rural electrification programme.

26. The problem of improving the yield from trieleccity has to be approached from several angles. If careful attention is paid to planning, feasibility study, detailed cost estimates, phasing and scheduling as well as the controlling of the progress of construction in terms of these cost estimates and work schedule considerable savings would occur in the construction cost of power projects. Effective coordination between generation, transmission and sales promotion would also help to boost the operating receipts through near capacity utilisation. Stage by stage costing in terms of load factors may also be helpful in restructuring the tariffs on a more rational basis. Use of modern techniques of management such as materials management, management accounting and so on would help focussing attention on the most critical problems affecting costs. As for tariffs and duties most of the Boards seem to be committed to raising the return from electricity undertakings to 11 per cent of the capital base within an accepted time schedule. Yet it seems difficult for the Board to get away from the underwriter's approach.

Despite their promotional efforts most State Governments are unable to exploit the industrial potential unless private investors are aggressive enough or the Centre is impressed with the need for developing the potential. Consequently, the public sector undertakings are very few and relatively smaller in the scale of operation. Yet as in the case of electricity, if enough attention could be given to the problems of planning, programming construction and management of public undertakings they would add considerable resources by way of profits from public undertakings.

27. Kerala is one of the greatest foreign exchange earners in the country. Her products seem to enjoy an expanding world demand. In most cases the export sector is not properly organised. Nor is it equipped to deal adequately with the whims of the world market. Under these circumstances organisation of marketing-boards or state trading in agricultural commodities may be expected to stimulate exports, while being highly profitable. Similarly the prospect of planned development and use of the forest wealth as well as the development of forest based industries seem to be opening up attractive possibilities. The Plantation Corporation of Kerala only marks the beginning of progress in this direction.

28. As in Union-State financial relations the central problem in local finance is to ensure the purposeful matching of the need arising from the discharge of mandatory, discretionary and entrusted functions with resources providing at the same time for the fulfilment of national and regional priorities on the one hand and for a measure of local initiative on the other. The two-tier system of Panchayati Raj emerging in Kerala envisages further decentralisation of developmental and administrative functions and powers and the resources to discharge them. Strengthening the resource base of the local governments does not require Constitutional changes except when the limit on profession tax is sought to

be enhanced. It would, however, be necessary to take a fresh look at the taxes assigned to local bodies and review the basis of the tax sharing, grants-in-aid and loans available to them.

29. Though taxes are paid for the development of a civilized society, the tax-payer always feels deeply stung by the loss of money. The prevailing business ethics does not seem to jeer at tax avoidance and evasion. In fact some of the notorious tax delinquents occupy positions of power and respectability in society. One of the biggest problems in tax administration is to develop an efficient machinery and procedures to deal with tax delinquents with a heavy hand while minimising the inconveniences to the honest tax payers.

30. To sum up, the tax potential in the States is not as great as it is sometimes imagined. The Constitution seems to have constrained State finances by placing certain expanding sources of revenue with the Centre and by extending undue protection to private property rights. But the Centre has not used its command over the direction of the overall resources at its disposal towards balanced regional development. The existing fiscal arrangement may, therefore, have to be basically altered to leave enough initiative and resources with the weaker States to clear their backlog in development. Similarly, drastic changes in the property relations or income distribution would largely depend on the extent to which private property rights guaranteed under the Consitution could be curbed. The pressures exerted by the existing power structure account for the excessive reliance on commodity taxation and inflationary financing the brunt of the burden of which has been on the poorer sections of the population. The basic approach of a progressive tax policy should, therefore, be to shift the emphasis from a commodity based to a progressive and flexible group of taxes designed to tap more intensively land and the income and wealth arising therefrom. Secondly, to the extent that the role of the State as a promoter and an underwriter has tended to shift resources from the relatively poorer tax-payers to the affluent investors and producers, the policy of tax inducements and subsidies (hidden or open) may have to be carefully reviewed. But both these approaches have severe limitations. The revenue potential of a really progressive structure of commodity taxation may be disappointing. On the other hand, where the pressure of population on land is great the scope for mobilization through graduated levies on land and agricultural incomes may not be impressive. At the same time, it would be difficult to ignore the role of the State as a promoter and underwriter of development so long as interstate rivalries and the bargaining power of the investors remain as they are. It would, therefore, be wise to be selective and direct in dealing with subsidies. Thus, under the existing framework of economic and social relations even the most progressively inclined State Governments would be under severe strain if it were to ignore revenue and developmental considerations for the sake of progressivity.

Growth of Business Houses

TATAS, BIRLA AND MAFATLAL

A Factual Survey for the Period 1963-64 to 1966-67

B. DATTA

III THE BIRLA GROUP

Financial Position in 1963-64.

AT page 47 of its report, the Monopolies Inquiry Commission gave the financial position of the Group as shown below :

	(Rupees in crores)
	1963-64
Number of Companies	151
Paid-up Capital	76.4
Assets	292.7
Turnover	290.2

On a closer scrutiny of balance sheets of the 151 companies covered by the MIC it has been found that the paid-up capital in 1963-64 of these companies was Rs. 76.5 crores and their assets amounted to Rs. 293.2 crores. The difference between the two sets of figures is accounted for by a few companies whose balance sheets for the year 1963-64 were not available at the time of computation of data done by the MIC. For the purposes of this article the financial position of the 151 companies for 1963-64 has been taken as worked out now.

Financial Position of the Group in 1966-67

As already mentioned, the number of companies belonging to the Birla Group has been taken at 159 for the year 1966-67. These companies do not include some of the new ventures namely, Birla

Services Limited, Zuari Agro Chemicals, a new fertilizer venture in Goa. On the basis of the financial data culled out from the Balance-sheets for the year 1966-67 in respect of 159 companies, however, the position as it has emerged is presented in overall terms in the table below. The financial position for 151 companies in respect of the year 1963-64 is also indicated therein to give an idea of the increase that has taken place in the assets of the group over the last three years.

Overall Financial Position of the Group

	(Amount in Rs. crores)		
Items	1963-64	1966-67	Percentage Increase in 1966-67 over 1963-64
Number of Companies	151	159	5.3
Paid-up Capital	76.5	104.6	36.9
Reserves	77.7	109.5	40.9
Loans-short term & Long term	87.1	190.7	119.0
Other liabilities & provisions	52.0	103.8	100.0
Total Assets	293.2	509.8	73.8
Fixed Assets	136.9	246.3	79.9
Turnover	290.2	455.0	56.8
Profits before Tax	27.6	42.8	55.5
Profits after Tax	16.8	29.9	78.0

It will be observed while the total assets of the Group as a whole increased by 73.8 per cent over

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the period 1963-64 to 1966-67, its paid up capital increased by 37 per cent and the reserves by nearly 41 per cent. The Group's dependence on borrowings increased substantially by over 119 per cent. The profits after allowing for depreciation, sole selling agency commission but before tax increased over the the period by 55.5 per cent. But, in relation to total capital employed such profits were 9.4 per cent in 1963-64 and were marginally lower at 8.3 per cent in 1966-67.

The variations in the capital structure of the Group could be seen from the following figures presented for the two years viz., 1963-64 and 1966-67.

	1963-64	1966-67
Percentage of paid up capital to total assets	26.1	20.6
Percentage of net worth to total assets	52.6	42.1
Percentage of loans to total assets	29.7	37.5
Percentage of other liabilities to total assets	17.7	20.4
Percentage of fixed assets to total assets	46.7	48.4

In relation to the aggregate assets for 1966-67 the owner's capital (networth) formed 42 per cent of the total. For the year 1963-64 the comparable figure was higher at 52.6 per cent. The gap on account of the shortfall in 1966-67 of the owner's capital (networth) was filled by increased reliance in that year on borrowed funds reflected in "other liabilities" including sundry creditors, unclaimed dividends, interest accrued, advances and provisions for taxation. Accordingly, loans (appearing on the liability sides) formed 37.5 per cent of the total assets in 1966-67 as against 30 per cent in 1963-64 and proportion of other liabilities to total assets stood higher by nearly 3 per cent in 1966-67 over the 1963-64 level. On the whole, aggregate availability of funds to the Group increased by nearly Rs. 217 crores over the period 1963-64 to 1966-67. Nearly 50 per cent of these funds were utilised for building up of fixed assets which rose in value by Rs. 110 crores over the same period. The bulk of the rest of the additional funds that became available to the group were used, after financing an increase of Rs. 40 crores in inventory accumulations, for purposes of investments in share capital, debentures and credits advanced to companies within the Group. An attempt is made in the paragraph below to highlight some details about the growth of certain important sources of funds that became available to the group, during the period under review.

Paid up Capital and Reserves

As already indicated, the paid up capital of the companies belonging to the Birla Group was Rs. 76.5

crores in 1963-64. This increased to nearly Rs. 150 crores in 1966-67. Out of this amount, Rs. 96 crores could be taken as in respect of the 147 companies belonging to the group as shown in the Monopolies Inquiry Commission Report and about Rs. 9 crores in respect of the 12 additional companies taken into account for the period after 1963-64. (The Monopolies Inquiry Commission had shown 151 companies as belonging to Birla group, but out of them 4 companies have since gone into liquidation or have been merged with other companies) The position regarding the paid-up capital and total assets of the 12 companies now added is as follows :

The Financial Position of the Twelve New Companies (Figures in Rupees lakhs)

<i>Name of Companies</i>	<i>Paid-up Capital</i>	<i>Total Assets</i>
1. Assam Fruit Products Ltd.	0.07	0.07
2. Century Enka Ltd.	0.01	0.01
3. Indian Rayon Corpn. Ltd.	333.60	747.94
4. Atlas Iron & Alloys Ltd.	4.17	1.62
5. Bihar Alloys Steel Ltd.	0.01	1.79
6. Hindustan Heavy Chemicals Ltd., (subsidiary of Kesoram)	41.06	116.94
7. Mysore Cement Ltd.	179.95	448.93
8. Jayshree Exports Ltd.	1.00	65.52
9. Moon Corporation Ltd.	5.00	8.23
10. Autometers Ltd.	10.00	57.19
11. Lionel Edwards Ltd.	10.00	25.25
12. India Steamship Co. Ltd.	272.50	1560.67
TOTAL	857.37	3034.16

According to the data presented in the foregoing paragraphs, paid up capital of the Birla Group Companies in 1966-67 was higher by Rs. 28 crores than the 1963-64 levels. The analysis of the resources from where the increase in paid up capital with financed shows that only 10 companies belonging to the Group approached the capital market for raising about Rs. 4.6 crores by offering shares of the value of Rs. 4.3 crores to the public. The break-up of

this amount company-wise is indicated below :

*Companies that approached the Capital Market
for raising Paid-up Capital*

(Amounts in Rupees lakhs)

Name of the Company	Date of issue of capital	Total amount issued (shares)	Amount offered to public (shares)
1. Hindustan Gas & Industries Ltd.	3/65	14.48	14.48
2. Electric Construction & Equipment Co. Ltd.	10/63	12.50	12.50
3. Electric Construction & Equipment Co. Ltd.	12/65	19.81	19.81
4. Kesoram Industries & Cotton Mills Ltd.	3/67	99.84	95.58
5. Jayshree Tea & Industries Ltd.	5/63	29.16	24.80
6. Jayshree Tea & Industries Ltd.	10/66	25.00	25.00
7. Shree Export House Ltd.	11/64	5.00	5.00
8. Jaya Shree Textiles & Industries Ltd.	3/65	24.59	20.76
9. Industrial Plants Ltd.	5/65	74.94	60.00
10. Hindustan Aluminium Corpn. Ltd.	11/65	150.00	150.00
TOTAL		455.32	427.93

Almost the entire amount offered to the public had to be underwritten by various underwriters including Life Insurance Corporation, I.F.C., I.C.I.C.I., I.D.B., Banks and other firms of brokers. The details of amounts underwritten by each of the institutions could be seen in the following table :

Institutional Underwriters

(Rupees in lakhs)

Name of underwriter	Amount underwritten
1. Life Insurance Corporation	158.50
2. Unit Trust of India	29.50
3. Industrial Finance Corporation	50.00
4. Industrial Credit & Investment Corpn. of India	13.50
5. Industrial Development Bank of India	13.00
6. Joint Stock Banks (All combined)	5.00
7. State Financial Corporations (All combined)	5.00
8. General Insurance Cos. (All combined)	26.25
9. Others (firms of brokers etc.)	122.18

The underwriters had to ultimately subscribe Rs. 230 lakhs out of the total amount underwritten. An amount of Rs. 15 lakhs was offered by the companies to their directors and their friends. The point that emerges for consideration is as to how was the rest of the increase in paid up capital of nearly Rs. 23.5 crores financed.

The reserves held by the companies belonging to the Group increased from nearly Rs. 78 crores in 1963-64 to Rs. 110 crores in 1966-67. This shows the

growth of Rs. 32 crores over the three year period. But the reserves position as indicated in the balance sheets of companies for the year 1966-67, is after allowing for capitalization of reserves through issue of bonus shares to the existing shareholders of the companies during the intervening period. It appears that the bulk of the increase in paid up capital not accounted for by sale of shares in the open market was due to the capitalization of reserves during the period under review. In other words, if suitable adjustments are allowed, it would appear that while the paid up capital of the group companies increased by nearly Rs. 4.5 crores over the period under review, the reserves had grown by nearly Rs. 55 crores over the same period.

Borrowings

As already explained, the growth of short-term and long term loans in so far as the group companies are concerned, has been quite substantial over the period under review. Long-term and short-term loans outstanding in 1966-67 in respect of 159 companies belonging to the group stood at about Rs. 191 crores as against the comparable figure of Rs. 87 crores in respect of 151 companies in 1963-64. It would be of interest to see the sources from where the group companies were able to obtain these loans. An analysis of the position indicates that as against the outstanding loans of the value of Rs. 191 crores in 1966-67 foreign loans obtained by the group companies accounted for more than Rs. 67 crores. The following table illustrates the position in respect of 98 per cent of the total outstanding loans as in 1966-67.

Financing of Loans

(In Crores of rupees)

*Break-up of institutional financing outstanding
loans is based on balance sheet data*

Sources	Loans outstanding as shown in 1966-67 balance sheets
1. Centre/State Governments	11.8
2. Banks :	
(i) State Bank	21.5
(ii) Other Banks	56.9 (purely short-term)
3. Financial institutions :	
(i) I.C.I.C.I.	2.6
(ii) I.F.C.	0.9
(iii) L.I.C.	0.9
(iv) N.I.D.C.	0.6
(v) M.P.F.C.	(Only Rs. 9 lakhs)
4. Foreign Loans	67.3
5. Other loans, i.e., loans from Mg. agents, subsidiary & holding companies, trade & other deposits etc.	15.4
6. Debentures	8.6
TOTAL	186.5

It would be observed that the government controlled financial institutions, viz., I.C.I.C.I., I.F.C., L.I.C., etc. account for nominal amounts in terms of the loans outstanding in 1966-67 in so far as the Birla group companies are concerned. State Bank, however, accounts for Rs. 21.5 crores

and the Central and State Governments for another sum of Rs 11.8 crores. Debentures which have been classified as loans in this article account for Rs. 8.6 crores. Nearly Rs. 7 crores of the total value of debentures issued to the public by the Group companies were underwritten by various financial institutions as shown below :

<i>Underwriting of Debentures</i>		<i>Rs. in lakhs</i>
Name of Underwriter	Amount of debentures underwritten	
1. L.I.C.	315.0	
2. U.T.I.	125.0	
3. Industrial Finance Corpn.	25.0	
4. Joint Stock Banks	25.0	
5. State Financial Corporation (all combined)	10.0	
6. General Insurance Cos. (all combined)	30.0	
7. Others (firms of brokers etc.)	167.0	
Total	697.0	

Profitability

In absolute terms the profits of the companies belonging to the group increased by about Rs. 15 crores during the period under review ; the level of profits before tax being Rs. 27.6 crores in 1963-64 and Rs. 42.8 crores in 1966-67. These figures have been arrived at after allowing for depreciation, remuneration to managing agents and managing/whole time directors etc , but are before providing for taxes. If we take gross profits calculated after allowing for depreciation but before providing for remuneration to managing agents, managing directors, sole selling agency commission paid as also before providing for taxes, the position would appear to be substantially improved. For instance, managerial remuneration and sole-selling agency/selling agency commission during the year 1963-64 and 1966-67 amounted roughly to Rs. 4.5 crores and Rs. 7.0 crores respectively. If we add back these amounts to profit

before tax as indicated above, gross profits for the year 1963-64 would work out at over Rs. 32 crores and for 1966-67 at nearly Rs. 50 crores. These gross profits would form 10.9 per cent of total assets in 1963-64 and 9.5 per cent of aggregate assets in 1966-67. But all the profits are not available to the companies for distribution to the shareholders or for retaining them for the purpose of plough back. From this point of view what is desirable is to take profits after providing for depreciation, managerial remuneration as also taxes. Such profits when related to paid-up capital would indicate the extent of return which the investors in the equity capital of the group companies could expect. Calculation indicate that profits arrived at in this way i.e. after providing for depreciation, managerial remuneration, taxation, etc. amounted to Rs. 16.8 crores in 1963-64 and Rs. 29.9 crores in 1966-67. In relation to the paid-up capital such profits formed about 22.0 per cent in 1963-64 and 28.5 per cent in 1966-67.

Industry-wise Growth of the Group

It would be recalled that aggregate assets of companies belonging to the group were of the order of Rs. 509.8 crores in 1966-67 as compared to Rs. 293.2 crores in 1963-64. This represented growth of 73.8 per cent in total assets over the period under review. In absolute terms the increase in total assets in 1966-67 over the 1963-64 level was of the order of Rs. 216.6 crores. The group companies are spread over in variety of industries aggregating to more than fifty. But, after clubbing together a few of the industries in which the group companies operate, the picture regarding the growth of the group companies spread over to as many as twenty-nine industries have been set out in the Statement appearing at the end of the article. A look at the statement would reveal that eleven industries covering 47 companies accounted for the increase of Rs. 195 crores in total assets during the period under review. The position about these eleven industries is indicated below :

<i>Industry-wise Classification of Certain Group Companies</i>						<i>Amount in Rs. crores</i>	
Name of Industry)	1963-64		% of Profits before tax to total Assets	1966-67		% of Profits before tax to total Assets	Net increase in Total Assets
	No. of cos.	Total Assets		No. of cos.	Total Assets		
1. Aluminium & Other Metal Products	3	24.6	6.2	3	60.2	7.6	35.6
2. Shipping	2	3.4	2.8	3	25.7	3.8	22.3
3. Automobile & cycle industry	2	23.1	12.6	2	50.1	8.6	27.0
4. Machinery Mfg. (other than electrical and transport)	7	22.8	13.0	7	42.7	2.7	19.9
5. Cotton textiles	16	69.7	9.5	16	91.6	12.3	21.9
6. Electricity Generation	1	...	...	1	17.3	...	17.3
7. Rayon	2	22.3	12.7	4	37.8	17.1	15.5
8. Paper and Pulp products	2	29.4	4.3	2	41.2	8.9	11.8
9. Jute Textile	6	16.8	7.5	5	24.2	8.2	7.4
10. Cement & Allied Industries	1	1.5	3.5	2	10.2	7.3	8.7
11. Electrical Goods	2	6.3	...	2	13.8	8.0	7.5
	44	219.9		47	414.8		194.9

The increase by 1966-67 in the assets position of companies in different Industries, except in Shipping Rayon, Cement and allied industries, was more or less in respect of the companies existing in 1963-64. In the case of 'Jute Textiles', one company went out of the list of the group companies as it was taken over by the Government of Pakistan in 1965. In the case of Shipping Industry, the new addition is India Steamship Co. Ltd., which had total assets of Rs. 15.6 crores in 1966-67. In the Rayon industry, two new companies have been added. One is Indian Rayon Corporation with total assets of Rs. 7.5 crore in 1966-67 and the other is Century Enka Limited, which is a new company and had nominal assets of Rs. 0.01 lakhs in 1966-67. In the cement Industry, Mysore Cement Ltd., a new addition has accounted for an increase of Rs. 4.5 crores in total assets in so far as this industry is concerned.

In the field of Iron & Steel Industry, the total number of companies has increased from 2 to 4. But total assets have increased only by about Rs. 0.8 crores over the period under review. The new ventures, viz. Bihar Alloys Steel Ltd. and Atlas Iron & Alloys Ltd. have shown their assets in the annual accounts for the year 1966-67 only at Rs. 1.8 lakhs and Rs. 1.6 lakhs respectively. These are growing concerns and it is likely that their assets would considerably increase over the next few years. Again, there is no mention of Fertilizers Industry in this article as the new company Zuari Agro Chemicals being set up in Goa with foreign collaboration has not been included.

A word may be said about the investment companies belonging to the Birla Group. According to the indications available from the balance sheet of different companies thirty-three companies were mainly transacting financial and investment business during the year 1963-64. In 1966-67 the number of such companies was found to be thirty-two.

Investment Companies

The Companies Act confers certain privileges on investment companies in the matter of inter-company investments. The relevant provisions of the Act make a distinction between investments within and outside the group to which the investment company belongs. If we view the investment portfolios of the investment companies belonging to the Birla Group from the point of view of the provisions contained in section 372 of the Companies Act, these companies would generally be found within their rights to make investments in companies even though they may be belonging to the same group as defined by the Monopolies Inquiry Commission. Restrictions regarding investments placed on the investing companies by the provisions of the Companies Act are in respect of such companies as are defined to be belonging to the same group or the same management under section 370 and 372 of the Companies Act.

As already mentioned, companies generally engaged in financial and investment business belonging to the Birla group were 33 in number in 1963-64. The assets of these companies in that year amounted to

Rs. 18.3 crores. The number of companies engaged in this business declined in 1966-67 to 32 in number but their asset increased to Rs. 21.4 crores. The sources comprising the total assets during the year 1963-64 and 1966-67 are indicated in broad terms in the following table :

Investment Companies

(Rupees in lakhs)

	1963-64	1966-67	percentage increase over 1963-64
Paid-up-Capital	529.2 (28.9)	631.7 (29.6)	21.3
Reserves	811.5 (44.3)	969.4 (45.4)	19.4
Net Worth	1340.7 (73.2)	1601.1 (75.0)	19.4
Loans	341.9 (18.7)	306.1 (14.3)	(—) 10.5
Other Liabilities	148.3 (8.1)	228.6 (10.7)	54.1
Total Assets	1830.9	2135.8	16.6

Note—Figures in brackets indicate percentage to total assets.

As in the case of other companies, paid up capital, reserves and other sources of funds available to the investment companies also increased over the period under review. The owners' funds amounted to nearly Rs. 16 crores in 1966-67 as compared to Rs. 13 crores in 1963-64. Long term borrowings considerably declined though the short-term borrowings at around Rs. 3 crores in 1966-67 was of almost the same level as in 1963-64. On the whole, the companies' total assets of over Rs. 21 crores are matched to the extent of 75 per cent by owners funds. An analysis of the shareholding pattern of the investment companies reveals that nearly 90 per cent of the shares of the investment companies are held by corporate bodies, trusts and individuals in the Birla group. The increase in the paid up capital of nearly Rs. 1 crore over the three year period ending 1966-67 is also fully subscribed by companies belonging to the group. Of the total assets available to the investment companies belonging to the group more than 80 per cent funds are invested in shares of other companies belonging to the same group. The bulk of the balance of 20 per cent of the funds are utilised for advancing loans, etc. to the group companies.

BIRLA GROUP

Industry-wise distribution of assets net increase in assets

(Amount in Rs. lakhs)

Name of Industry	1963-64			1966-67			Net increase in Assets	% of increase in assets in each industry to total increase
	No. of Companies	Total Assets	% of investments in each industry to total Assets	No. of companies	Total Assets	% of investments in each industry to total Assets		
1. Aluminium & Other Metal Products.	3	2459.4	8.8	3	60.19	11.8	3560.0	16.4
2. Automobile & Cycle Industries.	2	2312.6	7.8	2	5012.4	10.0	2699.8	12.5
3. Shipping	2	336.0	1.1	3	2568.7	5.0	2232.7	10.3
4. Cotton Textiles	16	6968.0	23.8	16	9161.1	18.0	2193.1	10.1
5. Machinery Mfg. (other than Electrical) and Transport.	7	2280.8	7.7	7	4273.5	8.4	1992.7	9.2
6. Electricity Generation	1	...	...	1	1731.6	3.8	1731.6	8.0
7. Rayon	2	2227.5	7.5	4	3775.6	7.4	1548.1	7.1
8. Paper & Pulp Products.	2	2941.2	10.0	2	4121.9	8.3	1180.7	5.4
9. Cement & Allied Industries	1	153.6	0.5	2	1022.0	2.0	868.4	4.0
10. Jute Textiles	6	1677.0	5.6	5	2423.7	4.7	746.7	3.5
11. Electrical Goods	2	632.7	2.2	2	1375.9	2.7	743.2	3.4
12. Sugar	6	1006.0	3.4	6	1528.1	3.0	522.1	2.4
13. Trading Business	16	1040.4	3.5	19	1530.9	3.0	490.5	2.3
14. Investment & Finance	33	1830.9	6.3	32	2135.8	4.0	304.9	1.4
15. Industrial Chemicals	4	881.4	3.1	5	1050.7	2.0	169.3	0.8
16. Woollen & Other Textiles	2	291.0	1.0	2	456.0	0.9	165.0	0.8
17. Coal & Other Mining.	5	297.8	1.0	4	450.4	0.9	152.6	0.7
18. Stationery & Plastic Goods	3	301.2	1.0	3	387.4	0.7	86.2	0.4
19. Publishing Business	5	210.8	0.7	5	296.8	0.6	86.0	0.4
20. Iron & Steel	2	241.1	0.8	4	321.6	0.6	80.5	0.4
21. Other Utility Business	2	321.3	1.1	2	377.2	0.7	55.9	0.3
22. Vegetable Oils	1	143.2	0.5	1	172.8	0.3	29.6	0.1
23. Property Business	9	100.2	0.3	8	124.6	0.2	24.4	0.1
24. Wood Industry	2	112.4	0.4	2	126.3	0.2	13.9	
25. Plantation	7	84.0	0.3	7	91.2	0.2	7.2	
26. Rubber Mfg.	2	3.1		2	7.3		3.2	
27. Air Ways	1	2.9	0.1	1	4.1	0.1	1.2	0.1
28. Other Food Products	2	18.9		3	16.2		(-) 2.7	
29. Mg. Agency Business	5	449.1	1.5	6	418.5	0.8	(-) 30.6	(-) 0.1
TOTAL	151	29324.5	100.0	159	50981.7	100.0	21657.2	100.0

Saigon

Politics

1968

K.M.P.

I

THE Tet offensive of last year with its string of Vietnamese victories over the American expeditionary corps opened a new phase in the struggle for the liberation of the country.

The Americans became convinced that a military victory was no longer a possibility; the alternative was either withdrawal after a prolonged stalemate or a peace settlement. The prospect of peace led to a change in the policy of the Saigon junta; the struggle for power and influence between General Thieu and Air Marshal Cao Ky became more intense, and at the same time Thieu wanted to give a new look to his government by trying to bring in elements which had not been too deeply compromised.

The significance of the change can be seen from the fact that while Thieu's stalling tactics before the offensive had led to the resignation of General Nguyen Duc Thang charged with reforming the army structure, after Tet, he made drastic changes in the upper echelons of the army so that within a few months only the Commander of the First Military Region, 42-year-old General Tri, retained his command. At the

same time, he put the provincial authorities directly under the control of the Interior Ministry instead of under corps commanders. The power of the corp commanders to carry out a coup was considerably reduced, and though throughout the year Saigon was rife with rumours of a coup the corps commanders were no longer in a position to carry it out. The army reorganization also reduced the strength of the Ky function within the junta.

Ky was dependent to a considerable extent on three groups—the northern refugees, the Catholics and the remnants of the Diemists—and Thieu's effort was directed towards weakening Ky's support among these interested groups who were all supporters of a war *a la oultrance* and a conquest of the North.

Thieu was handicapped by his close association with the Americans, he had to show that he was capable of standing up to the Americans in defence of the urban bourgeoisie and landlords who through the war and black-marketing had grown rich. He therefore became bitterly critical of the American Government, accused them of betrayal and surrender. This was primarily for internal consumption; Thieu and Ky were equally aware that their power rested on American bayonets. His enemies were, however, accusing him of capitulationism, and as their voices became more strident, he became more intransigent in his attitude towards negotiations in Paris. The Americans understood that the power struggle in the junta was so intense that Thieu could not make a move without Ky taking a similar step, and Ambassador Bunker's efforts in Saigon were primarily directed to prevent Ky from undermining Thieu's position.

Thieu tried to strengthen his hands by creating a civilian government of men who were not closely associated with the junta. His choice for the post of Prime Minister was a former Viet Minh fighter from the Mekong delta, a former presidential candidate and Mayor of Saigon Nguyen Van Huong. Thieu sent his brother to persuade Huong to undertake

the task. The new Government which Huong formed showed a rapid decline in Ky's influence—in the Van Loc Government Ky's men controlled 7 of 15 Cabinet posts—but at the same time it brought in the Diemists. Five of the 16 members of the Huong Cabinet belonged to the revived Can Lo Party.

The Thieu-Huong strategy was to divide the Catholic supporters of Ky. They were prepared to buy off a section of the Can Lo party with offices. This, however, was fraught with danger. Can Lo party members were opposed to any negotiated settlement; they had after Diem's overthrow become anti-American but had not modified their political views on the future of South Vietnam. Their intransigent Catholicism made them suspect in the eyes of a majority of Buddhists, and Thieu always stood in danger of falling between two stools. However, in the struggle for power against the Ky clique this paid dividends, and Huong and Thieu were primarily interested in creating a disparate coalition of anti-Ky forces with the primary purpose of preventing the Vice-President from exercising any influence.

The Huong Cabinet consisted of a majority of Buddhists; it included some personalities who had been critical of the junta—Mai Tho Truyen and Information Minister Ton That Thieu, editor of the Guardian which had been a frequent victim of press censorship, General Khiem, who had been an important coup leader, and Dr. Phan Quang Dan, a well-known anti-Diemist of pre-1963 vintage. The character of the new Government, however, can be seen from the fact that Dr. Dan was soon forced to quit because he had, during a visit to the United States, advocated an end to the war and elections in which the NLF could participate. The Government was neither interested in a peace settlement nor in the reunification of Vietnam: it was put together primarily because the Americans became convinced that the faceless men of the junta could not be presented to the world as representatives of the people of South Vietnam. If the Government in Saigon was to

make an impression a better image had to be created. Nor did it reduce internal rivalries. Khiem as Interior Minister insisted on appointing his own men to key posts, and Huong who was conducting investigations into corruption in high places, could not afford to have his position undermined by charges of nepotism against members of his Government. He was able to persuade Thieu to support him in his policy of reducing the number of army officers holding civilian posts. With his hands strengthened, Huong carried out a drastic purge; nearly half the provincial chiefs and one-fifth of the district chiefs were replaced. Army officers were moved out of administrative posts and sent back to their units. A civilian authority had replaced the military.

Along with this, the Thieu-Huong tandem moved to reorganize the police. The primary purpose here too was to eliminate the Ky men and make it an instrument of power in the hands of Thieu. Ky had a powerful ally in national police chief Nguyen Ngoc Loan, and as long as Loan continued to head the police it was not possible for Thieu-Huong to reorganize the police. Fortunately for them, Loan was seriously wounded during one of the Liberation Front's attacks on Saigon—according to some by Vietcong gunfire; according to others, he was deliberately wounded by the Americans to weaken Ky's position. Catholic paper Xay Dang declared that accidental shelling by Americans killed a number of important police and military officers of the Ky faction and weakened the power-base of the Vice-President. In any case, after General Loan was incapacitated, Thieu and Huong carried out changes in the police administration which strengthened Thieu's hands. A large number of provincial police chiefs were replaced, career police officers were given preference over army men in police appointments, a training school was established; to create a more popular image of the administration inspection teams were appointed to look into the conditions in which the police operated, and orders were issued to release all

detenus against whom no specific charges had been preferred. At the same time, two key men, the head of military security and Central Intelligence Agency, who belonged to the Cao Ky faction were removed, and former Diemists, supporters of Thieu, were appointed in their places.

The power struggle between Thieu and Cao Ky had led to the emergence of Thieu as the dominant political figure in the junta. By the end of 1968, he had completely dismantled the administrative and military machine which Cao Ky had built. The army was in the hands of Thieu's men; the provincial and district administration had been purged, the police was no longer controlled by Ky's men. He had been reduced to a position of relative powerlessness mainly due to the fact that the Americans wholeheartedly supported Thieu. A nominally civilian administration had replaced the military administration and since elections of sorts had been held in 1967, the Americans could pretend that the Government of Huong was representative of the people of South Vietnam.

This indeed was the major objective which the Americans had in mind; they realised that having suffered a military defeat, they could only hope to extract concessions by strengthening the political base of Thieu's power. His regime has a stronger base than that of any previous government the Americans had been able to impose on Saigon—only Diem in his early years of power had been in a stronger position. Yet the support is entirely urban middle class: it is the compradores and their men who support the Thieu regime. His attempt to widen his political base has failed and he is in the position of a man who is holding a tiger by the tail. For there is a basic contradiction in Thieu's position—he is more than anything else Washington's man, yet a part of his support comes from the Catholics, the former Diemists and the military who are opposed to any kind of negotiated settlement. Some of Thieu's supporters have been prominent in the recent anti-American demonstrations and

any concessions the Americans make in Paris will weaken Thieu's position in Saigon. The Thieu-Huong Government, therefore, is not in a position to negotiate a peace settlement, and the talks in Paris will not yield results unless there is a shift in power in Saigon. This is the real meaning of the NLF's demand for a 'peace Cabinet' in South Vietnam.

Thieu has, however, used the peace negotiations to further discredit Cao Ky. The Vice-President, though not the leader of the negotiation team in Paris, is the principal man on the Saigon side and is supposed to coordinate strategy. It is a difficult task he faces: he stands to lose the support of the American if he opposes their policy, he is in danger of being discredited if he makes even a semblance of concession to the Liberation Front, for Cao Ky's supporters are the ultras who insist on war till the North accepts defeat and is willing to accept reunification on Saigon's terms. Already there has been bitter criticism in Saigon about Ky's talk of concessions. The Saigon Daily News has accused Ky of softness. Whether the peace talks succeed or not, General Thieu has eliminated Air Marshal Ky as a serious challenger. The internal struggle for power in the junta is over; the Ky faction is dispirited and broken, though there are remnants of it in the National Assembly. Thieu has come out on top. His policy is flexible; he has brought about a coalition of forces extending from the Can Lo to General "Big" Minh. It will be surprising if he is able to keep the coalition together. As the peace talks progress cracks in the alliance are bound to come into the open.

II

THE struggle with the Cao Ky faction was not the only problem which General Thieu faced; he had to deal with the political problem on two planes. After the elections of 1967 the National Assembly and the Senate could no longer be ignored. Though it was not in the generally acquiescent parliament that the regime

faced the real opposition, the Assembly with its various changing groups had to be taken into consideration and occasionally, it acted in an independent manner. The opposition which really mattered for the junta was the middle class urban population; the rural area was effectively under the control of the Liberation Front and the Government even after the Tet offensive did not think of introducing any land reforms. In the urban areas the discontented bourgeoisie, the students, the trade unionists and the militant group of Buddhists were united on a platform of peace and negotiated settlement. The Assembly on the other hand was against a peace conference and after the junta was forced to accept the talks in Paris it pressed for a hard line on the peace issue. Indeed the unrepresentative character of the Senate and the Assembly can be seen from the fact that it was dominated by an alliance of the Catholics and the ultra nationalist Dai Viet party and they were bitterly critical of American policy which they characterised as a betrayal. Opposed to all negotiations with the National Liberation Front, the ultras believed that direct Hanoi-Saigon talks could solve the political problem. This attitude that the Vietnam problem was something to be settled between the North and South was politically motivated; the objective was to prove that the Liberation Front was merely an arm of the North Vietnam Government. Yet the Assembly was not willing to trust Thieu, it refused Thieu's demand that he should rule in financial and economic matters by executive decree.

One of the major effects of the Thieu-Cao Ky faction struggle was that Thieu's entire efforts were directed to win over the ultras who supported Cao Ky. The Assembly could well afford to demand total mobilization after the preliminary talks in Paris had started; it knew full well that politically it was an impossible demand, the upper middle class which had grown rich on the war would never accept it. Thieu tried to win

over the former supporters of Diem, important jobs were given to ex-Can Lo members. At the same time the statement of the Council of Bishops calling for an end to the bombing of North Vietnam and the support extended to it by the moderate Catholic Party strengthened his hands by dividing the Catholics. The surrender of General Law Van Phat, a leader of a former coup attempt also strengthened the President's position. The result of the jockeying for the support of the extreme right-wing—Catholics, Can Lo and Dai Viet—was that Thieu in an attempt to ditch Cao Ky did not broaden his political base. Having adopted Cao Ky's political position in order to win over his supporters, Thieu was not able to keep the support of the moderates. This could be seen in the policy he pursued towards the press. After Huong became Premier, a relatively liberal attitude was adopted. Pre-publication censorship was lifted, a number of papers including pro Diemist were allowed to reappear. Yet this period lasted a very short time and the National Assembly, never very liberal became increasingly critical of the Government's arbitrary attitude towards the press. The Saigon press had given considerable publicity to rumours that a peace coup with American backing was going to take place, that an attempted coup had been nipped in the bud. Thieu denied that there had been any attempted coup and clamped down on the press. He had been irritated by the publication of an astrological prediction in a newspaper that he would not last long and the result was that restrictions on the press became even more severe. Thieu had to manipulate public opinion he had to create the impression that the Saigon papers were opposed to any peace talks and not only were papers which in any way supported a settlement but even those which were not sufficiently critical of the Americans were closed down.

Thieu and Huong had in an effort to improve, the image of the Government took an initiative which was to boome-

rang on them. General Duong Van Minh (Big Minh) had been approached by them, but not by Cao Ky, in his exile to return to Saigon and take up the post of adviser to President. "Big" Minh, a politically naive general, has the reputation of being independent and he was the man who had carried out the coup against Diem. He had been overthrown by the "hard-liners" because some of his closest collaborators were supporters of a negotiated settlement. All this happened long ago but "Big" Minh had not been involved in the political intrigues in Saigon and had the reputation of an honest but not brilliant soldier. His willingness to serve under Thieu would have considerably strengthened Thieu's position among the moderates and Buddhists but General Minh refused to accept the post. His presence became an embarrassment to Thieu, his initiative had made the ultras suspicious and the presence of Minh provided the moderate opposition with a possible leader.

The emergence of the National Assembly as a significant factor in the politics of the closed society led to the surfacing of political parties. The most important of these was the People's National Salvation Front led by Senator Tran Van Don, who had discarded the general's uniform for the Senator's toga. It was a pro Cao Ky group but in its leadership Thich Minh, a Buddhist militant, the head of the Vietnamese confederation of labour Tran Quoc Binh, and three former presidential candidates, Phan Khae Sun, Tran Van Huong and Ha Thue Ky were prominent. The possibility that the political parties could be utilised by Thieu was shattered when he took a majority of the moderate leaders, who were in favour of some kind of talks into "protective custody". With this Thieu's attempt to balance the extremists and moderates in order to remain in power failed, he became more and more dependant on the supporters of Cao Ky who had abandoned the vice President for the President.

Thieu is holding a tiger by the tail; he cannot move towards

a peace settlement because the northern emigres and Catholics are opposed to a peace which will endanger their dominance, he cannot oppose the peace talks openly not only because of American pressure but also because the South Vietnamese are anxious for a settlement. The pressure on Thieu from the moderates is mounting; Political groups, students and trade unions are opposed to a policy of war and feel that the Saigon Government is the roadblock which is preventing progress towards a settlement. In August students went on a long strike. In order to prevent the peace movement from gaining momentum, Thieu declared that no group or person will be tolerated offering a peace plan other than the Government's. This did not prevent the students, repeatedly they issued peace declaration demanding a voice for all groups in the Government. The Government retaliated by a massive arrest of students for being involved in neutralist propaganda. The Saigon Liberation Youth group which has been active in peace movement and in the organization of demonstrations, has gained considerable influence. Police spokesmen say "Buddhist student activity is aimed at getting people to demonstrate", against the Government. The Buddhist Youth Movement with a membership of over 700,000 has been active in the campaign for peace; it is led by a militant priest Thich Thin Minh, who was accused by the Government of "defaming" it and "sowing dissension". Another prominent group is the Southern Resistance Front which is pressing the Government to accept the view that the Liberation Front is "a nationalist party in which Communists among others are taking part" and that the Government should negotiate with the Front for the ending of the war. More significant and in the longer run more dangerous to the Government is the fact Tran Ngoc Lieng, a Saigon lawyer who is closely associated with General Minh has appealed for a nationalist peace front. Obviously "Big" Minh is still not willing to come into the open, but

Lieng's call is a pointer that if a nationalist peace front is formed Minh will be willing to lead it. Big "Minh" certainly can provide an alternate leadership, he is not included in the list of puppets though the Americans back him.

Another line of attack which Thieu has to face is that he is selling away the economic sovereignty of South Vietnam. Thieu's attempt to interest the Japanese in the post war economic development of South Vietnam was seen rightly by the Free Confederation of Workers—not a socialist union—as an attempt to reduce South Vietnam to the position of an economic satellite of Japan. Union leader Bue Luong declared that "there are people who are manoeuvring in secret to sell away Vietnam's

economic sovereignty". The Buddhist leaders too warned against the "post war aims of foreign industrial capitalism."

Thieu's political position has weakened by the factional struggle within the Junta, having won over Cao Ky's supporters he has failed to broaden his political base. The peace forces in the urban areas are working to form a national front, the refusal of Big "Minh" to extend support to the Thieu-Huongclique has further weakened his position. General Thieu is not in a position to make peace, because the forces working for war are his chief supporters in the occupied area. It is this fact that has led the Liberation Front to demand the overthrow of Thieu and coming into power of a peace Cabinet.

Anatomy of University in Bihar

A. P. SHARMA

Bihar, the least literate state in India, has six universities located at Patna, Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur, Gaya, Ranchi and Darbhanga. Till 1952 there was only the Patna University catering to higher education in the whole of the state.

In 1952, the 'Bihar University' was created as an 'Affiliating University', while the Patna University acquired the status of a "Teaching University".

It was in the year 1960 that the Bihar University was split into four Universities of Teaching-cum-Affiliating character, while

a 'Sanskrit University' was organised at Darbhanga. All these Universities are autonomous having the Governor of the State as the ex-officio Chancellor.

This autonomy is however a misnomer and a facade providing a convenient handle for the state bureaucracy as well as the University bureaucracy, to have an upper hand, while the teachers and students in general find neither room nor voice in the University administration. The Chancellor's powers, though supposed to be free from minis-

terial encumbrances, are more the adjunct to ministerial authority than the realm of independent judgement of the Chancellor.

The Vice-Chancellors, being the top executive of the Universities, are generally the nominees of the Ministers, and thus the political appointees of the "spoils system".

The next in the hierarchy that is the Treasurer is appointed in the same manner as above.

Besides, these two top dignitaries, the University Syndicate or the Executive Council has the Education Secretary and the DPI as members besides three other nominees of the Chancellor thus providing a hard core of government element. Then in the Finance Committee, presided over by the Treasurer, a Deputy Secretary of the Education Department sits as a member.

Needless to say, all these members carry the utmost weight in the different bodies and behind them stands the Ministerial shadow. Furthermore, in most of the Universities, the members of the old Bihar Education Service hold top posts as Professors and Principals, and the threat of recall often keeps them in line, if they are placed in the Executive Council on the basis of rotation.

With such a line-up in the University executive machinery, the common teachers and students find no meaning in the so called 'autonomy'.

While the last Act, regarding the Universities has allowed ex-officio membership, to the Heads of Departments and Principals, in the 'Senate', that is the supreme body in the University; the teachers, have been allotted only a limited number of seats, that not only relegates their representatives into permanent minority, but creates a situation where in certain cases, colleges having more than two hundred teachers in the staff are not represented at all. Needless to say, the ex-officio members, hardly feel responsible to uphold general causes.

The University office headed by the Registrar sustains the bureaucratic rule, girdling the

teachers and students like a python. While the Vice-Chancellors come and go, the Registrar remains stationary. Most of the Vice-Chancellors, getting the post in the evening of their life, with old age as their main qualification (all the six Vice-chancellors are above sixty-five) remain content to sanctify the decisions of the office, while counting their remaining days.

The Registrar, consequently as the chief-clerk of the office, has emerged as the most powerful functionary in the Universities in Bihar. His courtiers are generally drawn from the ranks of the Principals and heads of departments; as more often than not, the Registrars, draw more as salaries than the highest drawn by a University Professor: a definite index of his superiority. This class of teachers, holding statutory posts and filling the seats in statutory bodies, is indistinguishable from the bureaucracy, sharing as a junior partner, the loaves and fishes; while keeping the general body of teachers at a safe distance with the help of statutory barricades.

The Departmental heads and Principals, have in most cases little or no burden of teaching jobs and their surplus time is spent in spinning gold, which their exalted position enables them to do successfully. It is high time that the administrative functions of the heads were made to rotate between other members of the Department, as is the case in the Delhi School of Economics. In the case of Principals, the same principle of rotation can bring more fruitful results and the costly fifth wheel might be done away with.

As the Universities are run and administered in Bihar through a putrified bureaucracy, the different Universities have necessarily suffered from undergrowth. As a notable feature of the Universities established at places distant from the capital, the suitable library facilities, or hostel accommodation even for students have been treated as items of luxuries. The Teachers' Associations or the students' unions, having no choice in the

management of the Universities, are nourishing embers of discontent that often come over the surface in the shape of violent agitations.

During the last year, the teachers for the first time came on the streets to organise a massive strike; and another is in the offing. Every change in the government has brought a change in the "Universities Act" without bringing a material change in the Universities. A number of "University Enquiry Commissions", instituted in the past have done nothing better than to provide temporary employment to the constituent members, while shelving the issues at stake. Even at present a committee to draft a "new University Act", is at work, though it is better known for providing fat honoraria to its members, rather than for any promise it holds for future. The teachers find it more economic to go to court than to the University bodies, when they, as "serfs and wage-earners", have no locus standi.

Unless, the common teachers are given their due place in the policy-making bodies and the student are associated with the University management the entrenched bureaucracy will continue to ride roughshod over the teachers and students. Now that Kerala has shown the way by providing three seats in the Senate to the students, the leaders in Bihar may also strive for making in University autonomy a real one, instead of retaining it as a cloak for bureaucratic raj.

Next Week

Mainstream

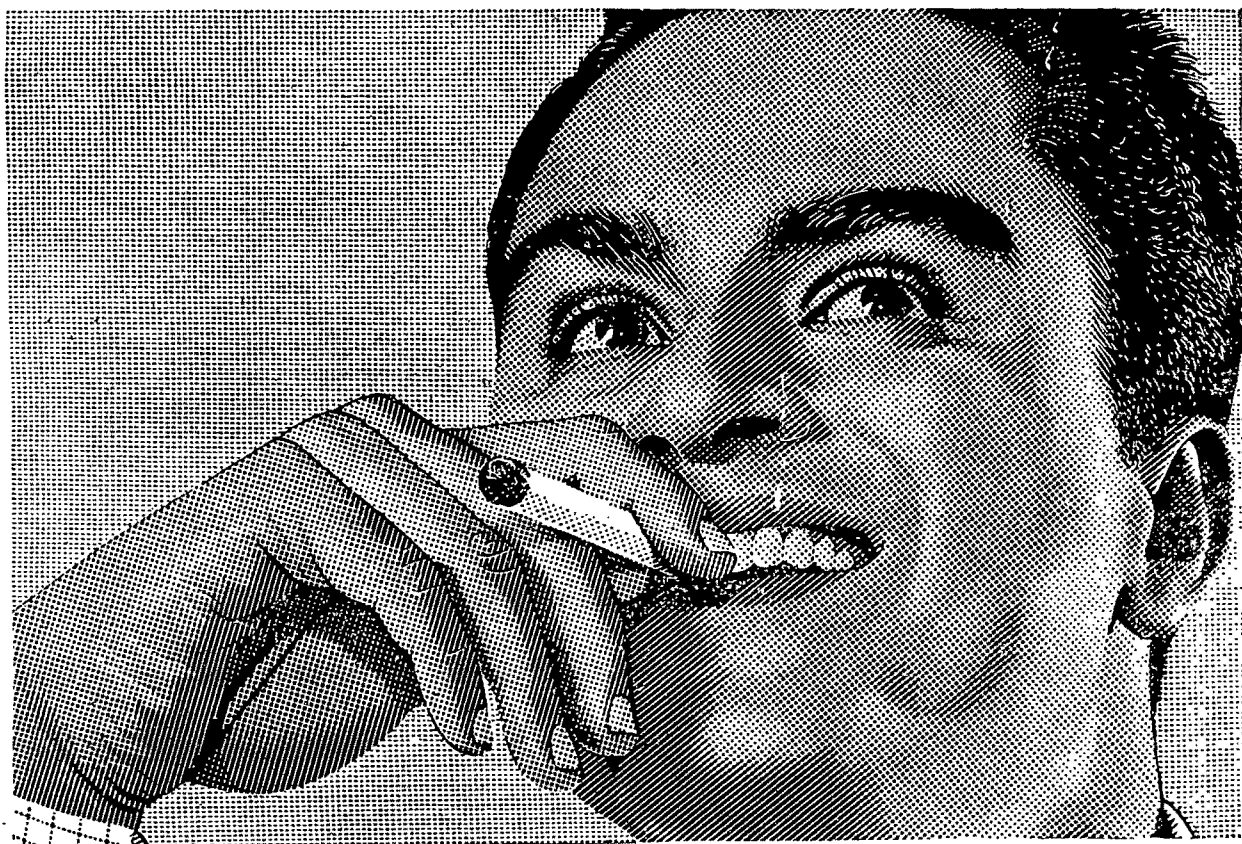
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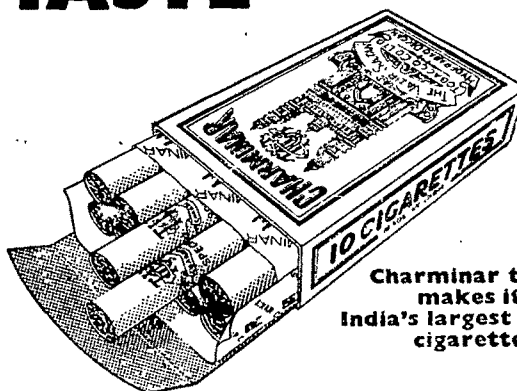


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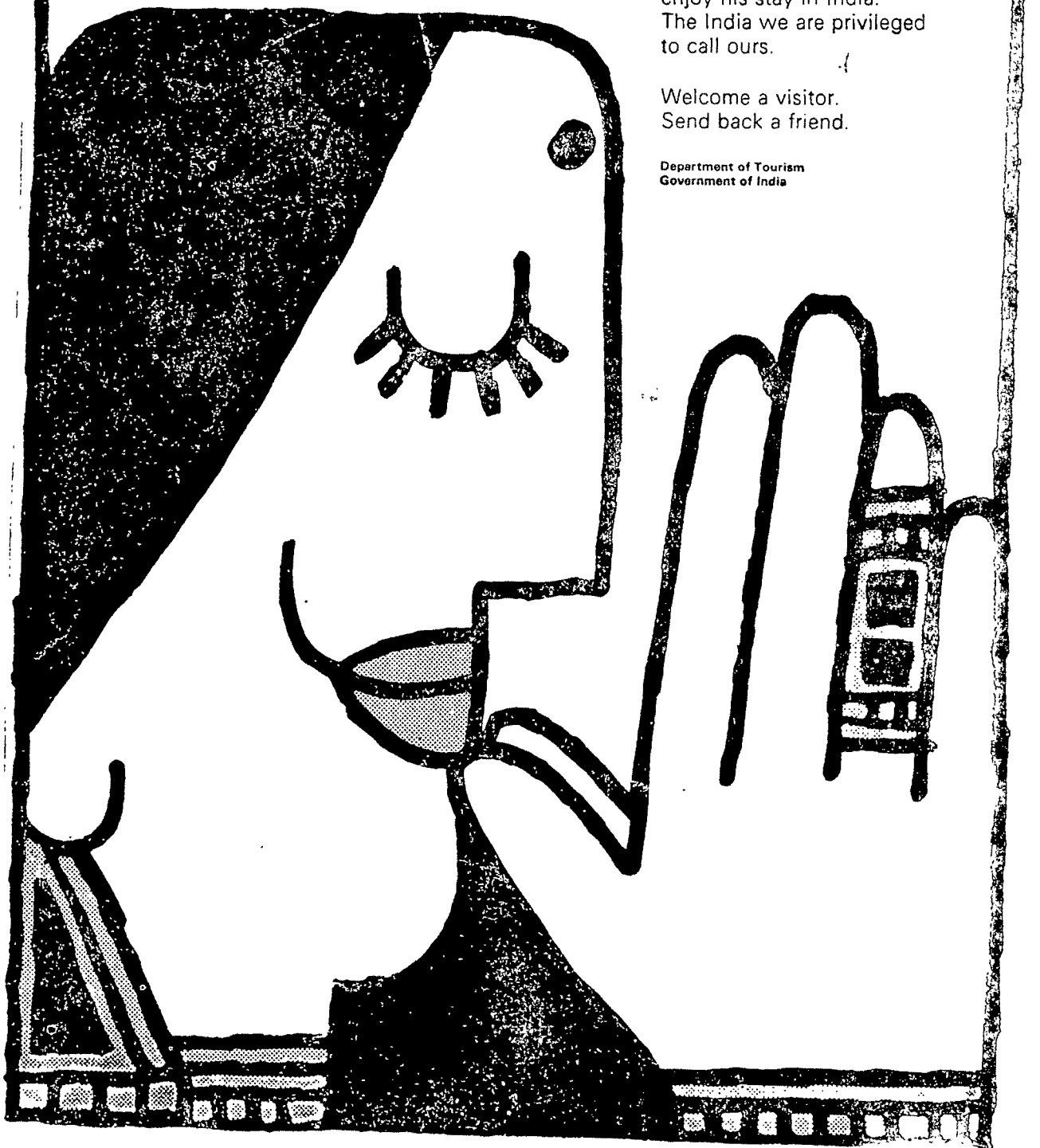
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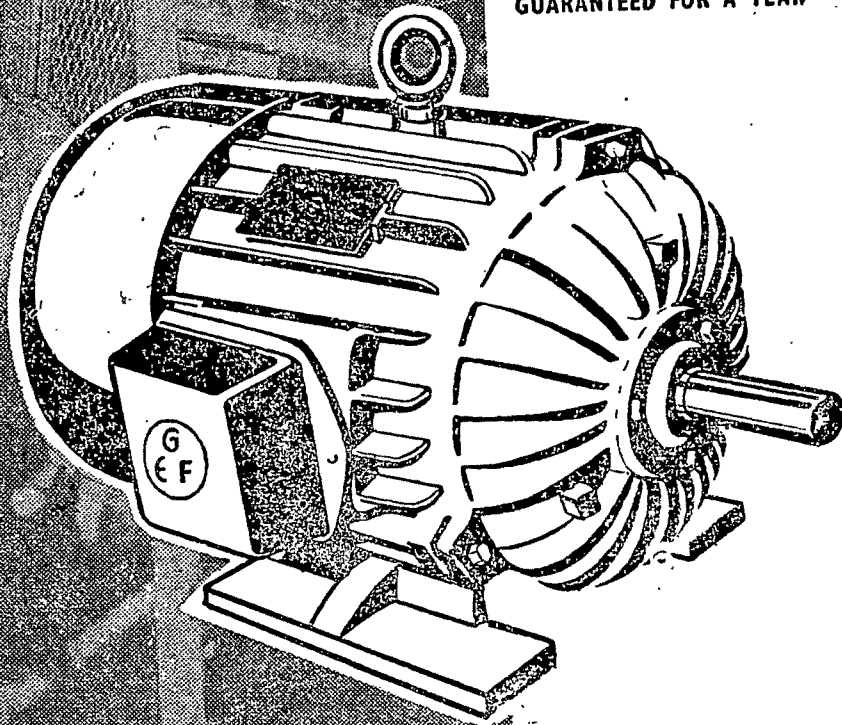
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**Morarji's
Birla Linen**

THE BIRLA LING
ESTABLISHED 1927

**Challenge
before
THE LEFT**

**Budget
and
PLAN**

WEST BENGAL

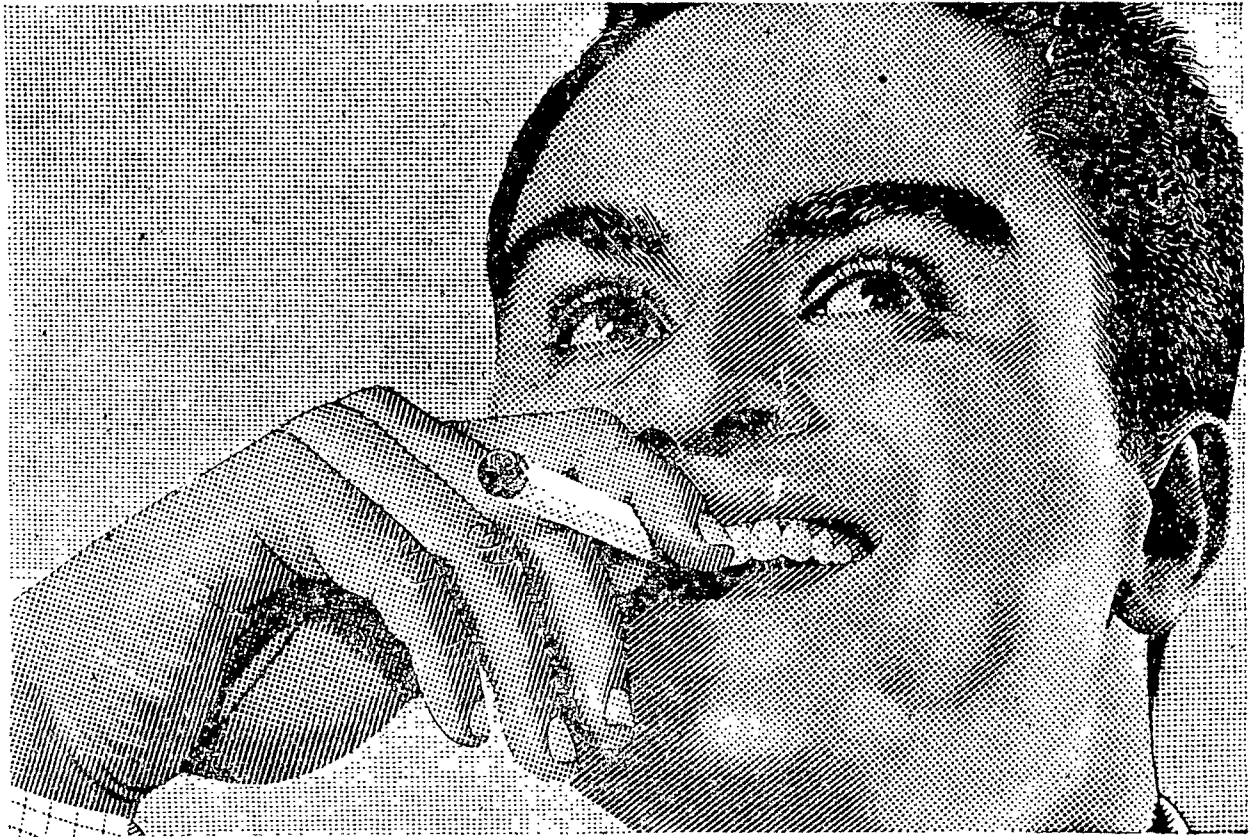
UNITED FRONT'S PROGRAMME

**king's
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**KERALA
Economic Development
*Problems and Prospects***

**Ralph Russell
on
Ghalib's
Urdu Verse**

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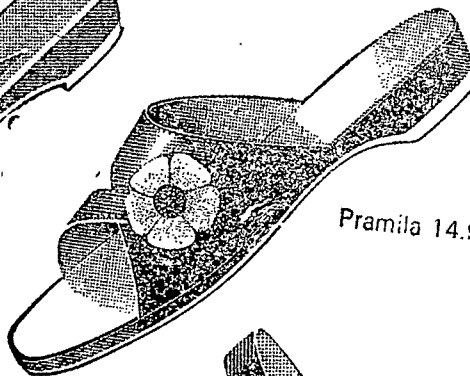
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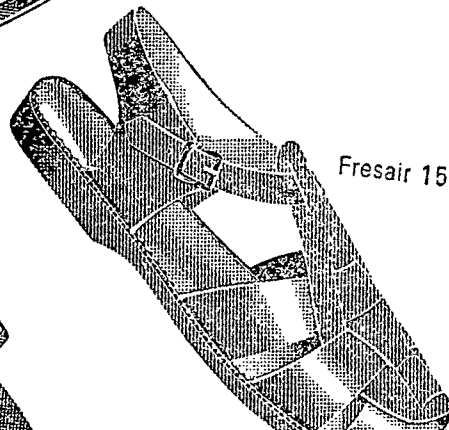
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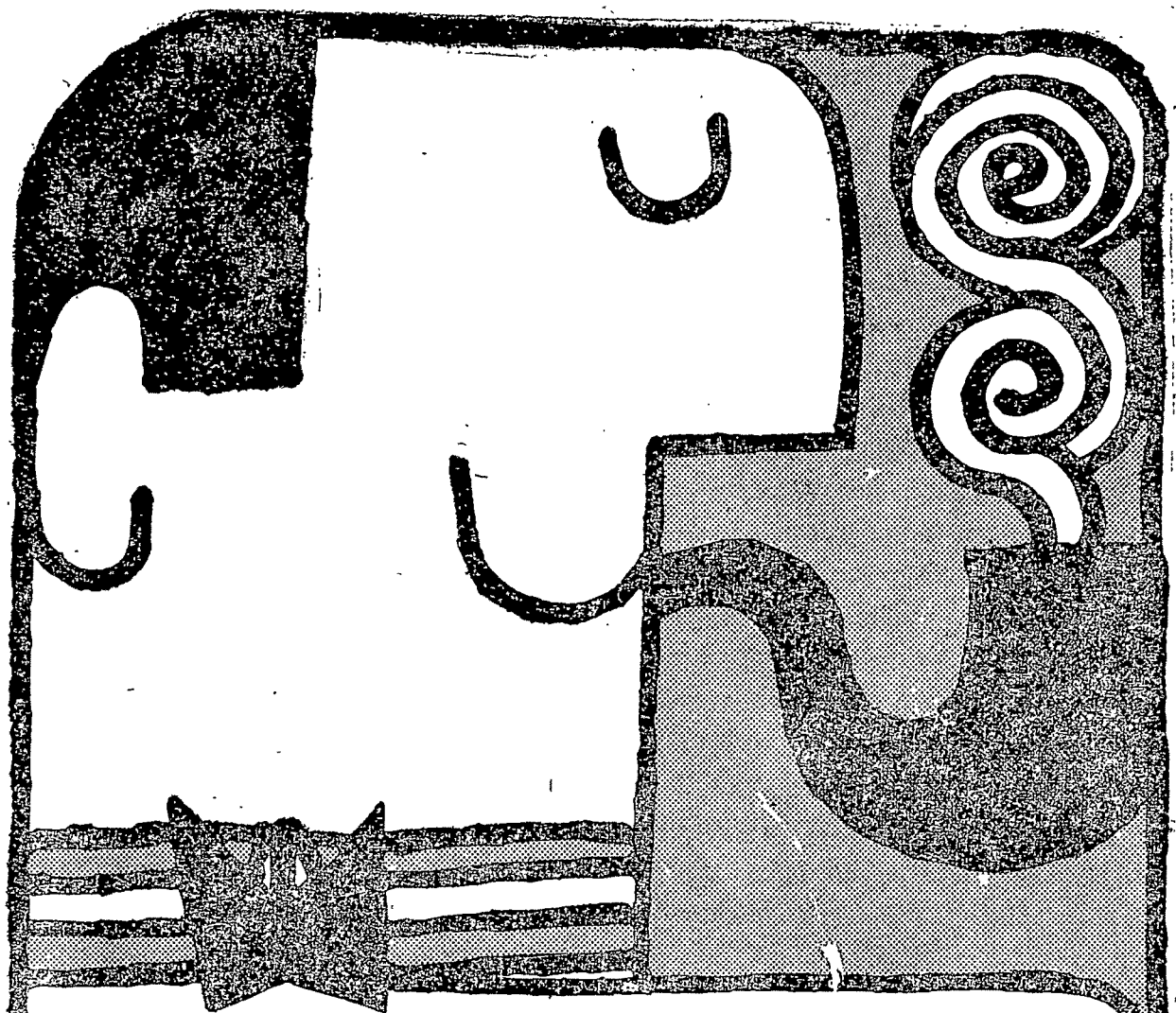


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ASP/TC/84

MORARJI'S BIRLA LINEN

THE rejection by the two Houses of Parliament of the demand for a thorough probe into the affairs of the Birla firms will be seen by public opinion as proof of the overpowering influence enjoyed by this big business house rather than as a vindication of the Government or the firms in question.

So far as the public is concerned, the only relevant fact is that there has been resistance at the highest levels of administration to a full-fledged probe into the many charges made of collusion between certain big business houses on the one hand and politicians in power and bureaucrats on the other. The admitted facts are that the Birla empire has grown enormously in the last few years, that its assets have increased by about 50 per cent in the course of a mere four years in contrast to the far less impressive growth of other big business houses, that the charge about foreclosing of licences has not been disproved, that a number of politicians have close ties with this business house, and that 95 per cent of the donations given by Birla firms to political parties have gone to the coffers of the party which is in power at the Centre. It is also known that several Congressmen promptly rise to the defence of the Birlas the moment there is a whisper about the activities of their firms.

All these facts cannot be wiped out by the Government's decision not to go in for a full and thorough investigation. The debate only showed that the majority in the Congress Party together with the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra are reluctant to take up an investigation whose outcome can have disastrous consequences not only for the Congress and the Rightist parties in the two Houses but for the whole philosophy of social and economic status quo which these represent. They obviously realise that such a probe will set the country on a course which will make radical changes in the economic structure inevitable. The vote has thus to be seen as evidence of reluctance to allow violent disturbance of the status quo. It also serves as a warning that unless the public generally and progressive parties particularly are alert and mount pressure, the pampering of big business houses and the attempts to cover up malpractices by companies and bureaucrats will continue, making reformation of public life increasingly difficult.

It is in this background that the bitter controversy in the Congress Parliamentary Party and Sri Morarji Desai's threat to "retire" from politics must be viewed. Sri Chandra Sekhar, Congress MP, has been conducting a tireless battle against official efforts to help the Birla empire; instead of welcoming his criticism and clearing the air of

doubts and misgivings, Sri Desai and his supporters have chosen to talk of "discipline". Party discipline implies that its members should not act against its basic policies; it is no secret that prominent Congressmen who have done their best to undermine the professed socialist policies of the party continue to be important figures in it. Party discipline does not mean that members should ignore misdeeds and misuse of power by certain of its leaders despite coming into possession of ugly facts. This is true not only in the case of the Congress but also in the case of several parties combining to form a government.

Sri Chandra Sekhar has made certain specific charges against Sri Desai and plainly accused him of giving special concessions to the Birlas. Sri Desai, if he is as virtuous as he claims to be, should have welcomed the opportunity offered by the MP's allegations to clear himself; in other words, he should have voluntarily stepped down from office to face an investigation. That instead he has chosen to talk of party discipline and to threaten to go away only helps to strengthen the feeling that the charges are after all not entirely baseless. The growth of healthy democratic conventions requires that representatives of the people in Parliament should feel free to point out ugly spots in the administration and malpractices by those in power: administrative malpractices are surely not a matter for secret confabulations within the party. Public interest is involved; let this basic fact be remembered by those who appear unduly anxious to hide their dirty linen.

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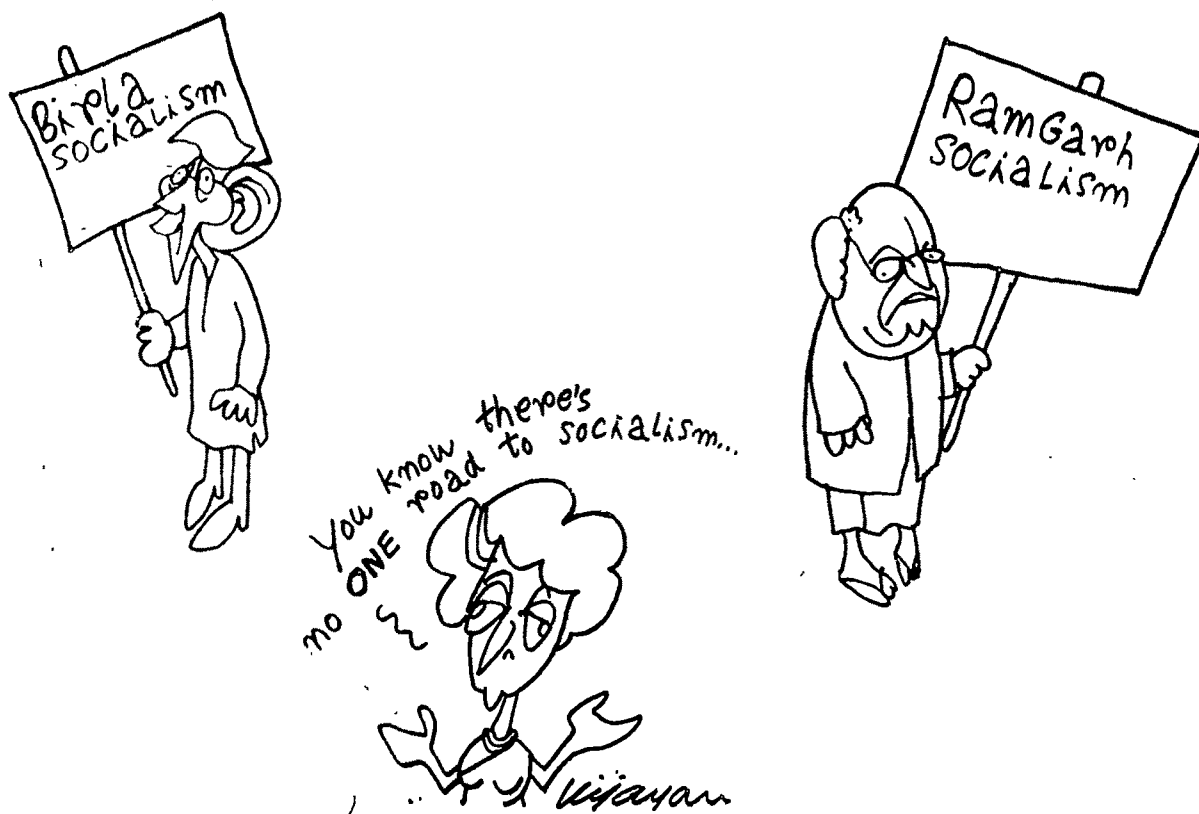
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POLITICAL NOTEBOOK

CHALLENGE BEFORE THE LEFT

It is becoming increasingly clear that politics in India is fast moving towards polarisation. Sri E.M.S. Namboodiripad's formulation regarding the "emerging alternative" may sound a little too optimistic in the background of the confusion that has marked the political situation in several States and to some extent even at the Centre; but there can be no doubt that a dividing line is gradually getting drawn between the vested interests, their spokesmen and their agents on the one hand, and parties and groups representing the interests and aspirations of the common people on the other.

The popular verdict in the Fourth General Election was rightly seen not only as a rejection of Congress monopoly of power in the country but as an unmistakable sign that the people had earnestly begun the search for an effective and more depend-

able alternative to the Congress which was increasingly transforming itself into a pliant instrument of big business, feudal and such other vested interests, and which had therefore become incapable of becoming the instrument of change as Jawaharlal Nehru had fondly hoped it would.

The difficulties that arose in some of the States where the Congress had been rejected and the ability of the Centre to use its position to topple non-Congress governments were mistakenly seen by the prejudiced and the perverted as positive proof of popular disillusionment with non-Congress coalitions and united fronts. Propagandists were not wanting to air the theory that the people had grown particularly tired of Leftist-led non-Congress governments. The Congress leadership, which at no stage made any effort to understand the long-

term implications of the 1967 poll results, itself lulled into the belief that the events were no more than a nightmare which would soon pass, enabling them to rule the roost once again.

The mid-term poll in four States, however, provided ample confirmation that the people's search for a viable and reliable alternative continues. West Bengal has given the clearest verdict : this has to be seen as the people's answer to the post-1967 manipulations by the Central Government and the Congress leadership, leading to the illegal dismissal of the first United Front Government and the installation for brief inglorious period of minority regime of defectors. The fact that today the United Front has been given an unshakable majority by the electorate cannot in the circumstances be dismissed as a fortuitous event. Having closely followed the way the popular will was sought to be thwarted by misusing the Governor and by unhealthy politicking, the electorate of West Bengal decided to give themselves a stable Government which could not be easily dislodged. The decision could be put into effect because the major non-Congress and progressive parties of the State, learning from the experience of 1967, successfully presented a single United Front with a common programme of action. The only other United Front with a common programme was voted to power in Kerala, and despite tensions and provocations from the Centre it continues in office.

Where the Leftist parties are not strong and united fronts were forged with no purpose other than to keep the Congress out of power, as in Punjab and Madhya Pradesh till now and in UP earlier, stability has been demonstrated to be impossible of achievement. The reason is that the parties constituting the coalitions in these States have little by way of common purpose and cannot work out a common economic programme in the interests of the masses. The SVD led by Sri Charan Singh in UP, for example, was bedevilled from the beginning by serious differences over fundamental policy questions—abolition of land revenue being an outstanding example. The presence of communal and reactionary elements in force prevented the SVD from launching any measures to solve the pressing problems of the common people. On the other hand, power was sought to be utilised by these interests to entrench themselves further, resulting in embarrassment to the progressive parties which as a result of the anti-Congress mass mood had become part of the SVD. While in West Bengal, for instance the UF partners began with some differences but were able to attempt to iron them out, in UP the SVD partners started with a deceptive appearance of common purpose but broke up into warring factions before long. The UP coalition disintegrated by itself ; but in the case of West Bengal the Centre had to strain every nerve and try every unconstitutional trick to pull down the first UF Government.

In Punjab, even the mid-term poll has not produced a genuinely popular government ; that is to say, as a result of the weakness of progressive forces

in this State, a communal coalition backed by urban and rural vested interests has come into being. In Madhya Pradesh, an SVD coalition was somehow put together and has been tottering from day to day with the Congress defectors and the feudal-communal groups engaged constantly in outmanoeuvring each other, leaving the administration to be taken care of by the bureaucracy.

In short, stability and purposefulness have been shown to be possible only under two conditions : (a) where Leftist-led united fronts have obtained a clear popular mandate on the basis of an economic programme, as in Kerala and West Bengal ; and (b) where either a single party or "like-minded" groups have similarly obtained a mandate, as in Tamilnadu and Orissa. In the latter two cases, the importance and influence of the Leftist parties were only marginal ; they were by no means a decisive factor.

These then are the lessons of the Fourth General Election and the mid-term poll, which the Congress at first refused to comprehend. More recently, however, more and more influential Congressmen are coming round to accepting the position that the party can no longer hope to rule by itself and will have to enter into coalition arrangements with others. For some years now Sri S.K. Patil has been talking of alliance with "like-minded" parties and mentioning Swatantra and the Jana Sangh in this context. In recent months, Sri Morarji Desai was perhaps the first to come out openly in favour of seeking alliances which could help the Congress regain power where it had lost it.

The latest developments in Bihar and the crisis over them in the Central leadership of the Congress are the result of attempts to work out a formula to gain power. The Congress Party has obviously reached a stage when it must decide with whom it will align itself ; and although the policies that have been pursued by the Congress at the Centre and in the States still controlled by it have been favourable to vested interests and have largely been indistinguishable from the policies of the parties of reaction, it seems clear that a decision on alliance with "like-minded" parties is not likely to prove easy. The Bihar events, more than anything else in recent times, have brought vividly to the surface the seething contradictions within the Congress. Till now the party has meant everything to everybody ; vested interests on the one hand and socialist-minded individuals and groups on the other have managed a kind of quarrelsome coexistence, the former securing whatever favours they wanted and the latter struggling ineffectually—but certainly bravely in some cases—to bring the party back to the Nehru path. Bihar has demonstrated that such coexistence cannot continue for long, that the Congress has arrived at the crossroads of destiny and has to decide sooner or later which road it wants to take. It has to decide between the Patil-Nijalingappa road and the Malaviya-Chandrasekhar road. But the Congress leadership has by now so got used to indecision and drift that it will not be surprising if it seeks an escape route ; but this can only mean speedy disintegration of the party.

Whatever Sri C. Subramaniam's subtler intentions in offering his resignation from the Working Committee over the Ramgarh episode, the importance of his choosing this particular issue and not any other cannot be minimised. No one will describe Sri Subramaniam as a Leftist; his record at the Centre proves the contrary. That such a man should have made an issue of the Congress President's approval of the inclusion of the Raja of Ramgarh in a Congress-led coalition has profound significance for the party; so does his opposition to alliance in power with the Swatantra Party. The stand he has taken has to be seen as an admission that there are sections in the Congress which realise that the people cannot be faced with a record of such opportunistic servility to vested interests.

Whether Sri Subramaniam sticks to his resignation or not, and whether the Congress leadership finally rejects Sri Nijalingappa's approach or not, the crisis that has come about must be seen as a conflict between those who desperately wish to restore the old popular image of the party and those who believe that acquisition of power by total surrender to reaction is sufficient to guarantee the party's future as the major factor in Indian public life. Even if the leadership devises some face-saving formula—like denying the discredited Ramgarh some sensitive portfolios—the questions posed by Sri Subramaniam's resignation will remain hanging precariously over their heads.

While this is the position today of the Congress, the non-Congress parties too have much to learn from recent experiences. This is true especially for the parties of the Left which have common economic aims but are kept apart by various factors unconnected with the people's interests and welfare. West Bengal stands out as dramatic illustration of what purposeful Leftist and democratic unity can achieve in terms of stable power to do good to the common people. It is not as if there are no differences at all among the UF partners in that State; but these differences are obviously not of immediate relevance to the people of the State, and the UF partners have been able to forget them because of the awareness of the high popular expectations of them. All the parties involved in the UF have behaved with great dignity and oneness of purpose. The strength the people have given them has enabled them to behave with remarkable restraint in the face of provocation, like the one offered by Governor Dharma Vira undoubtedly on advice from his patrons in New Delhi. Not only the happenings in Calcutta but the forthright public utterances by the UF Ministers who visited New Delhi last week make it clear that their earnest effort will be to bring about radical changes without being provoked into angry action of any kind. The UF Government in Kerala has been facing many problems, mostly arising from Central manipulations, but now the two States together constitute a force that cannot be treated lightly by the rulers at the Centre whatever the temptation to do so.

The way the two United Fronts conduct themselves from now on and the results they show will be of utmost significance for the rest of the country, for

the people in the other States, unable to secure for themselves stable, purposeful and forward-looking administrations, will see in the success or failure of the Kerala and West Bengal Governments the possibilities open to their own States. The progressive and democratic parties in the States other than these two have a big responsibility: it has been demonstrated to them that if they unite on a common platform and offer a viable and coherent alternative, they will be in a position to secure power and serve the people. In other words, the anti-Congress obsession of the past as well as the anti-Communist bias in the case of some has to yield place to a new approach based on determination to bring about unity of the Left and democratic forces with a view to offering to the electorate the prospect of stable and forward-looking governments, not only in the States but at the Centre as well. Sri S. M. Joshi in a recent statement took a position which sounded like tight-rope walking between Reaction and "Leftism": such an attitude can only lead to the kind of confusion in which the Congress finds itself today. It is no doubt true that the progressive-democratic front is made up of parties and groups with varying shades of dedication to the socialist ideal and varying concepts of how to achieve it; the effort at this stage can only be to find the common factors and work out a common platform on that basis, as has been done in West Bengal. This is a challenge not only to the Communist and Socialist parties but even to those sections of the Congress which are resentful of continued pampering of monopoly houses and other vested interests.

The Congress has become such a woolly conglomeration that it is not going to be easy to change its structure and rid it of anti-people elements. To give an illustration of the difference that today exists between the Congress leadership and that of genuine people's parties: while during the four-day Shiv Sena orgy in Greater Bombay no important leader of the Congress, including the flamboyant Home Minister, found it possible to rush to the spot to restore normal conditions, when trouble broke out in Titaghur and Telinipara in West Bengal, five Ministers hurried to the spot and speedily restored peaceful conditions. This is one of the essential differences between popular and unpopular governments; what is decisive is not the vote alone but the use to which those whom the people have voted to office put the power they have gained. Congressmen who still think in terms of mass contact and resistance to vested interests should ponder over this difference and draw conclusions.

So far as the progressive and democratic parties are concerned including chiefly the CPI, the CPM, the SSP and the smaller Leftist parties in some of the States the time has come for them to come together on the national plane and work out an understanding which can enable them to go to the people of all the States with a programme of action that can enthuse and generate confidence. It is a formidable challenge and they cannot afford to fail, for failure to unite will amount to a betrayal of the people and the very cause they all hold dear.

March 10

C. N. Chitta Ranjan

Morarji's Budget and Plan

BALRAJ MEHTA

WITH the undermining of the Congress party's position after the 1967 general election as the dominant political factor in the country—now further emphasised by the mid-term elections—the scope and significance of the Central Government Budget to regulate Indian economy and its course of development has necessarily become far more limited than it was in the past.

In the system of planning and resource mobilisation for it—which was introduced when five year plans were launched—actual physical command of resources and their development by the State was ruled out from the very start though such an operation has to be the first step towards any effective planning. Land reforms to destroy vested interests in agriculture were stopped half way and key areas of economic activity and profitable assets were not nationalised in the name of mixed economy. Current consumption was never brought under physical regulation and whatever curbs were sought to be imposed were indirect by way of fiscal means. The resources for planning and economic development in the public sector were therefore relied upon to come exclusively from various forms of taxation or public borrowings. To these were later added deficit financing. Since mixed economy was to be preserved these resource raising devices too had to be governed by the rule that the Government should not foreclose the

entire savings in the economy and should leave enough for the private sector to mobilise and operate.

When Sri Morarji Desai complains that the financial position of the Government has weakened he is admitting the collapse of the entire resource mobilising scheme on which it rested. Sri Desai has been operating this scheme for the longest period since planned development was started in the country. In doing so he has spent much energy and ingenuity and he is still persisting with it as his latest Budget proposals show. But he has not been able to escape the dead end and which it was now run into.

The dead end is most forcefully revealed by the fact that inspite of all the harsh tax efforts on all sections of the people over the years Sri Morarji Desai found that at the level of taxation prevailing in the current year and inspite of an increase of Rs. 151 crores in the revenue from the expected growth of the economy next year his revenue budget would still be in the red to the extent of Rs. 60 crores. It means that entire resource raising effort of the past decade and a half is no longer able to provide anything for development under our systems of planning but is deficit even for the purposes of normal administration and maintenance of economic services under the charge of the government.

This position is also underlined by the fact that investments in the economy already made bring no returns and require additional funds not for expansion but to remain in working order. In 1967-68 investments made by the Central Government in industrial and commercial

enterprises showed a net loss of Rs. 35 crores. The Budget next year has to provide Rs. 40 crores to meet cash losses expected to be suffered by some of these enterprises. It is not only in the case of industrial and commercial enterprises that such losses are suffered. Even old investments such as in railways, communication and transport services and investment on irrigation and power or community development, taken as a whole, are not self-financing, let alone give surpluses for further development. Apart from management inefficiency, low productivity and initial heavy capital costs, services and enterprises created by public sector investments by their very nature operate in a system of mixed economy at a disadvantage and at low profitability. The prices of their products and services can not be freely manipulated to garner surpluses as may be possible under a system where the entire economic structure is within the command of the State. The cry of social good and the profitability of trades and enterprises in the private sector which are dependent on supplies and services from the public sector, such as steel, transport and communications, power and water, for agriculture or industry come in the way of procuring surpluses from them. The problem of getting returns from public sector investment became even more difficult after the recent set-back to the economy and industrial recession which brought in the additional problem of under-utilization of created capacities.

Sri Morarji Desai may preen himself with the idea that inspite of all these difficulties he has still been able to save the Plan for whatever it is worth. He has even found Rs. 93 crores more for the Plan next year than the level of last year. But when related to two other dimensions of the Budget this achievement does not appear so very impressive. First is that even for such a modest step up in Plan outlay he had to go out again to levy an additional Rs. 150 crores of taxes of which he could save for the revenue side of the Central Government only Rs. 100 crores

Sri Mehta's first article on this year's Central Budget appeared in Mainstream, March 8, 1969.

and allocate out of it only Rs. 93 crores for the Plan.

Secondly, he had to step up his dependence on foreign aid from Rs. 689 crores in the current year to Rs. 790 crores in the next year, that is, by Rs. 101 crores while the allocation for the Plan has been increased by only Rs. 93 crores.

Indeed, in the scheme of resource raising for planned development, foreign aid has always been a major constituent. But it was supposed to gradually taper off. What has happened is quite otherwise. In spite of so much concern about dwindling foreign aid in recent years the fact remains that the proportion of foreign aid in Plan investments have steadily increased with every passing year. In the last five years, foreign aid, exclusive of PL 480 supplies, has increased from year to year—from Rs. 349 crores in 1964-65 to Rs. 688 crores last year and is proposed to go up to Rs. 790 crores next year. During the same period the Plan outlays have remained almost stationary, that is internal resource component in these outlays has actually been declining.

There has been much passionate demand for ending the PL 480 dependence. It would appear somewhat odd that the PL 480 imports should continue even after two record harvests and after the Budget provides for a buffer stock of five million tonnes of foodgrains by the close of 1969-70. Commitments have been made to end these imports by 1971. But it has been noticed that there is no intention to really carry them out. The Finance Ministry officials are already talking of the need for these imports during the entire period of the Fourth Plan. Sri Morarji Desai has been pointing to the financial advantages from these imports since a part of the amounts raised by their sale comes as outright grant and repayments of the rest, even if the dollar component has been increased lately has to be made in a period of 40 years. The reason for such arguments lies in the present budgetary structure rather than any real need for foodgrains as such.

After all, internal production

of over 96 million tonnes last year and of the same order this year (which many in the Agricultural Ministry place at well over 98 million tonnes) together with five per cent annual increase in agricultural production on which the entire Fourth Plan is supposed to rest should be enough to stop these imports immediately.

But the finance Ministry has to reckon with Rs. 224 crores from PL 480 imports credit for which has been taken in the Budget for next year (as against Rs. 226 crores in 1968-69). If this budgetary support is knocked out, the entire structure of the budget will be strained. If and when general foreign economic aid component of the Budget actually declines (in contrast to the present apprehensions on account of declining aid authorisations which will have their impact only after sometime) the position will become more untenable. Sri Morarji Desai had to make pointed mention of the problem that the prospects of PL 480 and economic aid stopping presents to his budgetary structure. He said that "as self-reliance in foodgrains is achieved, this resource (PL 480 supplies) will progressively dwindle; and if development outlays are not to be curtailed unduly, other measures of raising resources will have to be devised."

This is not the only aspect that must be worrying Sri Desai. At the present level of procurement prices of indigenous foodgrains their issue price for the consumer is nearly Rs. 4 to Rs. 24 (for different varieties) more than the distribution cost of imported foodgrains of same variety. The Government has been able so far to maintain prices of foodgrains for the consumer at a level lower than the internal procurement prices (with only small subsidies which still cost the exchequer about Rs. 20 crores in a year) by pooling with the prices of imported and indigenously procured foodgrains. When the imports are really curtailed and the foodgrains distribution system has to depend mainly on indigenous foodgrains, the problem will become formidable. In that event, either procurement prices will have to be slashed or consumer

prices raised if large subsidies can not be provided for. Or in the alternative, it will probably come more easy to the present government to just throw up its hands and leave everything to free forces and push the entire structure of relative prices and the comparative price stability achieved this year into another period of sharp fluctuations and disturbances. Thus self-reliance even in the limited field of foodgrains is not going to be so easy as one might imagine and is going to bring into the open not a few contradictions with which the country is afflicted as a result of prolonged dependence on foreign aid of various kinds in its developmental process. It will certainly be far more complicated if and when general foreign economic aid too were either to dry up or stopped.

The most noteworthy point about the Budget for 1969-70 is really not the amount or the pattern of tax effort it embodies. Next year being the first year of the new Fourth Plan, after three years of interregnum in planning, the Budget for it has brought to the surface the basic contradictions in the processes of planning and economic development which were inherent in its very nature and conception from the very start. This is so in particular because the foundations on which it rests—absence of command on the physical resources in the economy and the nature and manner of resource raising for planning in a system of mixed economy—had worn out and had brought about the collapse of planning in the first instance three years ago. The attempt to revive planning on the same basis and with the same instruments can therefore appear not only pathetic but also self-defeating and unable to find worthwhile social support or political backing from any side.

Shri Morarji Desai, with the assistance of the Planning Commission, is attempting to resurrect planned development or at least a facade of it by actually limiting the area of planning itself in the name of decentralisation and freedom of enterprise and competition. This is done by calling upon the States to fend for them-

selves while a specific sum of money is fixed for the State governments by way of Central assistance for their plans—Rs. 615 crores next year and Rs. 3500 crores over the plan period. At the same time a large field is left for the private sector where it will be free to operate unencumbered by restrictions of any kind. Both these measures give rise to special risks—not only political and social—but also for the role of the Central Government in planning.

The State Governments are bound to fight tooth and nail in these circumstances not only for larger Central assistance but also for extended scope for their own resource raising efforts and for restricting the Central sphere. In the context of the present political situation this will mean perpetual strain and tug of war in Centre-State relations. So far as the private sector is concerned, the new outlook will impel freeing a large part of the resources within the economy for it to exploit. Unlike the tough line Sri Morarji Desai is taking towards the claims of the State governments, he has been very solicitous about the requirements of the private enterprise particularly in the industrial sector. The large number of tax concessions and other fiscal incentives in the Budget for the corporate sector and private investment even in the conditions of budgetary stringency testify to that.

Within the scope set, he had necessarily to turn to almost all the time-worn tax devices, principally the excise duties, and even if he expects to raise Rs. 150 crores, just enough to go through with the Plan commitments next year, he has run into sharp opposition from all sides.

As for a basic departure from established policy and system of economic development and planning. Shri Morarji Desai is obviously not the one to make it. For, that will require fundamental reforms in the very structure of economic and property relations and bringing within the command of the State all the key-assets in the economy.

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Since the triumphant return of the United Front to office in West Bengal, many readers have asked Mainstream to publish the Programme of the UF. Herebelow is therefore published the full text of West Bengal UF's 32-point Programme together with the preamble. This was originally released by the UF on July 20, 1968.

United Front's 32-Point Programme

PREAMBLE

AFTER twenty years of misrule the Congress Party was voted out of office at the last General Election in West Bengal. The people wanted an anti-Congress progressive government which would work in the interests of the vast masses of the people, and, accordingly, the anti-Congress parties combined to form the United Front Government of 1967.

2. The UF Government set to its tasks amidst great jubilation of the people and huge demonstrations of popular support and enthusiasm. In sharp contrast to the previous Congress regimes the UF Government, from the very beginning, adopted a pro-people, and democratic attitude. All the prisoners kept in detention without trial by the Congress Government were at once released; Government employees who had been dismissed by the Congress Government for their alleged political opinion were mostly reinstated, and it was declared that no one would be debarred from Government service because of political views or activity and the Government employees would have full democratic and trade union rights; State Transport and Tram employees suspended or dismissed for participation in their legitimate movements, were reinstated; the infamous Security Act, so long used by the Congress party for repression and harassment of political opponents workers and peasants, and participants in mass-movements as well as the people in general, was removed from the statute-book. The Government declared that the police would not be used to suppress legitimate mass-movements. A new atmosphere of freedom of opinion, freedom of representation and demonstration, was created. The Government also agreed to institute judicial enquiry into several cases of police firing or serious complaints against the police. A fresh wind began to blow in West Bengal after a 20-year nightmare rule of brutal oppression and shameless exploitation of the people. Hard-working, unostentatious Ministers of the UF Government were easily accessible and freely moved about among the people, often rushing in aid of people in trouble, and above all, displaying a truly democratic attitude towards the people.

3. There were immense obstacles in the path of the United Front Government. But even with these obstacles the UF Government achieved many successes within a short while. Guided by a genuine desire to render as much relief and assistance to people, the UF Government, on its own remitted land revenue in vast areas of the State where crop had failed due to drought or flood, stayed repayment of loans by peasants to the Government and generally stopped certificate proceedings against peasants. The UF Government went all out to serve the famine stricken people of Bankura and Purulia. It increased the Dearness Allowance for Government employees and teachers and non-teaching staff in schools and colleges; rendered financial aid to municipalities and Calcutta Corporation for enhancement of Dearness Allowance to the employees; and drew up amendments to the Municipal Act to help the municipalities function better; it set up a Pay-Commission with a view to improve the pay-scales of Government employees, teachers etc. Existing labour-laws were reviewed, and new Bills drafted for securing more benefits for workers, and more effective Government help to workers and employees in their just cause; these draft Bills were sent to the Union Government for their concurrence. Conciliation proceedings in industrial disputes were expedited, registration of trade unions was speeded up. UF Government set up a large number of Government chemist shops replacing private shops. About 238,000 acres of surplus vested land; char land, and tea-garden surplus land were distributed among the poorer peasants, and more than 10,000 acres of *benami* land were recovered for distribution among the poorer peasants.

The UF Government took over the management of the Calcutta Tramway Company, and thus put an end to the greedy, wasteful and irresponsible British management of this public utility service, and fulfilled a long-standing national demand. The Government enquired into the scandalous corruption of the previous Congress Government regarding issuing of bus permits in Calcutta and

published its report. The Government also took over the management of the National Medical College, and converted the Jalpaiguri Engineering College into a Government College; thus two institutions of public importance which were not being properly run, were brought under public management. The UF Government took up the cause of the displaced persons from East Pakistan and submitted an 11-point plan for approval of the Union Government; it distributed nearly 2500 letters of eligibility for squatters' colonies, arranged for electricity in over 6000 refugee households, installed over 400 tubewells in different camps and colonies, and restored the doles cut as a measure of political victimization by the Congress Government; it arranged for the admission in hospital of over 300 T.B. patients.

The UF Government reduced the burden of taxation on bustees and increased the taxes on big landlords in Calcutta. It removed police control over dramatic performances.

The UF Government tried to tone up the administration of government owned industries, sought to revive some enterprises, to expand industrial establishments and set up Haldia Development Board to advise the State Government for the development of the areas.

Despite lack of funds and Government of India's callous attitude, the UF Government did its best to help agriculture. A high power commission was set up with official and non-official experts to make an estimate of the surface and sub-soil water resources for irrigation purposes and draw up a master plan for best utilisation of these water resources. Many deep tube wells sunk at great cost but lying idle were brought into operation, river lift irrigation schemes were increased, various small and medium irrigation and drainage works including that of the Kangsabati Project were accelerated. Teesta Dam project was drawn up and taken up with the Government of India for expanding irrigation to Jalpaiguri, Maldah and West Dinajpur. Schemes were drawn up for irrigation cooperatives to help poor, small and medium peasants. A plan was adopted for setting up an Agro-Industries Corporation to supply to the peasants on long term loan basis pump sets, shallow tube wells and other equipment for boosting agricultural production as well as industry.

The Government took some steps to increase housing facilities for the people of low and middle income groups, and tried to remove the grievances of the tenants of Government Housing Estates. It set up all-party committees for distribution of flats and took steps to remove nepotism and corruption in this respect.

The discrimination practised by the previous Government in favouring a particular Bar in the appointment of the Advocate-General was discontinued. The Bill for separating the judiciary from the Executive was published.

In the sphere of medical education the North Bengal Medical College was opened at Siliguri; seats were reserved in every medical college for candidates who will undertake to serve the rural

masses for at least a few years after obtaining degrees, admission to medical colleges were arranged only on merit and not on recommendations and manipulations. To help the working people, out-patients sections were opened in 3 Calcutta hospitals. Some new health centres were opened and some old ones equipped and properly manned. The UF Government reviewed the Panchayat and Zilla Parishad administration which were infested with corruption and mal-administration, and prepared a Bill for new, democratic legislation in this matter. The Government promptly started a thorough investigation into expenditure of several crores of rupees by a number of Zilla Parishads for relief purposes, found out that huge amounts had been mis-spent or misappropriated, informed the public about it and sought to take steps against these Parishads but were frustrated due to injunction by the High Court. For the first time in the State, a conference of the Vice-Chancellors of the universities in the State and the President of the Board of Secondary Education was convened by the UF Government to co consider the question of the medium of instruction, and the conference agreed to take active steps for the introduction of the regional language as the medium of instruction at all stages. Another conference was held with representatives of the teachers and the students organisations and the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University to ensure smooth holding of the University examinations; this proved a success with the cooperation of the teachers and the students.

4. The method of securing popular cooperation was followed by all departments which set up a number of advisory committees to help and supervise administration. Of particular importance was the setting up of Food and Relief Committees, from district to "anchal" level in all areas, with representatives of political parties and local administration to help, supervise and participate in the procurement and supply of food, distribution of relief etc.

5. In every department of the Government, plans and arrangements were being made for bigger and more substantial improvements. The Government as a whole was preparing itself to tackle the larger problems of food, finance, economic planning, and administrative reform when it was removed from office.

The obstacles in the path of the UF Government were many. First of all, the Indian Constitution itself stood in the way of any radical measures affecting property-relations, or any measures of speedy reform. The Constitution does not give any power to a State Government in most matters vitally affecting the people. The bureaucratic State-machinery inherited from the British imperialists, and further corrupted and choked by 20 years of Congress rule, stood in the way of speedy implementation of policies and decisions of the UF Government. Moreover, when the Congress party went out of office, they left almost no foodgrains in Government stock; with severe drought and failure of crop there was an acute food-shortage, which was seriously aggravated by the deliberate

withholding of supplies from the Centre. The failure of Congress economic plans, and the suspension of planning by the Centre, produced a serious economic situation. The wastage of public money over the years by the Congress Government had left the State with practically no resources for large welfare activities after meeting at least some of the long-standing demands for relief, aid and assistance.

7. There were also certain weaknesses and vacillations and differences within the UF, as well as some treacherous elements linked with vested interests and the Congress party. These, too, served as obstacles in the path of more effective functioning of the UF Government.

8. In spite of these obstacles and limitations, the nine months of the UF Government clearly showed that this government, born out of the struggles of the people, was working in the interests of the people and against the vested interests.

9. This Government, however, was not allowed to continue. The Congress party, although defeated at the polls, had not been completely routed. It enjoyed all the advantages, and the UF Government had all the disadvantages, of having a Congress party Government at the Centre. The people's verdict at the polls did not automatically end the strangle hold of vested interests over the economy, nor end their powers of political machination. The Congress party, the Congress Government at the Centre, the vested interests in West Bengal and all over India, certain elements in the top-bureaucracy and the police, along with foreign imperialist agencies combined in a series of conspiracies to remove this popular Government elected by the people.

10. These conspiracies were of the most heinous kind. To begin with, riots of communal and provincial nature were engineered. When the UF Government, with firm determination, and with active cooperation of the people, stopped these riots within hours, the conspirators turned to the methods of bribery and corruption and unfortunately found ready response among some traitorous legislators. At the same time the Congress Government at the Centre did serious injustice to West Bengal in the matter of financial allocations, famine relief aid, and in meeting the food deficit. The Government of India refused to allot even the same quantity of rice and wheat as had been allotted to the Congress Government of West Bengal during the previous year despite the fact that famine conditions were prevailing in some districts and the fact that deficit in 1967 was greater than in last year. Later, the Government of India was continuously and persistently dishonouring even its own inadequate commitments about supply of foodgrains, and thereby creating a situation where the rationing system of the State was threatened with disruption. Many of the employers, in their turn, resorted to lock-outs and closures on various pretexts in order to teach a lesson to the workers and bring pressure to bear on them for accepting the entire burden of the recession created by the Congress Government. Many of the employers refused to cooperate with the UF Government in devising a machinery for speedy settlement of disputes. The big jotedars and

profiteers also, with the support of the Congress, played a nefarious role in hindering procurement of foodgrains and encouraging blackmarket operations. In such a situation the toiling people's movement against the vested interests was depicted as a break-down of law and order, and a hue and cry was raised by those reactionaries who never show any respect for law and order when "law and order" is inconvenient for them.

11. The Congress party and the reactionaries vainly hoped that the crisis created by them would turn the people against the UF Government; but this hope was shattered by the huge demonstrations of popular support for the UF Government in spite of the immense hardships experienced by the people in respect of food and employment. The Congress party and the reactionaries, however, mainly relied on their machinery of bribery and corruption, and on their agents within the UF headed by Dr. P.C. Ghosh. These traitors within the UF soon came into the open, and using their defection as a pretext, the UF Government was arbitrarily dismissed by the Central Government action through the Governor and without a vote in the Assembly. The traitors were rewarded with ministry, and the so-called PDF Government was installed with the army in a state of alert and the armed police called out with reinforcement from the Central Reserve Police and elsewhere. The installation of the so-called PDF Government then of the Congress-PDF clique ushered in a period of blanket ban on civil liberties, and a period of police-terror; assemblies and demonstrations of people were forbidden, a large number of people were held without trial, and merciless beating-up of innocent people became a daily occurrence. A barbarous regime of criminal violence against the people was imposed. But the people could not be cowed down. This was also a period of continuous mass-movements of protests and popular non-cooperation with the so-called Government; thousands upon thousands of people, young and old, men and women, students and youth, workers and peasants and teachers and employees, political workers and social workers courted imprisonment in a vast movement spread wide and deep throughout the State.

12. The so-called Government of the Congress and the PDF, built on bribery and corruption and treachery and violence against the people, could not and did not last. The historic ruling of the Speaker in the West Bengal Assembly, the huge mass-protests, and finally, defection from the ranks of the engineers of defection, put an end to this Government, and President's Rule was imposed on West Bengal.

13. The people of West Bengal are now called upon to give their verdict again through a mid-term election for the State Legislative Assembly. There is no doubt that the people will confirm their verdict against the Congress in even clearer terms this time than in 1967. The people will always recall their experiences of the Congress rule of 20 years—the rule of corruption, oppression and exploitation of the people. They will recall the many martyrs whose lives were taken by the Congress Government. In

addition, the people will remember the role of the Congress in 1967—how they reduced parliamentary democracy to a mockery by their game of purchase of defectors, and by their over-riding the powers of the elected legislature. The people will remember the short but sufficiently ugly rule of the Congress-PDF clique.

14. The people also see around them the results of 20 years of Congress rule in West Bengal and the continued Congress rule at the Centre. Congress economic planning is breaking down; unemployment is rising by leaps and bounds, markets are shrinking, purchasing-power of the people is falling, prices are rising, and there is widespread distress and unrest all over India. The unity of the country is threatened by the high-handed reactionary policies of the Congress Government at the Centre, and linguistic, communal and provincialist passions are being roused every where.

15. The crisis is developing on an all-India scale and is likely to be intensified in the coming days. The people's struggle will be long and arduous. It will be a mistake to imagine that the struggle will end as soon as the Congress is again defeated at the polls. The UF is fully convinced that no lasting and radical solution to the problems of the people can be found without changing the present social order, and that only a socialist society can guarantee liberty and justice to the people. The present crisis is rooted in the present irrational and unjust social and economic system.

16. In the context of this inevitable continued struggle of the people, and in the critical days ahead, it will be of immense advantage for the people if a really popular government, pledged to honour the democratic rights and liberties of the people, and a government which will be an instrument of struggle for the people be installed in office. Such a government will actively help the people by raising mass-consciousness, by developing people's organisations and struggle, and by sustaining the people through whatever reforms and development works can be secured even under existing conditions. If, on the other hand, a Congress Government be installed in office, not only will the sufferings of the people increase by leaps and bounds, but ruthless and brutal oppression, will be added on to the sufferings.

17. It is clear that the UF Government will have to work under a series of limitations. As has already been seen, the Indian Constitution itself is a bar to any radical measure of social reconstruction and progress. It is heavily loaded in favour of the capitalists and big landowners. Many of the existing

laws are similarly loaded, and their interpretation at the law-courts have more often than not gone against the interests of the people. Moreover, the Constitution imposes severe restrictions on the powers of a State Government, practically concentrating all powers at the Centre. As long as the Congress continues in office at the Centre, and is not ousted by the democratic forces, no significant improvement can be brought about in the life of our people. It is obvious that West Bengal will have to face serious difficulties from the Congress Government at the Centre in respect of food, finance, industry, labour and all other matters where the Centre has a say.

18. The present economic depression, unscientific planning, the acute dearth of funds created by the Congress rulers, and the increased dependence on foreign aid, will be further limiting factors to be faced by West Bengal.

19. Fully conscious of these limitations and difficulties, the UF is also fully convinced that with united and active people's struggles to help the Government, the UF Government, will be able to secure certain important reforms and relief for the benefit of the people and to help them advance along the path of their struggle.

20. The most important and immediately achievable improvement that the UF Government will bring about will be in the relations between the Government and the people. The people will feel that the government is theirs, and the government will rely on the people. The Government will not use the police against legitimate mass-movements; fully aware that its tasks cannot be accomplished without active support and cooperation of mass-movements and mass-organisations, the UF Government will develop popular movements on important issues affecting the country. It will not rely on the bureaucratic machinery alone for carrying out its tasks. Experience has shown that not only is the bureaucracy incompetent in most circumstances, but also that it contains elements that are corrupt and disloyal to the people.

21. The 18-point programme adopted by the UF in 1967 remains valid for the coming period too. But experience has shown that it is necessary to further concretise it to work out and explain to the people the schedule of priorities in order that the perspectives may be clear. It is evident for instance that food, agriculture along with irrigation, drainage and land reforms will have to be given top priority.

The UF places before the people the following programme :

PROGRAMME

Administration

1. The Government of the United Front stands for a clean and honest administration. It will ensure efficiency, economy and impartiality in the administration. A State Administrative Reforms Committee will be set up to report on the steps to be taken for speedy implementation of government decisions and for dealing with people's grievances.

It will endeavour to change the rules governing

the present services of ICS, IAS and IPS cadres with a view to maintain effective control of the State Government over them. It will also take steps to change the existing Police code so that it may not be used against the rights and interests of the people. The Jail Code will also be suitably amended.

Tribunal Against Corruption

2. The UF Government will fight corruption and nepotism in official and non-official spheres.

It will set up a Tribunal to investigate into complaints of corruption, nepotism, jobbery and such other misconduct of Ministers, high officials and of political leaders during the 20 years of Congress rule and during the PDF-Congress rule.

If any complaint be received against any Minister, high official or leader for their conduct during the rule of the UF it will be enquired into.

Any complaint from the people in this connection shall be taken into cognizance and properly dealt with.

Food Production, Agriculture and Irrigation

3. (a) The UF Government will take all possible steps to increase food production and make attempts to proceed towards self-sufficiency in food, and for this, it will provide necessary facilities to cultivators through supply of fertilizers, seeds, pesticides and improved live-stock etc. It will try to expand agricultural credit, and press the Centre for nationalisation of banks and general insurance. It will try to ensure reasonable prices and proper marketing facilities for agricultural products. It will take steps to start jute buffer stock under the State with remunerative price to jute-growers. It will reclaim all cultivable waste land and unnecessary encroachment on agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes will not be permitted. Effective measures will be taken against soil erosion.

Attempts will be made to modernise agriculture and to introduce multiple cropping.

(b) The UF Government will take all possible steps to bring more land under irrigation, and for this elaborate schemes of small, medium and lift irrigation will be undertaken, and derelict tanks and reservoirs will be reconditioned and put to use. It will seek to take effective measures for flood-control and drainage.

(c) The UF Government will pay due attention to preservation of forests. It will look to the legitimate interests of people who live in forest areas and depend on forests for their livelihood.

(d) The UF Government will develop poultry-farming and animal husbandry.

It will take steps for reorganisation of Greater Calcutta milk supply scheme, and sponsor such schemes in other parts of the State.

Food Policy

4. (a) The UF Government will introduce State monopoly in wholesale paddy and rice trade, and impose suitable control over the entire trade in foodgrains.

It will adopt a policy which will prevent hoarding by big owners and hoarders, secure adequate procurement and ensure equitable distribution. This policy will be based on : (a) procurement of surplus stock of all big owners, (b) levy being imposed on producers having 7 or more acres of irrigated and 10 or more of non-irrigated land ; (c) ban on purchase by rice-mills from open market—they are to work with Government-procured paddy ; (d) control of husking and chira mills ; (e) keeping of a portion

of procured paddy/rice (at least 30 per cent in surplus areas, and 100% in deficit areas) in the localities where actual procurement work is done ; (f) supply of modified ration to other areas step by step ; and (g) distribution of essential commodities at reasonable prices.

It will take strong action against profiteers, hoarders and black-marketeers through preventive detention and through legislation for imprisonment, fine etc. It will also ask for powers to confiscate property in such cases.

It will exert effective pressure upon the Centre for meeting the food deficit of the State.

(b) The UF Government will take steps to control prices of essential commodities and it will set up a Statutory Price Commission for fixation of prices of industrial and agricultural products.

(c) The UF Government will take adequate measures for relief in rural areas including gratuitous and test relief works. It will try to get the existing rules and regulations regarding famine relief and other relief modified so that the Centre bears its due share of responsibility.

Land Reforms

5. The UF Government will undertake a thorough programme of land reforms so as to ensure : (a) suitable amendments to the present Estates Acquisition and Land Reforms' Acts in the interests of the peasantry ; (b) exemption of Land Revenue for peasants holding not more than 3 acres of land ; (c) detection, recovery and distribution of all "Benami" land held in excess of ceiling ; (d) acquisition of unutilised land in plantation ; bringing of tank-fisheries, land comprised in orchards, dairy, poultry, etc., now excluded from the operation of land ceiling, under E.A. Act ; (e) distribution of surplus and 'Khas' land among landless and poor peasants on a permanent basis ; (f) speedy payment of compensation to small intermediaries ; (g) hereditary right of sharecroppers to cultivate 'Barga' land ; (h) suspension for three years of eviction of share-croppers from land pending comprehensive legislation ; (i) free distribution of land upto 5 cottas for dwelling houses in rural areas to those who have no homestead ; tenancy rights of homestead land upto 5 cottas to those who are in occupation without such right and who have no other homestead ; removal of jurisdiction of civil courts in matters concerning ceiling, malafide transfers, vested land etc. and setting up of special land tribunals to deal with these matters ; (k) a new survey of land for the purpose of settlement and cancellation of all malafide records made in the past ; (l) moratorium on four year old existing debts of peasants holding land upto 3 acres to the Government and settlement of other debts and (m) return of land to the original sellers sold due to distress.

It will help the peasants in their struggle for detection, recovery, acquisition and distribution of 'Benami' land by the Government.

(Continued on page 36)

Ghalib's

Urdu

Verse

RALPH RUSSELL

IN considering Ghalib's poetic achievement—and, for that matter, his achievement as a prose-writer too—it is entirely appropriate to look first at his Persian work. It is well-known that he himself took pride above all in his Persian poetry, and even on occasion expressed contempt for his Urdu verse. Thus, in much-quoted lines he says :

*Look at my Persian ; there you see the full range
of my artistry—*

*And leave aside my Urdu verse, for there is nothing
there of me.*

At the same time, one must be careful not to overrate the importance of statements such as these. It is undoubtedly true that he regarded his Persian as his great achievement. He lamented the fact that in his day Urdu had ousted Persian from its former place as the language of poetry and culture. He knew his Persian verse was little understood and little appreciated, and this pained him. But it is also true that the most forceful of his statements contrasting his Persian and his Urdu to the great disadvantage of the latter are made in a particular context, in a context where his Urdu verse is under attack, or where he anticipates such an attack, or where his Urdu is being compared unfavourably with that of rival poets such as Zauq.

In such a context it is his standard reaction to represent his Urdu as written under some sort of external compulsion, and not from any desire of his own, and to vaunt his superiority in a field where such slighting comparisons cannot be made. The short poem of which I have quoted the first two lines itself belongs to just such a context. The second half reads : that is, to translate the whole four lines :

*Look at my Persian ; there you see the full range
of my artistry—*

*And leave aside my Urdu verse, for there is nothing
there of me.*

The author who is a Reader in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, read this paper at a seminar on Ghalib held in the School in January 1969.

*I tell you truth, for I am one must tell the truth
when all is done,*

*The verse on which you pride yourself is verse I
should feel shame to own.*

Hali, with characteristic timidity tells us that these lines are "generally said to have been addressed to Zauq", but the matter is put beyond all doubt by Ghalib himself in one of his Persian letters in a context where, without mentioning Zauq by name, he makes it perfectly clear that it is Zauq of whom he is speaking in this verse. And this serves to re-emphasise the point I am making. Zauq did not write any Persian verse, and so in this field it is true, in the most literal sense of the words, that there can be no comparison between him and Ghalib. It is true that the sort of judgement which Ghalib here makes is repeated on other occasions, but I believe that it could in every case be shown that these judgements are all given against the sort of background I have described.

I make this point at the outset not because I have any intention of making the reverse assertion. To exalt Ghalib's Urdu at the expense of his Persian or his Persian at the expense of his Urdu is in my view quite misleading, and does not help me to make a just assessment of his achievement. This notwithstanding the fact that Ghalib himself on different occasions did both these things. One of his ghazals ends with the line :

*If one should say, "Can Urdu then, better what
Persian offers us?"*

Read him a line of Ghalib's verse,

Tell him, "It can : it does so thus !"

But here too a note of warning is no less necessary. The ghazal is the ghazal, and exaggeration to the point of hyperbole is one of its familiar conventions. Ghalib is perhaps here doing no more than assert that his Urdu verse too is good verse. And we know that he did think so, and that he was quite right in thinking so.

It is not true—no matter what Ghalib may sometimes have told himself—that it was only under some sort of external pressure that he wrote in Urdu. He began writing in Urdu, as well as in Persian, in his childhood, and by the time he moved to Delhi from Agra in his teens he had already written a substantial amount of Urdu verse and made at any rate some sort of name for himself as an Urdu poet.

It is true that a time came when he turned his attention mainly to Persian, and true again that when in the 1850's he was retained at the Mughal Court it was the King's preference for Urdu verse which more or less compelled him to take to the medium of Urdu once more.

But what Hali—Ghalib's friend and biographer—has to say in this connection is just. He writes : 'It is important to emphasise here that Ghalib did not regard Urdu poetry as his field. For him it was a diversion ; he would write an occasional ghazal sometimes because he himself felt like it, sometimes at the request of his friends, and sometimes in fulfilment of the commands of the King or the heir-apparent. That is why in his

Urdu diwan there is no significant number of poems in any form other than the ghazal..... Yet since most of his contemporaries were men of cultivated taste and quick to discern poetic merit, in his Urdu poetry too he was concerned to maintain the same pre-eminence as in Persian, and he gave all his attention and all his efforts to writing it.'

And Ghalib's own letters of this period to his friend Nabi Bakhsh Haqir show that during these same years he produced Urdu verse of which he felt proud, even where it was at the King's instance that he wrote. Where he was pleased with the results he praised them with an engaging lack of reserve, and demanded that Haqir praise them equally highly; and, indeed, some of his very best ghazals are the product of these years. Early in 1851—probably between April and June—he writes:

'You should know that when I attend upon the King he usually asks me to bring him Urdu verse. Well, I wouldn't recite any of my old ghazals. I compose a new one and bring that. To-day at midday I wrote a ghazal which I shall take and recite to him tomorrow or the day after. I'm writing it out, and send it to you too. Judge it truly: if Urdu verse can rise to the height where it can cast a spell or work a miracle, will this, or will this not, be its form?' He then appends not one ghazal, but two. The second is still one of his best-loved.

In May or June, 1852, he writes, enclosing another, now famous, ghazal: 'My friend, in God's name, give my ghazal its due of praise. If this is Urdu poetry, what was it that Mir and Mirza wrote? And if that was Urdu poetry, then what is this?' In other words, 'My verse is in another class from that of Mir and Mirza (the colloquial names for Mir and Sauda, the two greatest Urdu poets of the eighteenth century)—so much so that you cannot call their work and mine by the same name.'

Finally, in the early years after the Revolt of 1857, it is the loss of his Urdu verse in the looting of which the British soldiers were guilty to which he alludes with evident distress in his letters to his friends.

We can surely regard it as established, then, that Ghalib *did* in fact take a pride in his Urdu verse. And having done so let us proceed to see what it has to offer us.

We have just seen that nearly all of Ghalib's Urdu verse is in the ghazal form. In the collection of his verse which has been reprinted innumerable times over the last century, ghazals occupy something like 80 per cent of the whole. This means he writes in a genre bound by very strict conventions both of form and of theme. In form it is a fairly short poem, rarely of more than a dozen couplets, rhyming AA, AB, AC, AD and so on. Generally, every couplet is a complete and independent entity, commonly (though not obligatorily) differing from its neighbours not only in theme but even in mood. The last couplet must include—the poet's *nom de plume*—that is to say in Ghalib's case, the name 'Ghalib' occurs in the final couplet of every ghazal.

The themes too are largely perscribed by convention. The predominant theme of the ghazal is love—the poet's love for an earthly mistress, or his love, as a mystic lover, for God, his Divine Beloved. Very many lines can bear either interpretation or both. But provided these themes predominate, he may write also of almost any other theme he chooses. Ghalib frequently does so, and this is not an innovation on his part; the great ghazal poets before him did so too. However, because the standard themes do predominate I must describe them a little more closely, and then say something of how Ghalib handled them.

First, on the theme of earthly love. I will not repeat in detail what I have had occasion to write elsewhere on this theme. To people previously unfamiliar with any kind of medieval literature, the situations of love which they find portrayed in the ghazal come as something of a shock, and even when increasing familiarity at length banishes their surprise, they tend to settle into a state of mind which accepts that the conventions of the ghazal *are* what they clearly are, but assumes that this is a purely conventional picture, largely unrelated to anything in real life. I have tried to show elsewhere that despite a measure of exaggeration quite disconcerting to the modern reader in the West when he first encounters it, the conventional picture of earthly love in the ghazal is in fact far less fantastic, and far less removed from reality, than it at first appears. As in the love poetry of medieval Europe, love is generally illicit love—the love of a man for a woman already married or betrothed to another man—and hence a love persecuted by conventional society. The poet's beloved, his mistress is—in real life sometimes, and in the ghazal convention nearly always—angered by his love, and the lover thus has to bear not only the cruel persecution of society, but also the even more grievous persecution of the girl whom he loves. True love therefore demands of him almost superhuman courage and fortitude. He must love for its own sake, not only without any expectation of his love being returned, but knowing that his beloved will treat him with unrelenting hostility, and resolving nevertheless to be ever true to her even though his life be forfeit. Once again, in the ghazal convention he is in fact put to this supreme test. His mistress's eyebrows are bows which lose the sharp arrows of her eyelashes into his breast. She is his executioner, who has him led out to the execution ground and there strikes him down with the sharp sword of her beauty. And he submits not only uncomplainingly, but gladly.

These are the situations of earthly love which are then taken over bodily so to speak, and applied to the experience of divine love, or mystic love. A modern audience perhaps understands this aspect of the ghazal more readily if it is expressed in non-religious terms. The poet's beloved here stands for the ideals of life in which he passionately believes for the sake of which he is ready to face every hardship, to withstand every persecution, and in the last resort to sacrifice even his life. In a

medieval society—and the ghazal is the poetry of a medieval society—such ideals could only be conceived and expressed in religious form. But the essence of the mystic love which the ghazal portrays is a self-sacrificing devotion to an ideal which conceived in modern terms, is not *necessarily* a religious ideal at all, though of course it *may* be that.

The ghazal does not spell out in any great detail what these ideals involve for a man's personal and social life, but two features emerge very strongly. First, the ghazal poet's ideal is a strongly humanist one. It stresses the greatness of man, and proclaims his almost infinite potentialities, urging his claims even against God himself. Its cardinal religious commandment is to love your fellowmen, no matter what their creed and nationality. Hafiz, the great 14th century Persian poet, proclaimed this commandment in a much-quoted verse which may be translated :

So that you do not harm your fellow-men do what you will. For in my Holy Law there is no other sin but this.

And secondly, the ghazal poet takes it for granted that to proclaim such an ideal and to act upon it consistently necessarily incurs the wrath of the pillars of society. To take one's stand uncompromisingly on humanist ideals and not to flinch from any of their practical implications means to face persecution throughout one's life and ultimately to suffer death at the hands of the upholders of the established order of things.

I said earlier that among the conventions of the ghazal is exaggeration—exaggeration of an order that the modern reader accustoms himself to only with great difficulty. This exaggeration is evident in the depiction of the situations I have briefly described. There are famous Urdu poets who indeed had illicit love affairs and suffered because of them ; but none lived out his life as a cruelly persecuted social outcast, either because of such a love affair or because of his dedication to the ideals of the mystic lover. Nor did any of them end his life on the execution ground, on the gallows or the impaling stake. In other words, the ghazal picture is a conventional one—a picture through which the poet portrays in terms of the most extreme symbolism, his dedication to the ideals of love and of mystic humanism in face of the hostility of the conventional and the worldly-wise who dominate the society in which he lives. One can sometimes go further than this and say of many Urdu poets—though not of the greatest among them—that they present themselves in the ghazal not as they are but as they would like to be—as they see themselves in fantasy or as they want to be seen by their audience. Approaching the ghazal from another angle one can say that it is the verse form in which the poet-lover expresses his devotion to his beloved, and that in the case of the poet whose real-life experience and real-life emotions and beliefs come closest to those which the ghazal convention portrays, the beloved in this context means two things—a real-life woman whom he loves, and the ideals of life to

which he dedicates himself even in the face of the most bitter hostility of society at large.

That is, I fear, all too long a prelude to what I shall have to say on Ghalib's Urdu poetry, and I am well aware that there are many among my readers to whom all or most of what I have been saying was already known. To them I apologise, pleading only that there are others whose fields of study do not lie in these areas and to whom what I shall be saying would perhaps not have been intelligible without such a prelude.

Ghalib was heir to this ghazal tradition that I have tried briefly to describe, and he wrote within its conventions. Some modern critics have claimed that he did so reluctantly chafing under the restraints which one of his verses calls—"the narrow straits of the ghazal".

But I do not think that any such view can be sustained. The verse in question has a quite restricted reference. Ghalib is writing in praise of one Tajammul Husain Khan, and it is in this context that he feels that the ghazal, which is by definition a short poem does not afford him the scope he needs. Nor does he reject the traditional symbolism of ghazal expression. Two much-quoted couplets run :

One means her airs and graces, but one cannot talk of them

Unless one speaks of them as knives and daggers that she wields.

One speaks of God's creation, but one cannot talk of it.

Except in terms of draughts of wine that make the senses reel.

I do not think it is in any spirit of complaint or frustration that he speaks these lines. Rather he is saying that he is quite content to express what he has to say in terms of the traditional imagery.

At all events, the ghazal form is *par excellence* the form of his choice. One could hardly expect it to be otherwise, for he was a man with a great love of the old cultural traditions, and the ghazal stands at the centre of these traditions. And there are reasons even more substantial than this of which I shall have occasion to speak presently.

It is perhaps appropriate to say a word at this point about his development as a ghazal poet. I have already said that he was heir to a long tradition. True, in Urdu, the North Indian tradition goes back only about a century before him. But this Urdu tradition was itself heir to the whole ghazal tradition of Persian poetry, going back five hundred years from Ghalib's time, back the Hafiz and beyond him ; and Ghalib knew the Persian tradition exceptionally well. His early verse shows especially strongly the influence of Bedil, a leading Persian poet of the late 17th century and he himself writes about this, quoting a *maqta* that is, a concluding couplet—from one of his ghazals. He writes in Urdu, but in Bedil's style : What a man is this Asadullah Khan !—Asadullah Khan being, of course, Ghalib's real name.

There is a great deal of purely technical virtuosity about much of his early verse, and a

straining after originality which produced some verses of quite outlandish obscurity. Hali and others have related stories which show how verses of this kind exposed him to a good deal of ridicule.

'I have heard,' writes Hali, 'that the poets of Delhi would come to mushairas where Ghalib was present and recite ghazals which sounded very fine and impressive but were really quite meaningless, as though to tell Ghalib in this way that this was the kind of poetry he wrote.'

Others conveyed their criticism more privately. Hali relates one instance: On one occasion Maulvi Abdul Qadir of Rampur said to Ghalib, "There is one of your Urdu verses which I cannot understand," and there and then made up this verse and recited it to him:

First take the essence of the rose out of the eggs of buffaloes—

And other drugs are there; take those out of the eggs of buffaloes.

Ghalib was very much taken aback and said, "This verse is certainly not mine, I assure you." But Maulvi Abdul Qadir kept up the joke and said, "I have read it myself in your diwan; if you have a copy here I can show it you here and now." At length Ghalib realized that this was an indirect way of criticizing him and telling him that verses of this kind could be found in his diwan!

By and large Ghalib treated attacks on his early verse with the contempt which he thought they deserved. One of his couplets—I do not know whether it belongs to this period, but it expresses his attitude accurately enough—reads:

I want no praise; I seek no man's reward.

My verses have no meaning? Be it so.

But the same sort of criticisms were made—no doubt in a more serious manner—by men whom he greatly respected, and when he came to put his diwan—that is, his collection of ghazals—in more or less its present form, he discarded a great many of his early verses. He himself wrote of this, with characteristically gross exaggeration, many years later: "Between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five I wrote on highly fanciful themes, and in these ten years got together a big diwan. But in the end, when I learned discretion, I rejected this diwan—tore it up completely—leaving only some ten to fifteen couplets in my present diwan by way of samples of my former style."

Hali's more sober estimate, that he discarded about two-thirds of his early work at this time, is nearer the truth. So is his statement that even now his diwan is not devoid of examples of this kind! It must be admitted that Ghalib continued to retain even in his later years a fondness for the striking image and the far-fetched conceit that sometimes produced rather hair-raising results, and a wish to test his readers' ingenuity sometimes inspired verses rather like the clues of a difficult crossword puzzle in which the barest indication demands the use of a great deal of ingenuity to fill in the blank.

One example of each kind of verse must suffice. The first is from a ghazal—not devoid of a certain

charm once you have deciphered its meaning—in which in verse after verse he contrasts on the one hand the comfort and serenity in which his mistress spends her days with the misery in which her hopeless lover spends his—a contrast heightened by a certain surface similarity in the two situations. One verse which, literally translated, means:

There, kindness had the excuse of the rain to bridle walking.

Here, from weeping the cotton-wool of the pillow was the foam of the flood.

In other words, he said she could not come to me because it was raining, and so on my side the rain of my tears produced a flood. Or, to move closer to the original, the rain provided an excuse to her not to show her professed kindness towards me, for it prevented her from walking to see me. On my side the torrent of my tears produced a flood, on which the white cotton-wool of my pillow was like the white froth on the swirling waters.

A verse of the other kind is quoted with complacent approval, and then explained, by Ghalib himself in a letter of 1864.

I do not breathe a word against you, friend but if you meet

The man you gave my letter to, just give him my regards.

This theme calls for something by way of preamble. The poet (lover) needed a messenger (to take a letter to his mistress). But he was afraid that such a messenger might himself fall in love with her. A friend of the lover brought a man to him and said, "This man is a man of honour, a man whom you can trust. I can guarantee that he won't do any such thing." Well, he was given a letter to take to her. As fate would have it, the lover's misgivings proved well-founded. The messenger looked upon the beloved and at once fell madly in love with her. The letter, the reply—all were forgotten, and in his frenzy he rent his clothes and made off to the wilderness. And now the lover, after all this has happened, says to his friend, "Only God has knowledge of the unseen. Who knows what is in another's heart? So, my friend, I bear no grudge against you. But if by any chance you meet my messenger, give him my respects and say, "Well, sir, what now of your tall claims that you would not fall in love?"

Let me quote you again the verse from which one is supposed to deduce all this:

I do not breathe a word against you, friend, but if you meet

The man you gave my letter to, just give him my regards.

Not, if Ghalib-worshippers will forgive my saying so, a verse of any great poetic merit, but one which affords some consolation to those who sometimes struggle unavailingly to discover Ghalib's meaning. If Ghalib's own friends and contemporaries needed to have such verses explained to them, we twentieth-century Europeans need not feel too distressed if we also need to have explanations supplied us.

But when this kind of extravagance is left aside, a great deal of good poetry remains. I said earlier that Ghalib is quite content

to say what he has to say within the ghazal form. What *does* he want to say? And how, some of you may wonder, within a form where themes and situations and imagery are prescribed in such detail, *can* a poet say anything new and distinctive at all? Well, firstly, his style is distinctive—just as, to use a rough parallel, a man's handwriting is distinctive even if he writes the identical words that another man has written.

Secondly,—and this is more important—the limitations of theme are not so severe as one might think. Firstly, the poet may present in a new light what I may call the stock characters of the ghazal—the lover, his mistress, his unworthy rivals for her love, and so on; or, in the sphere of religion and mysticism, he may again show in a new light man's relationship with God, his view of God's role in the universe, of the different prophets of Muslim tradition, and so on. Secondly, as I indicated earlier, if themes of love (in both senses) predominate in the ghazal, they are not its only themes, and the ghazals of the great masters, like Mir in the 18th century and Ghalib in the 19th, include verses on an almost immense range of themes, and they say in them whatever they want to say.

In a short paper like this one cannot hope to convey more than a very inadequate idea of Ghalib's range. If I were to single out what seem to me to be the most characteristics, distinctive qualities which his Urdu poetry reveals I would say that they are, first, a keen, unsentimental, detached observation of man and God and the universe;—secondly, a strong sense of independence and self-respect.—thirdly, a conviction of the originality, and of the value to mankind, of what he has to say and a determination to say it, upholding his beliefs to the end, no matter what other men may think of them. (It is here above all perhaps, that the ghazal tradition meets his needs most perfectly.)—fourthly, an ability to see how limited is the scope for human enjoyment, a power to enjoy to the last drop everything that life brings, and yet to hold aloof, not to be trapped or enslaved by desire for the things he loves, and—finally, a dry, irrepressible, unabashed humour which he is capable of bringing to the treatment of any theme, not excluding those on which he feels with the greatest seriousness and intensity. It is this last quality which has especially endeared him to successive generations of his readers.

Some of these qualities emerge clearly in his treatment of the conventional themes of love. The ambiguity, or, as I would think it more accurate to call it, the universality of the term 'beloved', serves the ghazal poet in good stead. His 'beloved' is someone, or some *thing*, to which his dedication is complete and unshakeable, but the precise identification varies from poet to poet. For Mir, Ghalib's greatest predecessor in this field, the identification with a woman already married to someone else is a valid one. Mir did love such a woman deeply and constantly for years together, and suffered in consequence much of the persecution which such a love incurred. Ghalib, almost equally certainly, never experienced such love. He states his philosophy

in a celebrated letter to his friend Hatim Ali Beg Mihr in which he tries to persuade him to banish the sorrow he felt at the recent death of a courtesan who had been his mistress: 'Mirza Sahib, I don't like the way you're going on. I have lived sixty-five years, and for fifty of them have seen all that this transient world of colour and fragrance has to show.' In the days of my lusty youth a man of perfect wisdoms counselled me, "Abstinence I do not approve: dissoluteness I do not forbid. Eat, drink and be merry. But remember that the wise fly settles on the sugar, and not on the honey." Well, I have always acted on his counsel. You cannot mourn another's death unless you live yourself. And why all these tears and lamentations? Give thanks to God for your freedom, and do not grieve. And if you love your chains so much, then a Munna Jan is as good as a Chunna Jan. When I think of paradise and consider how if my sins are forgiven me and I am installed in a palace with a houri to live for ever in the worthy woman's company, I am filled with dismay and fear brings my heart into my mouth. How wearisome to find her always there!—a greater burden than a man could bear. The same old palace, all of emerald made: the same fruit-laden tree to cast its shade. And—God preserve her from all harm—the same old houri on my arm! Come to your senses, brother, and get yourself another.

*'Take a new woman each returning spring
For last year's almanac's a useless thing.'*

The tone is of course humorous and is adopted in a particular context which it would take too long to go into here; but I think he is quite serious about the philosophy of life which it expresses, and an entirely serious Persian letter written many years earlier had expressed essentially the same view '... though grief at a beloved's death tears at the soul and the pain of parting for ever crushes the heart, the truth is that to true men truth brings no pain; and amid this tearing of the soul and this crushing of the heart we must strive to ponder: Where is the balm that can banish this distress?... You who have eyes to see, think upon this: that all the capital of those who venture all for love... is this one heart, lost now to supple waist of their beloved, caught now and fettered in the ringlets of her curling locks. But where has a dead body the suppleness of waist to make the heart leap from its place? And where the curling ringlets to catch the soul in their toils?... The nightingale, notorious for love, pours forth his melody for every rose that blooms, and the moth to whose great passion all men point, give his wings to the flame of every candle that makes radiant her face. Truly, the candles radiant in the assembly are many, and roses bloom in the garden abundantly. Why should the moth grieve when one candle dies? When one rose fades and falls why should the nightingale lament? A man should let the world of colour and fragrance win his heart, not bind it in the shackles of one love. Better that in the assembly of desire he draw afresh from within himself the harmonies of happiness, and draw into his embrace

some enchanting beauty who may restore his lost heart to its place and once more steal it away.'

Ghalib then knew the joys of earthly love, and there are many verses which express it.

*Sleep is for him, pride is for him, the nights
for him*

Upon whose arm your tresses all dishevelled lay.

But he neither knew nor perhaps, in practice believed in, the kind of love for a woman in which one devotes one's whole life and one's whole being completely to her. He subscribes to the traditional view that the lot of the lover—even if his love is not returned—is more enviable than that of any other man :

*He who sits in the shade of his beloved's wall
Is lord and king of all the realm of Hindustan.*

But if here we interpret "beloved" in the more literal sense, it must be admitted that the beloved to whom it was applied might change from year to year. On the other hand the verse can equally apply to a symbolic beloved, to a high ideal in life, and to the deep spiritual happiness which a man attains by serving it faithfully.

It is not surprising that in the conventional picture of human love besides many verses distinctive in style rather than in content, there are many in which the rights of the lover are stressed as much as or more than the rights of his mistress, and in which the lover's self-respect is asserted. One of his ghazals begins :

*To every word that I utter you answer "What
are you?"*

*You tell me, is this the way, then I should be
spoken to?*

And another begins with a rejoinder to her taunt that what he suffers from is not love, but madness :

'It is not love, but madness?' Be it so.

My madness is your reputation though

—that is, it is my mad love for you that makes you famous :

The lover traditionally accepts all that fate has to inflict upon him, and is proud to do so for the sake of his love. Ghalib sometimes takes a different view, and one feels that it is not in any very respectful tone that he addresses his "friend" as the Urdu ghazal calls the beloved (even though the friendly feelings are generally only on the lover's side)—when he says :

*A lover needs no more than this to work his
ruin utterly.*

*You are his friend. What need is there for
fate to be his enemy?*

and, in the very next verse of the same ghazal, protesting against the harsh treatment designed, as she alleges, to test him :

*If this is testing, can you tell me, what would
persecution be?*

*It was to him you gave your heart; what do
you want with testing me?*

It would not, I think be true to say that no poet before Ghalib ever spoke of, or to, his beloved in this way, but it is certainly true that in Ghalib this bold, mocking tone occurs a good deal more frequently than in his predecessors.

But if these verses are especially characteristic of Ghalib there are plenty more that are closer to the main tradition in their handling of themes of earthly love. To those who have, so to speak, grown up in the company of the ghazal I think that perhaps these present no problem. To us in the West, they do. We have seen that Ghalib was not the man to bind himself in the bonds of a single love. Why then does he so often speak as though he were? If one takes the whole range of these verses, I think the answer is threefold. First, some are there to show that he too can handle these themes just as well as the great masters of the past; and he does indeed show this. Secondly, in some of them he is creating in fantasy the beloved which real life denied him, and pouring out to her all the intensity of feeling which no real woman in his life ever inspired in him. And, stated in these terms, his situation is not an uncommon one in the history of the ghazal. I have argued elsewhere that in medieval society the ghazal often represented, for poet and audience alike, the release in fantasy of emotion which could not without drastic consequences have been released in real life. In the typical case it is a fear (a very understandable fear) of the social consequences that holds the poet back from the forbidden joys of love: in Ghalib's case it was perhaps rather that no woman ever evoked in him the intense, all-consuming devotion that he would have wished to experience. In a letter written perhaps only a year or two before his death he looks back on his life and quotes a verse of the Persian poet Anwari as describing his own position :

*Alas: there is no patron who deserves my
praise.*

*Alass: there is no mistress who inspires my
verse.*

And it is perhaps not too fanciful to read into this something of the situation I have described.

But there is a third explanation which, valid though I think the other two are, has, I feel sure, a much wider relevance. This has to do with what I described earlier as the universality of the ghazal's symbolism. If one sketches the character of the lover-hero of the ghazal, first, with the context of literal earthly love in mind, and then in more generalised terms, one can see its striking relevance to Ghalib's character and personality, and to his expression of what he feels in terms of the ghazal tradition. The lover is a man whom the experience of an all-consuming love has completely transformed. Few men in the society in which he lives have ever undergone such an experience, and to one who has not undergone it, it is something that thought and emotion alike can hardly even begin to comprehend. Yet it is this experience which alone give meaning to the lover's life. All other values, all other standards of conduct, are either discarded or are absorbed into, and given new meaning by, the way of life which is learnt from love, and which love alone can teach. The lover thus lives out among his fellow men a life dedicated to, and directed by, ideals which even the most sensitive and sympathetic amongst them cannot comprehend; and

that great majority which is neither particularly sensitive nor particularly sympathetic, because it cannot comprehend his values, shuns him and fears him; and because it fears him, hates him; and because it hates him, persecutes him. If one condemns this description and expresses it in more general terms one can say that the hero of the ghazal, and the ghazal poet casting himself in that role, is a man to whom all the things that are most precious in life are the product of a unique, nearly incommunicable experience which is to him all-important but which isolates him from his fellows and condemns him to live his life among men who cannot understand him, let alone appreciate him, and who cannot really accept him as one of their own community. But if this is true, any man who is a poet and who feels himself to be in this position, can express what he feels by using the ghazal's portrayal of the situations of the lover as the symbols of his own experience. Ghalib, both as a poet and as a man, felt himself to be in this position, and used the ghazal in this way. His great poetic forbear Mir, whose diction was often of a crystal simplicity, described himself in metaphor as 'speaking a language no-one understood'. Of a great part of his own verse, and more especially of the Persian work which he so prized, Ghalib could say the same even in a literal sense; and in the metaphorical sense it was true even of his Urdu. For his Urdu includes only a small proportion of which it could be argued that it was the obscurity of his style that baffled his audience; for the most part it was the poverty of their emotional and intellectual experience that denied to the verse into which he distilled the essence of himself the appreciation which he justly felt to be its due. Writing to his friend Alai in his sixty-eight year he says, ".....I share your inauspicious stars, and feel your pain. I am a man devoted to one art. Yet by my faith I swear to you, my verse and prose has not won the praise it merited. I wrote it, and I alone appreciated it."

As a man too he often felt that he stood alone, and he felt it the more keenly when he reflected on the reason for his position. For he was forced to conclude that he put himself in this position because he lived by the standards which all his fellows professed, but which he was almost alone in practising. He had seen the practical value of their professions in 1847, when he was imprisoned on a charge of gambling and when, of all of his friends in and around Delhi, only Shefta stood by him and fulfilled the obligations of friendship towards him. Nearly fourteen years later he still held to the same position, and, just as the lover accepts that steadfastness in love necessarily makes him the target of persecution, so does Ghalib accept that steadfastness in observing a high standard of personal conduct necessarily brings misfortunes in its train. He writes to his friend Shafaq in 1861, "You are a prey to grief and sorrow, but...to be the target of the world's afflictions is proof of an inherent nobility—proof clear, and argument conclusive." This was a judgement he was to repeat in the words of one of his Persian verses little more

than a year before his death, when he had to witness the spectacle of respectable gentlemen who had been on visiting terms with him taking the stand in court and testifying against his character in the most insulting and humiliating terms.

When therefore Ghalib depicts himself in his ghazals as the true lover of a beautiful woman, gladly suffering all her cruelties, what he is often doing is asserting in traditional symbolism his unshakeable conviction of the soundness of his values and/or of the high quality of his poetry, and declaring that so long as he has breath he will continue to affirm them:

I filled the blood-stained pages with the story of my love

And went on writing, even though my hands were smitten off.

Interpreted in this sense, many of the verses that on first reading seem to be depictions of the love of man for woman are instead (or, perhaps, as well) expressions of emotion and belief which fall within the traditional category of mystic love of God but which, I have suggested, a modern audience understands most readily as dedication to ideals which are not necessarily religious.

Where Ghalib writes more explicitly in the mystic tradition his verses show the same sort of range as those which depict the situations of earthly love. For example, there are verses expressing the same bold, almost impudent attitude to God—his Divine Beloved—as some of those in which he addresses his human mistress. He demands from God treatment consistent with his self-respect. He tells Him:

I serve you; yet my independent self-respect is such

I shall at once turn back if I should find the Kaba closed.

And in numbers of verses he makes it clear that he does not always receive such treatment. According to Muslim belief, man's good and evil deeds are written down by recording angels, and it is on their written testimony that his fate is decided on the Day of Judgement. What sort of justice is that? asks Ghalib. You take the evidence for the prosecution, but what about the witnesses for the defence?

The angels write, and we are sieged. Where is the justice there?

We too had someone present when they wrote their record down.

Here, as often, he speaks in some sense as the champion of mankind as a whole. Similarly he does so when, like other poets before him, he accuses God not only of injustice but of simple inconsistency in His treatment of mankind. He refers to the story of how when God created Adam he commanded the angels to bow down before him. All did so except Iblis—and Iblis was punished by eternal banishment from heaven. If this, then, was the status that God intended for man, how

is it that God himself has not continued to uphold it?

Today we are abased. Why so? Till yesterday You would not brook

The insolence the angel showed towards our majesty.

Elsewhere Ghalib, being Ghalib, speaks not for mankind at large, but specifically for himself in his relationship with God. Here am I, he says in effect, a great poet, and a man of unique understanding, and there are You passing me by and revealing Your secrets to men who cannot sustain them!

You should have let your radiance fall on me, not on the Mount of Tur

One pours the wine having regard to what the drinker can contain

The reference is to the story which appears in Christian guise as that of Moses and the burning bush. The Mount of Tur is the place where God revealed his radiance to Musa—the Muslim name to which our 'Moses' corresponds. Ghalib's lines suggest two comparisons: first between himself and the mountain—the huge, strong mountain, which for all its strength cannot compete with man—man whose apparent frailty is more than counterbalanced by an awareness and sensitivity which enables him to accept from God the heavy burden of a trust which even the mountains could not sustain. And secondly the verse suggests a contrast between Ghalib and Musa. Musa's response to God's radiance was to swoon before it; Ghalib would have had the strength to gaze upon it.

He certainly does not accept either the earlier prophets or the outstanding men of his own day as men who know all that a man needs to know, men in whose guidance he can implicitly trust. Thus he says of Khizar, that somewhat mysterious figure in Muslim legend who found and drank the water of eternal life, who roams the desert places and comes to true Muslims who have lost their way and guides them onto the right path, and who on one occasion explained the mysterious workings of God's benevolence to a perplexed Musa:

I am not bound to take the path that Khizar indicates.

I'll think the old man comes to bear me company on my way.

Or, rather less politely, he hints that Khizar is in any case not above some rather sharp practice. Legend has it that he guided Sikandar (Alexander the Great) to look for the water of eternal life and that, in somewhat obscure circumstances, Khizar got it and drank it while Sikandar did not.

You know how Khizar treated Alexander.

How then can one make anyone one's guide?

And he states it as his own principle:

I go some way with every man I see advancing swiftly.

So far I see no man whom I can take to be my guide.

One is reminded of what he once wrote in a letter to his friends Tufta: "Don't think that everything men wrote in former ages is correct. There were fools born in those days too."

But if he sees himself as unique among men, he fully accepts, in line with the whole tradition of the ghazal his oneness with his fellow men, the value of man as man, regardless of his formal religious and other allegiances. We have seen one accept of this belief in his assertion of the rights of man in his relation with God. He asserts the same values in relationships between man and man. And here he is not simply following a poetic convention. He was a man who had a wide circle of friends in all communities—Muslim, Hindu and British—and he rejected all narrow communal and national prejudices in his dealings with them. In one of his letters to his friend Tufta he wrote, "My gracious friend, I hold all mankind to be my kin, and look upon all men—Muslim Hindu, Christian—as my brothers, no matter what others may think." His verses express this attitude. One of them links it with the central tenet of Muslim belief—belief in the absolute oneness of God:

My creed is oneness, my belief abandonment of rituals;

Let all communities dissolve and constitute a single faith.

But like his predecessors he knows how hard it is for men to hold consistently to the principles of humanism, and he expresses this in paradox:

How difficult an easy task can prove to be!

Even a man does not attain humanity.

Armed with this sort of philosophical outlook he surveys the whole human drama and the universe in which it is played. He recognises how limited is the scope that the universe offers, both for joy pure and simple, and for that more complex joy which is inextricably linked with sorrow and sacrifice. And by the same token he recognises that a man should live intensely, treasuring all that life can bring—not only its pleasures, but its suffering too. Poor Khizar again comes in for a rebuke in this context.

Khizar, we are alive who know the busy world of men.

Not you, who slunk away unseen to steel eternal life.

Ghalib states his own attitude in two successive verses of a ghazal, deliberately parallel in their structure, in which he speaks in turn of the cruelty of fair women and the transience of spring, and stresses that without in any way blinding himself to these realities, it is to their beauty that he surrenders himself:

The fair are cruel. What of it? They are fair.

Sing of their grace, their swaying symmetry.

Spring will not last. What of it? It is spring.

Sing of its breezes, of its greenery.

Or, in a more general statement.

My heart, this grief and sorrow too is precious;
for the day will come

You will not heave the midnight sigh nor shed your tears at early morn.

Linked with this view of life is a strong feeling for the value of the here and now, and a marked scepticism about even the allegedly certain benefits still to come. It is not that Ghalib lives only for the moment, heedless of the future; to describe his outlook thus would be to cheapen it and do him

less than justice ; it is rather that he seeks to live every moment to the full, prepared to face what is still to come, but careful to make no optimistic assumptions about it. Verses in which he expresses this sort of feeling even about life after death—usually in a humorous tone—are strikingly frequent. He *knows* the joys that he has tested ; as a Muslim he believes in the coming joys of Paradise ; and yet.....after all he has not proved them by experience. Best not assume too much. But anyway, leaving aside the question of whether or not they will prove to be hereafter all that is claimed for them, they are pleasing fancies here and now, and even at this rating they have their value :

*I know the truth, but, be that what it will,
The thought of Paradise beguiles me still.*

The true Muslim is forbidden to drink wine here on earth, but in Paradise God will give him to drink his fill of the wine of purity. Well, Ghalib has broken the prohibition, and has verified here and now that wine is good to drink. So this, at least, is one of the joys of Paradise that he has already proved. In fact, come to think of it, it is perhaps the *only* joy of Paradise that he has proved ; and he says

*For what else should I value Paradise
If not the rose-red wine, fragrant with musk ?*

For the rest, he *hopes* that the joys he will know there will match the joys he has already known here in this present world. He tells his mistress :

*All that they say of Paradise is true, and yet—
God grant it be illumined by your radiance.*

Space does not here permit more than the bare assertion, but in my view the vicissitudes of the historical period in which he lived, the traditions of his immediate ancestors, and the environment in which he passed his boyhood were all forces which led Ghalib to conclude early in life that he must “settle on the sugar, and not on the honey” and to cultivate the attitudes that these verses express. It is very characteristic of him that, in life and in poetry alike, he shields himself against “the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune” with an irrepressible, unquenchable humour, and with an ability to get outside himself and look at himself even in the most

painful situations with a dry, ironical detachment. In one of his letters he writes to a friend “I watch myself from the sidelines, and rejoice at my own distress and degradation”—and many of his verses reflect this attitude. Thus he says to the mistress who spurns his love, even though she knows that he demands nothing of her :

*I grant it you, my dear, Ghalib is nothing.
But if you get him free then what's the harm ?*

Or he himself brings about a situation where he makes one of his closest friends a rival for his mistress's love.

*It was her beauty I described, and my words that
described it—*

And now he is my rival who was once my confidant. But with this all too inadequate sample I must draw to a close.

Like many great men before him, Ghalib looked to posterity to award him the praise which men of his own times denied him. Two Persian couplets on the theme express his feeling in striking metaphor :

*Today none buys my verse's wine, that it may grow
in age*

*To make the senses reel in many a drinker, yet
to come.*

*My star rose highest in the firmament before
my birth :*

*My poetry will win the world's acclaim when
I am gone.*

When he was gone his verse did indeed begin to win the world's acclaim, until today wherever Urdu is spoken it is known and loved. But for the barrier of language it would, I am convinced, win wider acclaim still. At all events, a stage has been reached when interest in him and his work has spread far beyond the confines of his own homeland. In paying our tribute to him today we are taking part in celebrations that extend to the USA, the USSR, and many other countries. And it is most fitting that this should be so.

The earlier contribution by the author on Ghalib appeared in Mainstream, dated March 1, 1969, under the headline “Ghalib and Revolt of 1857”.

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Peking's Quid Pro Quo

M.S.N. MENON

Is there a connection between the Berlin crisis and the Sino-Soviet clash near the Damansky island (near Vladivostok)? Observers of Soviet-Chinese relations have characterised the incident as serious and drew attention to the timing of the border clash. There is no doubt that there had been a series of clashes during last year and it is difficult to attribute motives to all these. Yet the latest is of a different kind by the magnitude of the clash and the number of people killed.

Peking has seized every opportunity to embarrass Moscow, apart from consistently distorting the motives of Soviet foreign policy. Obviously, the tensions which were mounting over the holding of the West German presidential elections in West Berlin on March 5 offered Peking a golden opportunity to do its damndest. Whether the border clash was Peking's way to remind the world of its own border problems with the Soviet Union is not clear. But one is inclined to agree with those who see in the clash a *quid pro quo* on the part of Peking for the massive assistance Bonn has been rendering China for the past several years both in the economic and military fields.

Bonn and Peking have been steadily moving closer to each other on the principle that one's enemy's enemy is a friend. The Soviet Union happens to be the *bete noire* for both. Bonn is even prepared to establish diplomatic relations with Peking. The only problem is that it does not want to displease Washington by being hasty over the matter.

Meanwhile, trade relations

between Bonn and Peking have considerably increased in recent years. They have already gone beyond the limits of ordinary economic relations and have disclosed far-reaching political aims.

At the end of 1967, the "Eastern Committee" of the Federation of West German Industries at its Cologne meeting said that the West German deliveries to Peking were not liable to the restrictions established by NATO for trade with Socialist countries because "at present China opposes them." Washington would have still opposed such deliveries had it not been for the fact that the US itself is working out a long-term plan to woo Peking.

To use the words of Hans Kierchner, chief of the "Eastern Committee", the trade between China and West Germany "is characterised by a tempestuous growth of business operations." Here are some of the tempestuous operations:

In 1964 China bought from the West German firm, Lurgi, nearly 50 million marks worth of equipment for oil refineries. Two years later a 45 million mark order was placed with the same firm for equipment for a synthetic fibre plant and a 20 million mark order for equipment for an oil refinery in Lanchow.

The West German concern, AEG gave a credit of 15 million marks for the manufacture of radio-electronic devices to be used for military purposes.

In 1966 the West German engineering firm, Schlomann of Dusseldorf, signed a contract with Peking on the delivery of a cold rolling mill worth 40

million marks, and was carrying on negotiations for the sale of another 60 million marks worth of similar equipments.

The same year, the firm, Friedrich Udeh, signed a contract for building a perlon factory worth 8 million marks near Shanghai. An order for 500 trolleys to transport iron ore was placed with the famous Duisburg firm, Demag AG.

Bonn has also provided China with a steel plant costing 750 million marks in foreign exchange with an annual capacity of six million tons of rolled stock. The plant was built by an international consortium headed by Demag AG. Bonn announced its decision to guarantee the first credit of 350 million marks for the plant in March 1966, with the promise to guarantee further credits for the plant.

The West German firm, Nitrex has landed a substantial contract for the development of fertilizers in China.

In May 1966 a spokesman of the West German firm, Mannesmann AG, said that his firm, together with the British firm, Loovy Engineering, had reached an agreement with China on building a pipe rolling mill.

Towards the end of 1966, a report appeared in the world press that agreement had been reached between a West German firm and representatives of China on building a plant to produce annually nearly five million tons of steel structural elements.

In 1967 it was reported that talks had begun to establish direct telephone connections between Bonn and Peking.

But it was the secret arms deals between Bonn and Peking which received the widest publicity. And these deals are of utmost consequence to India.

Thus, in November 1965, *Frankfurter Allgemeine* reported that the well-known munitions manufacturer Hans Joachim Seidenschneider, an ex-Wehrmacht officer, "intends to sell Peking 18 torpedo boats."

According to another report, he sold to China 20 DC-6 planes, more than 100 planes of the U-26 and T-58 types, 170 SIR transport planes of US make,

torpedo boats, military transport vehicles, etc.

In October 1966 reports appeared in the world press about the dispatch to China of a group of West German specialists "to render assistance in making ballistic missiles of 400 miles range."

The US magazine *Newsweek* reported that the Chinese were employing Wolfgang Pilz, a prominent West German missile specialist for the manufacture of guided missiles. The magazine also reported that one West German, Professor Niersch was engaged in developing China's nuclear capacity.

In March 1967 the London *Daily Express* reported that the Chinese had established a bureau in Munich to recruit West German specialists, particularly atomic physicists. Bonn, it was reported, supplied China with raw materials for the manufacture of nuclear bombs. The same year Herr Strauss, the strongman of West Germany, said that Peking was "a latent West German ally in atomic matters." This has been proved by the similar stand taken by both countries over the signing of the non-proliferation treaty.

Apart from the economic and military assistance, Bonn has established a flourishing foreign trade with Peking. The growing volume of goods turnover between the two countries is illustrated by the following table compiled on the basis of the figures published by *Industriekurier*, an organ of the West German industries, the American UPI news agency and the newspaper *Echo*, the organ of the French business circles.

Trade between Bonn and Peking

Year	(million marks)	
	FRG import	FRG export
1961	159.4	123.3
1962	156.4	124.5
1963	162.5	61.4
1964	207	110
1965	290	310
1966*	286	364

(*Jan 1 to Sept 30 only)

According to *Agence France*

Presse, the French news agency, the trade between China and West Germany reached the 900 million marks in 1966. It is estimated that the turnover in 1968 would touch 1,000 million marks. Reports however indicate that the actual figure is around 1,100 million marks. Thus West Germany has replaced Japan as China's biggest trade partner, having left behind Britain which held second place through its trade with Hongkong and France which came next.

The Chinese-West German rapprochement, obvious to anyone in recent years, is not prompted by economic considerations alone. Peking, for example, is using facilities in West Germany for a broad propaganda campaign against the socialist countries. Pamphlets, books, magazines and other Chinese propaganda materials are freely distributed in West Germany by the Chinese Foreign Language Publishing House, the Kwotsi Shudan Publishers and Hsinhua Agency.

The West German authorities offer help to Peking in these activities. The newspaper *Neues Deutschland* pointed out that the "West German espionage agencies publish Chinese materials and send them to socialist countries."

In the foreign language programmes of the "German Wave" radio station, "Mao's Thoughts" and the Red Guard movement are praised. During the "Cultural Revolution" this radio station tried to justify the excesses of the Red Guard movement.

Today, the West German press hardly carries any adverse comments on Red China and Peking reciprocates by keeping silent over the developments in West Germany, particularly the growth of neo-Nazism.

Bonn naturally expects a *quid pro quo* from Peking for all these services. It has been pointed out in the press that in the course of secret talks held in recent years China gave its consent to West Berlin being regarded as part of West German territory. More than that, in order to achieve the signing of an official trade agreement, the exchange of trade missions and expansion of trade con-

tacts with West Germany, Peking was prepared to betray East Germany and the entire socialist camp. According to the newspaper *Augsburg Allgemeine*, Peking's representative in Paris, a specialist on Germany, Sung Chichuang, hinted that Peking was prepared to accept the Hallstein Doctrine in exchange for the establishment of trade relations. In other words, Peking was prepared to break relations with the GDR and recognise West Germany as the only German state and regard the GDR as "Russia's western Formosa." This change in Peking's attitude is already indicated by China's declining trade with the GDR of late.

The West German *Frankfurter Rundschau*, advised the Bonn authorities in this connection that "the Chinese should be made use of ... to solve the German problems in a direction desirable to Bonn."

The West German DPA news agency reported last year that "political relations between the Federal Republic and China have markedly improved recently." That these relations are not purely motivated by economic considerations is clear from the fact that Adolf von Thadden, the leader of the neo-Nazi National Democratic Party has called upon his government to establish closer relations with Peking.

That Peking is prepared to make further concessions at the expense of the Socialist countries was evident from the authority of no less a person than Mao himself when he announced some years ago about the "injustice" of European frontiers. The newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine* wrote then that this statement by Mao gave great inspiration to the German refugees from Polish territories.

Red China hasn't got too many friends in the world at present. Bonn is certainly a very close one not only because of their plans for "cartographic expansion". Both Peking and Bonn are interested above all in a major clash between the US and the Soviet Union for that alone can advance their aims and clear the field for their ascendance.

L'Affaire Soames

K. M. P.

HAROLD Wilson has done it; he has not only spurned the offer which De Gaulle made to the British Government but has gone out of his way to cut off his nose to spite his face. Why he did it will remain a mystery till he and with Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart publish their memoirs; the calculations and assumptions which led the British Government to take this action is a matter of conjecture.

What is beyond dispute is that the initiative for the Soames-De Gaulle *tete-a-tete* came from the British side. Her Majesty's Ambassador in Paris had sought an interview as early as November, but due to various circumstances including Soames' illness, the audience had to be postponed till February 4. The conversation did not deal with anything unusual; the General made the usual *tour d'horizon*; he dealt with familiar themes like American domination over Europe and the need to have a Europe which is able to stand on its own. The Common Market in its present form, he told Soames, could not accommodate Britain; it would automatically be transformed into a wider and looser organization, a kind of free trade area, which all West European States could join. As far as the political association of Europe was concerned, there should be an Inner Council or directorate in which Britain, France, West Germany and Italy could be represented. The first step, he thought, should be for Britain and France to settle their differences on economic monetary and defence matters, and since it was Britain which was seeking to enter the European Community, the initiative should come from Britain.

It was a kind of rambling philosophical discourse which the

French President often indulges in; it contained no definite proposals, but only a promise to consider favourably a British initiative for Franco-British talks.

It was to be expected that Britain would welcome the idea of Franco-British talks to iron out differences. Britain has been knocking at the Common Market door for some time now, and it is well aware that French opposition has stood in its way. Here was an opportunity to have wide and far-ranging talks with Paris and clear the air of the distrust which has bedevilled Anglo-French relations.

Wilson did not care to take that chance: his devious mind saw a deep-laid French plot against Britain. The agreement of France's partners on February 7 to hold a series of regular foreign policy meetings in the context of the Western European Union had an intoxicating effect on him and Stewart; it was the first diplomatic triumph London had savoured for many years. The WEU was being used by Britain and the Benelux countries for baiting France. In spite of French objections the WEU decided to meet in London to discuss the West Asian situation. The petty men who control British policy thought that entry into Europe in the political field, at least was assured; France had been ditched by its Common Market partners who preferred to ignore its objections. The London meeting led to a crisis in the WEU; the Quai D'orsay held that the meeting did not constitute a meeting of the Council of WEU; it warned the member-states that France would not participate in future meetings of WEU unless there was an assurance that no meeting would be held without prior agreement.

This, for Paris, is the assential condition for WEU Council meetings.

Bonn, which was in the centre of controversy, did not want to get involved: it fluttered and wavered. After agreeing with the French position in the morning, it had by evening retracted and declared that "the prior agreement of members is not necessary for sessions of the permanent Council". It changed its position again and argued that the London meeting was exceptional and not routine and so prior agreement was not required. London maintained that it was a routine meeting. Bonn, however, suggested consultations which both Paris and London ignored.

Relations between Paris and Bonn were no longer idyllic; De Gaulle, according to inspired British reports, had even accused Bonn of being responsible for the events in Czechoslovakia. West German arrogance over their success in resisting three-power pressure to revalue the D-Mark and the growing intransigence of Bonn's foreign policy were not liked in Paris and Baron Von and Zu Guttenburg, an influential member of the government, had publicly stated that there were "substantial differences" with Paris while there was agreement with London on "most essential ground." With presidential elections scheduled in West Germany on March 5, the West German militants and revanchists were seeking support, and in spite of the Franco-German treaty Paris was not willing to encourage Bonn's policy of provocations. Britain however had no qualms. It saw the Berlin crisis as an opportunity for widening the Franco-West German rift. Defence Secretary Dennis Healey enthusiastically played the role of a nuclear maniac; he sunk the Soviet Mediterranean fleet and, abandoning the doctrine of graduated response, was prepared to launch immediately into nuclear war.

And then came Wilson's visit to West Germany, he went out of his way to give whole-hearted support to Bonn. In Berlin he declared "Britain stands, now and in the future, by its long-standing

pledge to defend the freedom of Berlin," and "your right to choose the political system under which you live." His unyielding attitude on strengthening of the NATO alliance and his willingness to work together with the West Germans to "give a new impetus to the political unity of Europe" must have warmed the hearts of the cold warriors in Bonn.

In his effort to win over the West Germans, Wilson had lost all sense of proportion. He revealed to Kiesinger his own distorted version of the Soames-De Gaulle conversations. The labyrinthine ways of Wilson's mind and the deviousness of British diplomatic practice could not be hidden by the high moral tone Britain adopted. Michael Stewart was later to produce the doctrine that normal rules of confidentiality do not apply to this particular conversation. Britain, according to this doctrine has the inherent right to decide which conversation is confidential and which is not, and can unilaterally decide the question. For, the West German Chancellor was informed of the affair before the Quai d'Orsay was told of British intentions and even before the formal British reply was delivered in Paris. The other Common Market partners were informed later and the EFTA members were not informed because Wilson feared they would be enthusiastic about the proposal. Wilson went even further; when the *Figaro* which according to the *Guardian* got the story from Bonn, discreetly leaked it; the "authorised" Wilson version was published in London. Perfidious Albion's undiplomatic behaviour was justified on the highest moral grounds; the vital interests of other European States and NATO allies were affected and it was therefore a duty to inform them. But on other occasions—notably on Rhodesia—Britain has deliberately kept silent, and on this occasion too the EFTA members were left in the cold.

There is method in Wilson's madness. He was out to prove to the West European partners that France was prepared to double-cross them, negotiate with

Britain behind their backs to undermine the Common Market, in the hope that then they might be willing to ditch France. Even more important was the timing of the British bomb; it was on the eve of Nixon's European tour. The purpose was to convince him that the French President is still against American dominance over Europe, that he is still actively working for the weakening of Europe, that Britain was not only the most solid of allies but willing to be a front-line soldier in the cold war, that the old "special relationship" could be restored. The Americans were puzzled by Wilson's timing of the leak; they could not understand why he wanted to reveal the disunity of Europe. In its desire to turn the tables on De Gaulle the British Government was willing to postpone its entry into Europe in the post-De Gaulle period; in the seventies West Germany will be the most powerful member of the Community and will be able to bring pressure for the admittance of Britain. Currying favour with the West Germans is the favourite current British pastime; every whim and fancy of the revanchists has to be honoured.

The modern version of the Ems telegram did not lead to Sedan. Nixon has reached an understanding with General De Gaulle. In a multipolar world the grand design has become meaningless and Washington has

realised that power does not automatically confer influence. The tributes which Nixon paid to the French President and the honour which De Gaulle extended to the American President are a clear indication that Wilson's gamble has not come off. Nixon's total support for De Gaulle and his willingness to talk with Moscow has taken the wind out of Wilson's sails. His diplomatic initiative has led to a gigantic blunder. For, if the major purpose of British diplomacy is to become a member of the Community, then the Soames affair has created an atmosphere of mistrust and deviousness that will make negotiations impossible. No country will be willing to hold secret and confidential talks with Britain. An opportunity had been offered to Wilson for settling outstanding differences on economic, monetary and defence matters, but obsessed by his inferiority complex he decided to torpedo it. The West Germans were so shocked by the Wilson disclosures that they advised Wilson to go ahead and start talks with France! That is how new the British revelations were taken. Wilson has at last realised that that he blundered; Britain offered to have conversations but this has been dismissed as at best "an unbelievable display of ingenuousness after all that has occurred". Even ashes and sack-cloth will not make Wilson acceptable to Paris.

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Last week, on March 7, the United Front Government in Kerala completed its second year in office. Here below two articles touching on the problems and record of Kerala U.F. Government are published.

How U.F. Government Tackles Industrialisation

C. ACHUTHA MENON

THE line of propaganda by the Congress Opposition in Kerala and extensively publicised by the capitalist press inside and outside Kerala is that the UF Government has no achievements at all to its credit in the two years it has been in office, especially in the field of industry. They make what they call the state of lawlessness and insecurity in the State a special target of attack and want to imply that industrialists are afraid to come to Kerala and start any industry there. Apart from the absurdity of the notion that the industrialisation of a State depends entirely on the extent to which entrepreneurs from outside come and invest their capital in the State, this propaganda is factually incorrect, as a brief survey of the activities of the UF Government in the sphere of industrial development will show.

The difficulties and limitations in the way of a State Government in the matter of industrialisation, especially in a State like Kerala, must not be minimised. As regards large-scale and heavy industry, it is a matter entirely for the Central Government, and a State Government can do pretty little in the development of such industries. The location of large-scale industries in the public sector is decided by the Centre and what a State Government can do is to offer facilities and try to induce the Central Government to locate the industry in that State. More often than not political pressure has much to do with the decision. Even in the matter of private industry, the licensing policy of the Central Government has paid little attention to the question of overcoming regional disparities. Of the total number of industrial licences issued by the Government of India during the last 20 years, very few have been given for units to be set up in Kerala. It is therefore only in the field of small-scale industries that the State is entirely free to do what it likes. Even here questions like import licence and foreign exchange for machinery, equipment and raw materials do come up and sometimes hold up implementation of schemes. There is also the question of financial support from quasi-Government financial institutions, which also ultimately are under the control of the Central Government.

The problems faced by the State of Kerala are tremendous. It has the highest density of population among the States of the Union, namely, 435

per sq. km., which is three times that for the country as a whole. The pressure on land also is the highest. Ninetytwo per cent of the cultivable land in Kerala has already been brought under the plough or the spade as against 82 per cent in India as a whole. Per capita availability of land is less than 30 cents, the holdings are of small size, and therefore agriculture is not in a position to generate surpluses for investment in other spheres or absorb the unemployed labour force to any appreciable degree. A large percentage of the population is therefore employed in traditional industries like coir, handloom, cashew processing, beedi-making etc. with a very low level of technology and even lower wage rates.

The per capita daily earnings of a factory worker in Kerala in 1965 was only Rs. 3.54 as against Rs. 6.13 for all India. In the face of these tremendous odds, what the State Government has attempted is to attack the problem in a three-pronged manner:

Firstly, to put up a strong case and press for locating in the State some of the big public sector projects under the Fourth Plan, for which Kerala is eminently suited by virtue of its natural resources and other facilities.

Secondly, to provide reasonable facilities and encouragement for private entrepreneurs, whether from inside or outside the State, to start industries in Kerala.

Thirdly, to reorganise and strengthen the traditional industries with a view to increasing the earnings of the workers employed therein as well as to improve the quality of their products and their competitiveness.

Let us see what success the State Government has met within the above respects in the last two years.

In the matter of allotment of Central projects Kerala has had a raw deal. In the First Plan there was absolutely nothing. In the Second it got only Rs. 72 lakhs out of the total of Rs. 663 crores, that is, 0.12 per cent. This was for the DDT Factory at Alwaye. In the Third Plan it appeared as if the State would get a better deal. A total of Rs. 71 crores was included in the Plan as allotment on Central Projects. But actual investment up to the end of the Third Plan came to only Rs. 26.4 crores. The projects taken up were the Cochin Oil Refinery (Rs. 17 crores), HMT unit at Alwaye

(Rs. 8 crores) and expansion of FACT. The other projects like the Second Shipbuilding Yard, the Precision Instruments Factory at Palghat and the Phyto-Chemicals at Neriamangalam were either postponed or abandoned altogether.

Renewed efforts are therefore being made by the State Government to get a fair share of Central sector allotments in the Fourth Plan and to get some of the big public sector projects that may be taken up located in Kerala. Work on the Cochin Shipyard has not commenced yet: only a special officer, has been appointed to see to the preliminaries; the agreement with the Japanese collaborators has not yet been signed. The Cochin Fertilizers, a big Rs. 45 crores public sector project for the manufacture of 1.5 lakh tons of urea is however coming up and is expected to start production in 1970. Refinery capacity is to be expanded. The question of starting manufacture of printing machinery in HMT is being examined. But there is no hope as yet that the Precision Instruments Factory at Palghat will be taken up during the Fourth Plan. There is also a proposal to set up a newsprint factory based on eucalyptus which is being finalised. The State Government has also put up a strong claim for the Second petro-chemical complex to be located in Cochin, but Assam, Madras etc. are also strong competitors for this. There are plans for expansion of Hindustan Insecticides, Travancore Titanium products, FACT etc. which will be implemented in the Fourth Plan.

In the sphere of private industry, the first thing the Government did after assuming responsibility was to publish an Industrial Policy Statement, which sought to allay the fears that were unnecessarily created in the public mind by interested parties, of wholesale nationalisation, expropriation, etc. The statement gave an assurance to entrepreneurs that so long as they respected the laws of the land and dealt justly with labour, they could carry on their business without any fear of nationalisation, except in those areas where the Government had proclaimed that in the public interest industries would be run by the State. Moreover, incentives were also promised in the shape of cheap power, sites for industries in specially set up development areas or industrial estates at reasonable rent, rebate in electricity rates for the first few years, technical advice and help in the preparation of project reports, feasibility studies etc. This statement was well received by the small and medium industrialists.

As a result, in spite of the incessant propaganda by the Congress opposition and other interested parties, a large number of inquiries from business people about the possibilities of starting new industries have come and some of them are actually taking shape. For instance, a Rs. 40 crore Titanium complex is coming up in the private sector, for the production of various products like Titanium metal, Titanium chloride, Titanium dioxide etc. using the beach sands of Chavara, near Quilon. The Toshiba-Anand lamp factory, a big unit producing electric bulbs and fluorescent tubes, with Japanese collaboration, has already started production; so also the Cominco-Binani Zinc Smelter plant for the production

of 20,000 tons of zinc yearly from out of imported concentrates.

The intensive campaign for the setting up of small-scale industries conducted by the National Small Industries Development Corporation in Kerala in 1967 was highly successful. About 1,500 applications for the purchase of machinery on hire purchase basis from the NSIDC were received involving a sum of Rs. 5 crores. True, all these applications did not reach the final stages, some of them dropped out at various stages in the course of processing. For instance, it is the rule that the applicant has to deposit 20 per cent of the purchase price, if the machinery is to be sanctioned to him. And because many applicants did not or could not deposit this amount, their applications lapsed. Even after this inevitable process of weeding out, it was found that 50 per cent of the applications had reached the stage of actual setting up of the industries concerned. This certainly is a creditable record, judged by any standards.

Some notable steps have been taken as regards the stabilisation and reorganisation of traditional industries. The first case in which Government was compelled to intervene was that of the handloom industry. One peculiarity of the handloom industry in Kerala is that a good part of it is run on factory lines, especially in Cannanore District, where they produce some specialised varieties of cloth other than dhoties and saris. Since Government and the Reserve Bank help only handlooms in the cooperative sector, this industry in Cannanore District had not up to this time received any help from Government. But they were in need of loans, any they were producing goods which had a demand. A Handloom Finance Corporation was one of the longstanding demands of the people of the District. Such a Corporation was set up in 1968 by the UF Government, and it has started disbursing loans to deserving units.

Of course, all the problems of the handloom industry cannot be solved by just this one measure. Other steps are urgently required, like the setting up of design and weaving centres, starting of more cooperative handloom factories, establishment of more spinning mills for supply of yarn to cooperatives at cheap rates, switchover to powerlooms etc. The Government has already taken steps to implement some of these, and others will be taken up in due course.

Coir is the one industry which employs the largest number of people in its various stages. This number comes to about 10 lakhs. But the wages of the workers, a large part of whom are women, are painfully low. A scheme for bringing the workers into the cooperative fold has been there during the three Five-Year Plans, but even this scheme has not been able to better the lot of the workers very much. The main reason is that while the prices of coir yarn and other coir products depend upon the international market and cannot easily be changed by State Government action, the only way to increase the earnings of the workers is to widen the difference between the price of material which they use, namely, retted husk and the price of coir products.

This is not easy, for the husk trade is controlled by powerful monopolistic interests which corner the entire stocks and manage to get the prices they demand. In the result, even cooperative societies of coir workers do not find it possible to pay even the statutory minimum wage.

This can be done only by fixing and enforcing the price of husk at a reasonable level. The Government has now prepared a scheme, the central point of which is to control the price of husk. A declaration under the Essential Commodities Act has been made, making husk an essential commodity and thus enabling the Government to fix its prices. The Government's plan is to create a number of project areas, each for a particular variety of coir, within which movement of husk will be restricted and its price fixed and declared. Cooperative societies will be given liberal share capital loans and they will be reorganised. Thus strengthened, cooperatives will be enabled to get the requisite working capital through the cooperative banks for the purchase of husks which will be converted into yarn, mats, mattings, etc., and sold. For promotion of export a Coir Export House is to be set up. The announcement of this scheme has been welcomed by coir workers and others concerned.

Recently the Government had to intervene in the case of the beedi workers of Cannanore. The beedi industry in Cannanore district was monopolised by the Ganesh Beedi concern. Parliament passed the Beedi Cigar Act which compels beedi factory owners to provide various amenities to

workers. The UF Government notified implementation of the Act. The neighbouring State of Mysore did not implement it. So the proprietor of the Ganesh concern locked out his entire business in Kerala employing about 12,000 workers and later shifted his business to Mangalore in Mysore State. The employer thought the workers would come round after a period of starvation and then he could come back and start his factories again in Cannanore without complying with the provisions of the Act. But he reckoned without the new UF Government, which took up the challenge. Now these beedi workers have been organised into 20 primary cooperative units, each consisting of about 200 to 500 workers. Each worker has to contribute a share capital of Rs. 20. But of this Rs. 19 is given to him as loan by the State Government and he need actually contribute only one rupee now. There is an Apex Society for these 20 cooperative societies. It will stock the beedi leaves and tobacco, the raw material for the industry, distribute it to the primary societies and take back the manufactured beedies and arrange for sale. The whole scheme was conceived and executed within a month. Friend and foe alike have commended the exemplary speed and efficiency with which the Industries Minister did this.

These are some of the things the UF Government in Kerala has done. Nothing spectacular, but none the less a record of steady and determined drive to put the State on the road to industrial progress.

D. M. K.

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Kerala's Economic

Development :

Problems and

Prospects

M. KUTTAPPAN

AFTER eighteen years of planning—consisting of three Five Year Plans and three Annual Plans—India is today on the eve of the Fourth Five Year Plan that will span the years 1969-74. One of the over-all objectives of the plan is to achieve an economy that will be self-generating and self-reliant in the foreseeable future. The Fourth Plan accordingly envisages an over-all rate of growth of 5 to 6 per cent in our economy as a whole.

If Kerala, which is one of the less developed States in India, is not to lag behind, it is imperative for the State to plan for a higher rate of growth. In this context it is appropriate to review the special features and problems of the State's economy, the resources potential both physical and human, and the extent of utilisation of these resources in the past. It is only by a consideration of all these aspects that we can formulate a suitable strategy for the rapid economic development of the State in future.

Distinctive Features

The economy of Kerala is marked by a number of distinctive features. It is the most thickly populated State in India with a density of population of 1127 per square mile in 1961 as against the all-India figure of 384. This high density of population gives rise to a number of economic and social problems of which the most important are the abnormally high rate of unemployment and the chronic food shortage.

Another special feature of Kerala economy is that, though the State embodies most of the features typical of a backward and underdeveloped region, some of its sectors have achieved a fairly high level of development. For example, the agricultural sector of the State is well developed and is based on a high value yielding cropping pattern. Again the State is well off in respect of its social and economic overhead facilities such as education, health, transport, hydroelectric power etc. Yet another

peculiarity is the declining importance of the industrial sector in the economy of the State. In a developing economy a fall in the share of the agricultural sector to the state income is generally followed by a rise in the industries sector, but in Kerala the share of both the sectors have declined in the last one and a half decade and the services sector assumed greater importance.

Though the State has only 1.27 per cent of the area of India, it contributes a significant amount to the annual income of the country. The State's total income at current prices in 1964-65 was Rs. 6,762 million and this constitutes 3.3 per cent of the national income of India. When this 3.3 per cent of the national income is distributed to 3.85 per cent of the population of the country, the per capita income in the State becomes less than the all-India average. According to a recent study conducted by the Planning Commission, the average per-capita income of Kerala in 1964-65 (at current prices) was Rs. 391 as against the all-India per-capita income of Rs. 423. Thus the State continues to be one of the less developed States of Indian Union despite its high natural and human resources. The achievements of the last eighteen years of planning in Kerala have been far from desirable. Labour, which is the source of wealth, is remaining idle on a large scale in the State. Economic development of the State depends to a large extent on the utilisation of this idle manpower resources for the production of goods and services.

Let us now make a sector-wise study of the economy of the State so as to find out problems and prospects of development in each sector.

Agricultural Sector

As pointed out earlier, agriculture in Kerala is better developed than in other States. Ninety-two per cent of the cultivable land in Kerala has already been brought under the plough. Further agricultural productivity in Kerala is one of the highest among States in the Indian Union. The table given below shows the better state of our agriculture when compared to the all-India level.

Table 1

	Gross value of output per acre (in Rs.)	Net value of output per -acre (in Rs.)	Net output per worker per (in Rs)
India	187.21	160.61	477
Kerala	521.56	445.44	1159

Source : *Agricultural Income by States 1960-61*, National Council of Applied Economic Research.

This advanced state of agriculture in Kerala is mainly due to the dominance of high value yielding

The author is a Research Scholar, Kerala University.

cash crops in the cropping pattern of the State and also to the better cultivation practices followed by the farmers. The State abounds in a variety of rich cash crops like coconut, pepper, rubber, arecanut, tea, cashewnut, cardamom and coffee. These crops not only provide considerable incomes for the farmers but are a good source of foreign exchange earnings and provide valuable raw materials for the industries. The export of these cash crops from Kerala constitute more than 20 per cent of the total agricultural exports of India. This is a great boon to the country faced with serious balance of payment difficulties. Thus by concentrating large areas on foreign exchange earning cash crops, the State has been bearing a social cost.

However, it is to be remembered that due to the high density of population and to the dominance of cash crops in the cropping pattern of the State, Kerala has become a net importer of foodgrains. The food deficit in the State at present is of the order of 54 per cent and this chronic shortage in foodgrains is one of the most difficult problems faced by the State Government. This problem became very serious in recent years because of the increasing uncertainty in the receipt of rice supplies from other parts of the country. In the absence of a National Food Policy, deficit States like Kerala and West Bengal are put to difficulty. It is therefore necessary that concentrated attention should be bestowed upon food production programmes so as to achieve relative self-sufficiency in the near future. But this increase in foodgrains production should not be at the expense of high value yielding cash crops. The strategy for agricultural development in Kerala is one of expanding the production of both food crops and cash crops. However, in view of the considerable strains which the State had to pass through on account of the deficiency of foodgrains, a slight bias in favour of increasing foodgrains production is desirable.

Technological Possibility

Thus if Kerala is to attain relative self-sufficiency in foodgrains production without disturbing the production of commercial crops, the yield of rice per acre should be increased substantially. This requires a technological escalation in rice cultivation in the State. There is the technological possibility of attaining the goal of relative self-sufficiency (1) by converting existing single crop areas and double crop areas into triple crops areas through better irrigation facilities and (2) by making available the necessary inputs such as high yielding varieties of seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and above all sufficient and timely credit. What is needed is that this technological possibility is to be made a reality in the innumerable small and scattered farms of Kerala. Agriculture especially rice cultivation in Kerala is already showing the signs of a breakthrough. The evolution and adaptation of high yielding varieties of seeds, the increased use of chemical fertilizers and the increased provision of irrigation facilities are the three major factors in this creative drama. As a result

foodgrains production in Kerala is likely to increase substantially in the coming years and when this happens our dream of relative self-sufficiency in foodgrains production will become a reality.

In our effort to attain relative self-sufficiency in foodgrains production, apart from increasing rice production, steps should also be taken to reduce the present over-dependence of our diet on cereals. The science of nutrition has shown that a diet based on a combination of cereals, pulses, vegetables, meat etc. are far superior to diets based on cereals alone. So a change in food habits is highly desirable for improving the nutritional standard of the people and for achieving relative self-sufficiency in foodgrains production in the State. Energy giving subsidiary foods like pulses, potato, tapioca, banana and yams are of great significance in partially replacing cereals in our diet. This is an important aspect in which the planning authorities in the State have to give more emphasis.

Industrial Sector

The need for a faster pace of industrialisation in Kerala is particularly urgent in view of the high man-land ratio already attained and also due to the high level of unemployment in the State. But the industrial sector of the State continues to be backward even after eighteen years of planning. The industrial scene of the State is dominated by small agro-based enterprises employing low level of technology such as coir, handloom, cashew etc. Consequently the productivity per worker in this sector is only Rs. 700 per annum as against Rs. 1200 for all-India. What is of more concern is that both the share of this sector to the State income and also the percentage of working force engaged in this sector has registered a decrease from 16.7 per cent in 1950-51 to 14.5 per cent in 1965-66 in the case of income and from 20.48 per cent in 1950-51 to 18.38 per cent in 1961 in the case of working force. This declining importance of industrial sector to the State economy is mainly due to the decay of traditional industries like coir, handloom, cashew etc.

The industrial growth of a region is the outcome of a constellation of factors such as natural resources, capital, labour, power, transport, high talent personnel etc. While there are several factors such as inadequacy of capital, lack of entrepreneurship that retard industrial growth in Kerala, there are a large number of counter-balancing factors favourable for the industrialisation of the State. Kerala abounds in a variety of resources in the sphere of forests, marine wealth and agricultural cash crops. Again, the State has unique concentration of first rate minerals like ilmenite, monazite, rutile, zircon, sillimanite and china clay. Further, the recent discovery of large deposits of quality magnetite ore in the Calicut region, and the bauxite deposits in several parts of the State hold promise for the future industrialisation of the State. Thus in the case of natural resources for industrialisation the State is favourably placed. Further, the State is comparatively well off in the provision of overhead facilities for the growth of industries. Above all, the

State has abundant supply of educated and intelligent labour force. While in the past more emphasis was given to the provision of social and economic overhead facilities such as education, health, transport and power, both the public and private sectors have failed to tap these facilities for industrial purposes.

Despite the glaring backwardness of the industrial sector, the First and Second Five Year Plans provided only a paltry allocation of investment (3.7 per cent and 7.8 per cent respectively as against 8 per cent and 18 per cent in the National Plan) to industry. The provision of 10 per cent allocation to industry in the Third Plan, though an improvement on the previous Plans, was also insufficient in view of the importance of this sector to the State economy. Further, even the limited investment made in this sector was not conducive to rapid economic development. In the name of creating more employment opportunities more emphasis was given on small units employing low level of technology. But most of these small units which have been started during the Plan era have been of the traditional variety, localised in demand and using outmoded techniques. The goods produced in these small units could not compete with the goods produced from large-scale units in other States and as a result most of the industrial capacity built up in this State is remaining idle, throwing large number of persons unemployed. A typical example is the oil mill industry in Kerala. Kerala produces more than 80 per cent of the milling copra in India. Again, there are more than 1200 oil mills in the State, the milling capacity of these mills is in excess of the local availability of copra. Yet large quantity of copra is exported from Kerala to Bombay and other places of India for crushing in the mills situated there. As a result more than 70 per cent of the milling capacity in the State is remaining idle causing distress to millers and unemployment to large number of persons. Thus, the common belief that small industries in Kerala can create substantial employment opportunities has been shattered by the experience of the last three Five Year Plans. The strategy for industrial development in Kerala should be to concentrate more attention over investments in large and medium sized industrial projects locating them as far as possible in backward regions. It is only large-scale and medium industries can inject an element of dynamism in the economy. Further these units alone can yield the investible surplus which forms the fountain of self-sustaining growth. In the case, of small industries emphasis has to be given to the starting of small industries which use better techniques and which can function as ancillary units for large sized industries.

Industrialisation is a joint effort. The Central Government, the State Government and the people at large have to work together to industrialise the State. In view of the acute unemployment problem in the State, the Central Government should start more Central sector projects in the State. But the Central Government's attitude so far has been unsympathetic in this respect. The table given below shows the gross neglect of Kerala by the Central Government in the matter of central investment in industries ;

Table II

Central Investment in Industries under the Plan
(Rs. Crores)

Plan	India	Kerala		Investment eligible for Kerala on population basis
		Amount	% of (3) to (2)	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
I Plan	150	—	—	5.78
II Plan	747	0.79	0.11	28.76
III Plan	1728	26.40	1.53	66.53

Though the need for achieving a 'balanced regional development' has been emphasised in all Five Year Plans, the position on the eve of the Fourth Plan is that neither a balanced development has been achieved nor concerted attempts at reducing regional imbalances have been made. As a result, backward States became more backward whereas developed States became more developed.

Even in the State plan only less priority was given so far for the industrialisation of the State. In the State plan more emphasis was given to the provision of more infrastructure facilities such as transport and power. Again the ability of the State to invest large amount in industries is limited by the paucity of financial resources. Under the present Centre-State financial set-up, the bulk of the elastic sources of revenue belongs to the Union Government and the State has to lean heavily on the Central Government. Further, the bulk of the State revenue is spent for the provision of social services, for which the State is ahead of other States and this seriously limits the ability to provide internal resources to finance development plans.

With regard to private sector, it is to be said that this sector has not played its due role in the industrialisation of the State. Though Kerala may not have very rich men capable of investing large sums of money, there are a large number of people who are in a position to invest anything from Rs. 1,000 to 25,000 provided they have the confidence that the industry will give a decent return. In the absence of facilities for mobilising them, these small surpluses are either utilised for unproductive purposes or utilised in less priority sectors. What is needed is a strict control on this misdirection of resources and mobilisation of such resources for sectors where they are most needed.

Another area where Kerala has unique resources for the economic development of the State is the marine fisheries. The State with only 10 per cent of the coast line of the country accounts for 40 per cent of the all-India marine fish production and 85 per cent of the foreign exchange earnings from sea-food products. The commendable work done by the Indo-Norwegian Project has contributed considerably to

the development programmes of fishing technique in the State. As a result of the development programmes initiated during the Third Five Year Plan the export earnings from this sector rose from less than Rs. 1.80 crores in 1960-61 to Rs. 16.74 crores in 1967-68. However, there is still considerable scope for the development of this industry in the State. The off-shore waters lying beyond 13 to 15 miles from the coast remain to be exploited. The tapping of these off-shore waters will generate additional employment and income for the people besides much protein food and valuable foreign exchange.

The tertiary sector of the State's economy is fairly developed. It absorbs a good percentage of the working force in the State and contributes larger share to the State income. Private individuals, who have sufficient capital to invest are attracted more towards the tertiary sector than to the secondary sector because of the comparatively less risk involved in the case of former. It appears that there exists an imbalance in the development as between the secondary and tertiary sectors. This can be attributed to the under investment in the secondary sector.

Taking into consideration all these aspects one cannot say that the performance of different sectors

of the economy is satisfactory. The industrial sector is lagging behind compared to other sectors of the economy. This sector hardly experienced any improvement during the Plan era. The increased investment in the primary sector and the consequent increase in the productivity along with rise in the prices of agricultural products has left surplus income in this sector. But as the size of holdings in Kerala is very small, this surplus is also small. The economic development in Kerala depends to a large extent on our ability to mobilise these small surpluses from large number of individuals and investing it in the industrial sector where it is urgently needed. In investing capital in the industries care should be taken to see that it does not lead to excess capacity in certain industries.

In conclusion, let me say that economic development is like a plant that flourishes only in suitable environments. It requires the unstinted cooperation of the people, the government, both the Centre and State. In a society which is stratified on the basis of religion, caste and political ideologies, economic development will not be rapid. It is for the people to shed the differences that pose a danger to economic development and if they react favourably there need be no anxiety about the future economic development of the State.

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UNITED FRONT'S 32-POINT PROGRAMME

(Continued from page 16)

Limitations on Urban Property

6. The UF Government will take suitable steps against concentration of wealth and possession of unlimited land and housing property in urban areas.

Tenants' Right

7. The UF Government will give tenancy rights to 'thika' tenants in Calcutta and Howrah.

West Bengal Premises Tenancy Act will be suitably amended to give reasonable protection to tenants and obviate other difficulties which have arisen in the operation of the Act.

Industries

8. The UF Government will take all possible steps to foster and promote various categories of industries, specially cottage, small and medium industries and commerce, calculated to serve the people honestly and efficiently. Attempts will be made to set up more agro-industries in rural areas.

It will exert pressure on the Centre for securing licences, finance and raw materials etc. for industries in the State.

It will take effective steps to maintain peace in industry,

Co-operation

9. The UF Government will encourage development of co-operation. Attempts will be made to set up more cooperative societies, of producers as well as consumers, for the purpose of increasing agricultural production, development of small industries supply of credit, and control of prices of essential commodities.

Education

10. (a) The UF Government will take determined steps to remove chaos from the field of education, and build up a sound, integrated and coherent system of education ; and (b) with this end in view it will upto the highest level ; introduce free and compulsory education upto class IV and to cover those areas which are still uncovered by primary schools—urban areas should at least be partially covered ; (c) make education free upto class VIII ; (d) remove the existing disparities between the primary schools in rural and urban areas in matters of management, standards and service conditions of teachers ; (e) enforce a new and comprehensive Primary Education Act ; (f) abolish the present District School Boards, and set up, in their places, new Boards on a democratic basis ; (g) reform the present new Board of Secondary Education ; (h) democratise management of universities ; (i) increase salary and improve service conditions of all categories of teachers and non teaching staff and give them security of service ; (j) ensure regular payment of dues to teachers and non teaching staff ; (k) extend facilities of training ; (l) tackle the problem of admission of students by starting new institutions and introducing more shifts in the existing ones ; (m) change the present examination system ; (n) ban entry of police in educational institutions without previous permission of the head of the institution ; (o) undertake measures of students and youth welfare ; (p) develop co operation between students, teachers and administration ; (q) promote literature, fine arts, sports and physical education, and cultural activities ; and, (r) set up a stadium in Calcutta.

Health

11. The UF Government will endeavour to extend facilities of health services and medical education, and more towards nationalisation of health services.

It will take steps to ensure better management of the hospitals and remove the grievances of the public in this respect.

It will take effective steps to ensure supply of adequate drinking water throughout the State.

Housing

12. The UF Government will try to provide more housing facilities in both urban and rural areas for the people of low and middle income groups at cheap rates, and housing cooperative societies will be encouraged.

Rehabilitation

13. The displaced persons from East Pakistan demand particular attention and the UF Government will make efforts to rehabilitate them so as to enable all of them to take their rightful place as full-fledged citizens of India with opportunities for housing, education and employment.

The Centre will be moved to recognise the persons who have been forced to leave Indian enclaves within the territory of East Pakistan, and have come over to the mainland of India as refugees for the purpose of relief and rehabilitation.

The UF Government will put pressure on the Central Government for adequate provision of finance required for the full implementation of its rehabilitation schemes.

Labour

14. The UF Government will help the workers in their struggle for (a) living wages ; (b) unemployment benefits, (c) adequate bonus, necessary modification of the Bonus Act ; and (d) preventing retrenchment, rationalisation and automation.

The UF Government will amend the existing labour laws, wherever necessary, to protect the interests of the working people. It will legislate for (a) punishment of employers declaring closure with a malafide intention ; (b) abolition of contract and casual labour ; (c) recognition of trade unions—compulsory recognition of union where there is one union ; in case where there are more than one union recognition to the most representative one determined by secret ballot every two years subject to the right of representation by other unrecognised unions ; (d) payment of wages for lock-out period—50% to be paid during pendency of lock-out ; (e) payment of p.c. wages to workers whose services have been terminated or who have been retrenched or suspended or dismissed on charges of Misconduct etc. (f) compulsory attendance of employers and employees in conciliation proceedings and (g) suitable punishment for default in depositing employers' contribution towards Provident Fund. It will take steps to amend Employment Standing Orders for ensuring rights of workmen for improving conciliation machinery and procedures etc. It will take steps for reorganisation of the E.S.I. Scheme. It will recognise the trade union rights of all categories of government employees and it will take in particular steps for thorough revision of Government Servants Conduct Rules in the interest of the employees.

15. The UF Government will take effective steps to ensure minimum wages to agricultural labourer through-out the State, more employment for them and recognition of agricultural labourers employed in State farms as regular workers.

Unemployment Benefits and Old Age Pensions

16. The UF Government will take all possible steps to create employment opportunities both in urban and rural areas. It will endeavour to introduce unemployment allowance.

It will extend the scope and increase the payment of old-age pensions.

The persons who have fought and suffered for the independence of the country will be looked into in their old age and infirmity. The UF Government will give them due honour.

Separation of Judiciary

17. The UF Government will complete the work of separation of the judiciary from the executive and take steps for simplifying the procedure to avoid delay in disposing cases before the courts of law.

Local Self-Government

18. The UF Government will introduce progressive changes in the present system of local self government and democratic Municipalities and Panchayat bodies, and give them more powers and finance with a view to ensure their proper functioning.

Minorities

19. The UF Government will protect the rights and interests of the minority communities. It will safeguard their right to follow their faith, preserve their special culture and language and will provide them with due protection against distrust, disability and handicaps—social, economic and educational as guaranteed in the Constitution.

Scheduled Castes and Tribes

20. The UF Government will pay special attention to and improve the conditions of Scheduled Castes and Tribes and other backward sections of the people.

Unity of the People

21. It will combat communalism, provincialism, casteism, linguistic fanaticism, and such other evils that injure the unity of the people and affect the integrity of the nation.

Women

22. The special problems of women will receive due consideration from the UF Government. Attempts will be made to expand the facilities of education and training for women, and more jobs specially suited for them will be created.

Special Attention to Certain Areas & Projects

23. The problems of Calcutta as also of under developed regions, e.g., Purulia, the Sundarbans, and parts of North Bengal will receive special attention; speedy and proper implementation of Farakka and Haldia Projects will be pressed for.

Bengali and Nepali as Official Languages

24. The UF Government will take steps for immediate implementation of the resolution adopted unanimously by the West Bengal State Legislature to make Bengali the official language of this State and Nepali the regional language of Darjeeling hill areas.

It will press the claim for conducting the work of courts upto the High Court in Bengali (and Nepali in Darjeeling hills areas).

Memorials to Martyrs and Removal of Relics of Imperialism

25. (a) The UF Government will set up suitable memorials for the martyrs of national liberation movement, August Revolution, I.N.A. and also of food movement and other democratic mass movements.

It will ask for the proper preservation of the Cellular Jail in Andaman Island as memorial to fighters for freedom.

(b) The UF Government will remove all statutes of former British rulers and other relics of foreign rule from Calcutta and other places.

Peace and Security for the People

26. The UF Government will protect the people against all anti-social and criminal activities and take stern action against anti-social elements.

Berubari

27. The question of Berubari will be taken up with the Union Government.

Sovereignty of the Country

29. The UF Government will do every thing for the preservation and strengthening of the sovereignty of the country.

Civil Liberties

29. The UF Government will respect and defend fundamental civil rights. It will not use Preventive Detention Act against workers and peasants struggle and other democratic movements. Police will not be used against any democratic movements. It will institute enquiries into police excesses after the dismissal of UF Ministry, and withdraw all cases in connection with the movement against the dismissal of UF Government and other democratic movements against the dismissal of UF Government and other democratic movements. It will take steps for the release of all political prisoners. It will put pressure on the Centre to repeal undemocratic Maintenance of Essential Services Act etc.

Popular Committees

The UF Government will take steps to form popular committees at different levels with representatives of political parties, trade unions, peasants, organisations, other mass organisations and prominent individuals for development of people's co-operation with the efforts of the Government and proper implementation of the Government decisions.

Abolition of Upper House

31. The UF Government will take initiative for the abolition of Upper House of the State Legislature.

Changes in the Constitution

32. The UF Government will work for changing those articles of the constitution which hinder the effective implementation of the minimum programme of the United Front. It will strive in particular for a change in the Constitution in the sphere of Centre-State relations in order to secure more autonomy and powers for the States.

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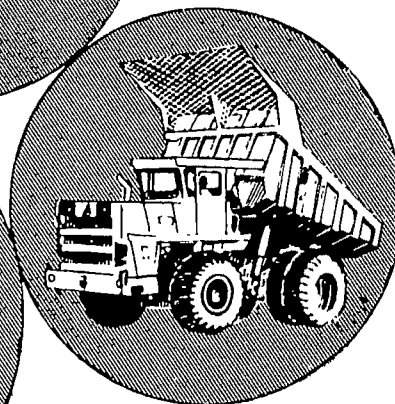
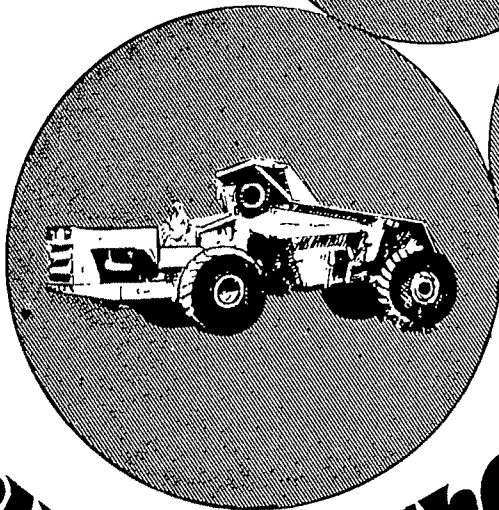
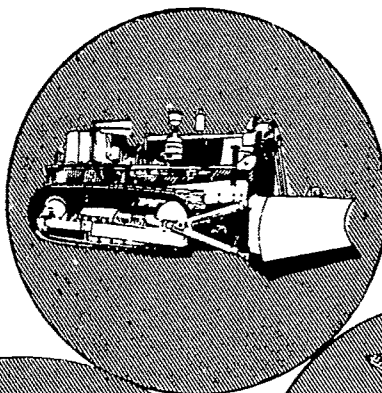
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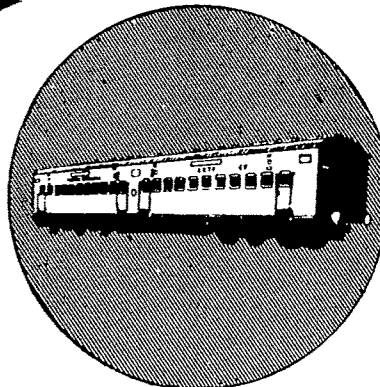


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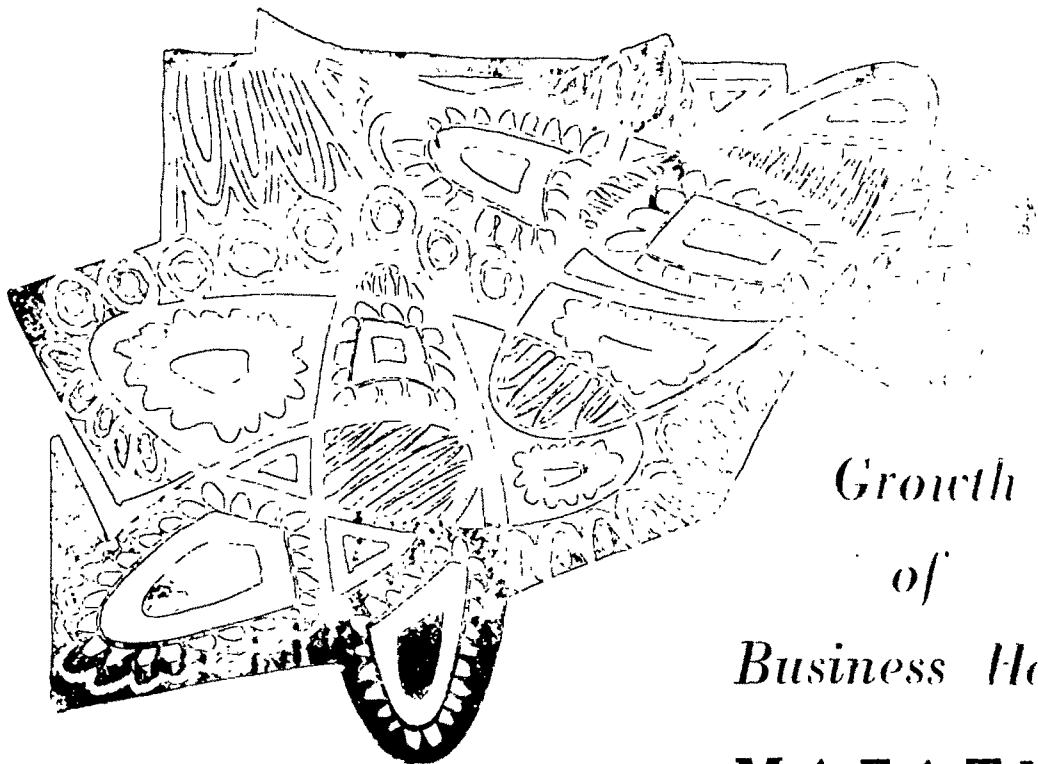
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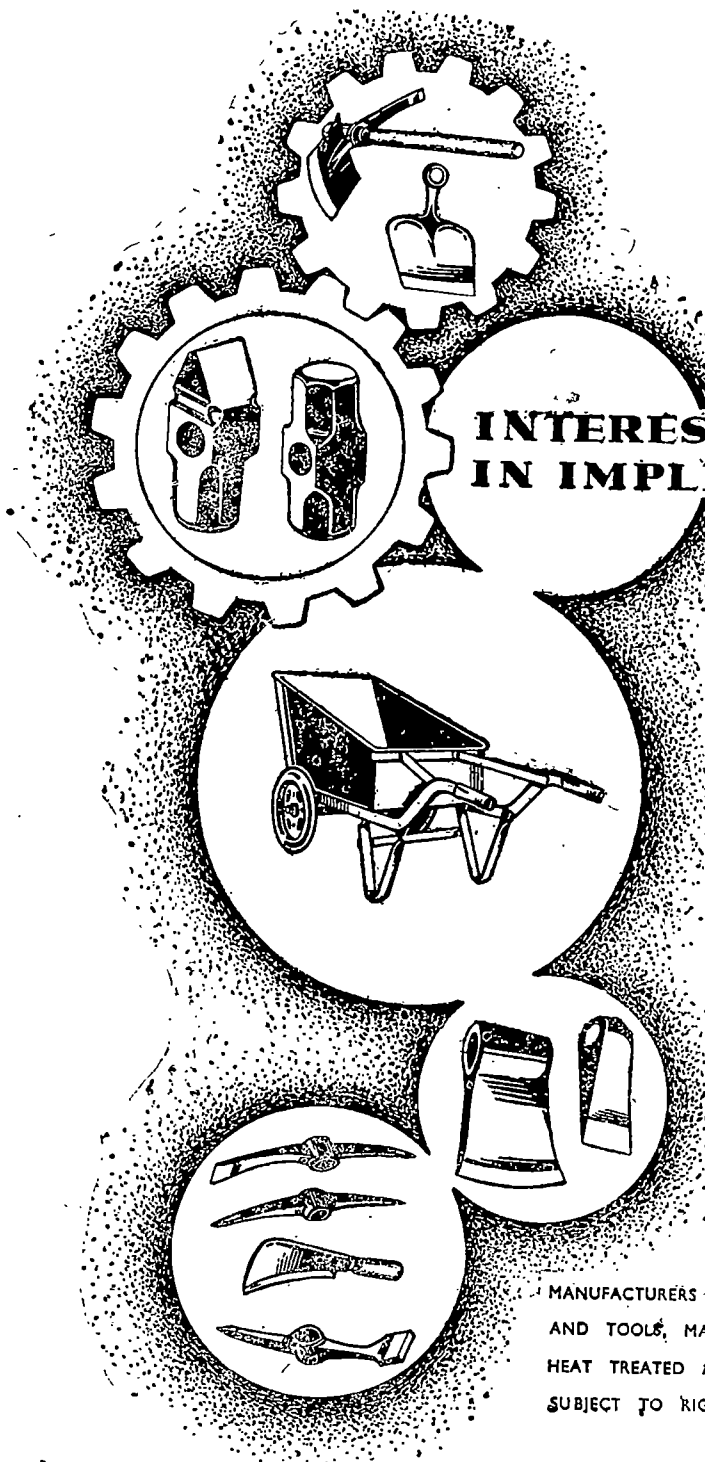


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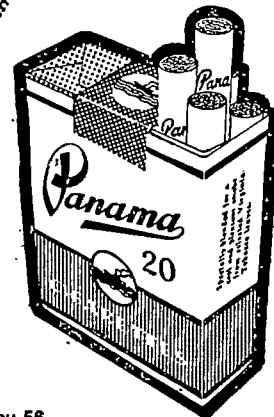
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CONSTITUTION NEEDS AMENDMENT

WHILE Sri Kamaraj has said that the Prime Minister should give the lead in evolving harmonious relations between the Centre and the States, Tamilnadu Chief Minister Karunanidhi has stated that he is considering setting up a commission of educationists, retired judges and legal experts to examine how far the Constitution can be amended to give more powers to the States.

Long before either of these two leaders of Tamilnadu spoke in these terms, Kerala Chief Minister Namboodiripad began making various suggestions for placing Centre-State relations on a sound and rational basis. Many United Front leaders of West Bengal have been demanding the removal of the causes of friction. Even Congress Chief Ministers like Sri Brahmananda Reddy have given expression to dissatisfaction over the existing financial and other arrangements which tend to deny the State Governments initiative and the capacity to act speedily and effectively.

Thus it is becoming increasingly clear that Centre-State relations is a subject that can no longer be ignored without dire consequences for the even growth of the nation and for the effective functioning of democracy at all levels.

Sri Karunanidhi's ideas are far from clear, judging from his observations in New Delhi earlier this week. The commission he has in mind may be a good idea if the purpose is no more than a prolonged academic debate on the basis of a heavy legal document. In this country commissions and committees have been synonymous with delay and evasion, and have not been known to expedite the finding of solutions to pressing problems. In any case, it looks as if the body Sri Karunanidhi proposes is one to be set up by the Tamilnadu Government, although he has not failed to say that other State Governments, both Congress and non-Congress, will be consulted on this question. The problem is really not one of sophisticated legal argument; it is one of trying to define clearly the areas of operation of the Centre and the States on

the one hand and making practical arrangements on the other to prevent incursions into the sphere of one by the other.

The very first fact that has to be recognized in this context is that the changes set in motion by the Fourth General Election cannot be nullified or reversed but will have to be carried forward. The Centre and the States have both to demonstrate that they fully comprehend the significance for the future of the power equations created first by the 1967 General Election and more recently by the mid-term poll.

Here the responsibility of the Centre is much greater than that of the States; it is a fact that under our Constitution greater power is concentrated in the hands of the Centre than is good for democratic growth in a situation when a single party does not run the administration in all the

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States. The framers of the Constitution could not clearly visualize the future possibilities : for, at that time there was virtually no party of significance except the Congress, and it looked as if the Congress would continue to rule indefinitely. It might have been felt that exceptions if any could be dealt with by means of evolving conventions

Such hopes did not materialize. The first major test came when the Communists assumed power in Kerala after the 1957 General Election. The reaction at the Centre was not to accept gracefully the verdict of the electorate and come to practical working arrangements with a government of a different hue ; the attempt on the other hand was to encourage disruption in order ultimately to remove the elected government

That even after the Fourth General Election this attitude persisted is clear enough : the misuse of the Governor and misinterpretation of the Constitution with the sole object of toppling the elected United Front Government in West Bengal is recent history. The resounding victory of the United Front in the mid-term poll was a decisive popular verdict against the Centre's attitude and it should have had a sobering effect ; while the meaning of the verdict was understood, there was reluctance to act on that basis, as is proved by the needless controversy over Governor Dharma Vira who should have been sacked without hesitation. In Bihar, the same attitude is evident, though on a much lower key.

It is because of all these developments that Sri Kamaraj's plea for initiative being taken by the Prime Minister on this question assumes significance. The two Leftist-led State Governments have put forward various constructive proposals in this regard, and it is obviously the duty of the Prime Minister to take the initiative to evolve a detailed formula which can ensure harmonious relations irrespective of which party or parties happen to be in power at the Centre or in any of the States. The problem has been in existence for long years, even during the time the Congress enjoyed monopoly of power throughout the country ; if it did not lead to a crisis it was entirely because of Jawaharlal Nehru's leadership at the Centre, for he commanded tremendous personal authority to smoothen out difficulties and maintain a semblance of cordiality. Today the situation is very different ; the Central leadership is in no position to command nationwide confidence, and the concept of party discipline cannot work in the context of the political and ideological differences that exist between parties running the administration at the Centre and in the different States.

That the States should have much greater autonomy than they have at present is a principle long recognised even by the leadership of the Congress in the past. The very concept of linguistic States is a result of this understanding. The idea has always been that the people should participate more and more in the administration at all levels ; the local language naturally assumed the greatest importance in this light. But all these noble ideas were rendered meaningless when those in power

at the Centre began to nurse illusions of grandeur and sought to gather more and more power in their own hands at the cost of the States. Sri Chavan is perhaps among the few individuals who have contributed most in this direction, making the solution of the problem seem much more difficult than it actually is.

Srimati Indira Gandhi has often said that her desire is to place Centre-State relations on a friendly footing. It is possible that she is unable to have her way in the face of pressures within her party. Nevertheless, she as well as her colleagues in the Union Cabinet will no doubt recognise that even in relation to Congress-run States there are problems of adjustment and demarcation of areas of operation. It is therefore necessary that at least the first step should be taken without further delay to meet the demands of the State Governments for greater autonomy. None of the State Governments seeks powers to the extent of undermining or endangering national security and unity ; the autonomy they demand is subject to these two overriding considerations. The United Front in West Bengal showed, during recent weeks, that the Leftist parties can conduct themselves with greater dignity and adhere to Constitutional propriety to a much greater extent than the Congress.

At the same time, Sri Karunanidhi's declaration in New Delhi that non-Congress governments should try to get something in a persuasive manner and not with "any fighting tendency" has to be qualified. If some non-Congress governments appear belligerent, the cause is to be found in the continuous efforts by the ruling party at the Centre to denigrate them and topple them. If there is resentment, it is entirely due to the resistance from the Centre to the most legitimate demands. It is only when the Central Government gives up thinking in terms of party interests and deals with the issues raised in terms of the national interest that friction of the kind Sri Karunanidhi has referred to can be eliminated.

Otherwise, popularly elected governments conscious of representing the interests of the common people have no alternative but to appeal to the people themselves ; this means that if the Centre does not act with realism and imagination and come to terms with facts of life, the State Governments which realise that they can serve the people fully only if they have more powers will have no alternative but to call upon the people to express their feelings in unmistakable terms. After all it is the people who in the final analysis have to decide what is good for themselves. It is open to those in power at the Centre to obviate the need for any demonstration of popular sentiment ; this is precisely where Sri Kamaraj's call for bold initiative by the Prime Minister becomes relevant.

It is for the Prime Minister to call a representative meeting—including not only the Chief Ministers but leaders of political parties and others—and place before it draft amendments to the Constitution which can be discussed and settled to mutual satisfaction. Will Smt Gandhi's colleagues allow her to do it ?

Storm Signal for Congress

WITH Pakistan caught in the fury of a political cyclone, should the clouds on New Delhi's horizon be taken as a storm signal?

This question has started troubling many in the Capital who until a few days back looked upon the moves and counter-moves in high places as mere palace intrigues so characteristic of a dynasty in decline. The Congress is not facing a total crash as Ayub's so-called strongman set-up has landed itself in; but that the Congress is a crumbling house is being propagated today even by those who have so long talked only about the might of the edifice.

It is significant that it was Sri Morarji Desai who at the height of the mid-term election campaign, had talked about Congress readiness to form coalition governments with like-minded parties; Sri S.K. Patil was ahead of Sri Morarji in this respect for he had talked about coalitions as early as the 1967 General Election. But Sri Patil is looked upon as a flamboyant gambler and not a cautious politician that Sri Desai is reputed to be. Many at that time including Sri Atulya Ghosh had objected to Sri Desai's talking of coalitions in the midst of the election campaign, for they felt that that might betray the Congress nervousness about its declining popularity with the electorate.

The results of the mid-term poll have made it clear that the Congress decline has been more rapid than what its leadership had apprehended and the non-Congress parties had expected. The crumbling of the colossus has been seen not only in West Bengal where its very political

base has been shattered, but in Bihar, UP and Punjab as well. Although Sri C.B. Gupta has formed a Ministry, its precarious tenure is nowhere disputed; and UP has in the last fifty years been regarded as classic stronghold of the Congress power. The Congress position in Bihar is that of a doomed patient under oxygen—Ramgarh or no Ramgarh—with the doctors having no remedy to prescribe and the successors squabbling over the patrimony even before the patriarch is dead. In Punjab, the battle is won by the Akalis with little prospect for the Congress to come back to power.

In the wake of the shock that the mid-term poll has given to the Congress leadership, have come new headaches in Madhya Pradesh and Kashmir. The Kashmir controversy may have a special character of its own, since the Congress in Kashmir is of a different hue. But hopes were entertained by the Congress leadership about rehabilitation in Madhya Pradesh with Sri D.P. Mishra riding back to power. The chances have slumped in a chaotic conglomeration, although the AICC office still holds out hopes that there might be a revival if the Raja of Sarangarh could be brought in.

The key point which is to be understood is that the Congress leadership has yet to make up its mind which way it must turn since it has to share power as its monopoly is irrevocably gone. It is on this point that there can never be any unanimity in the Congress High Command because of the very character of the organisation as it has continued since Independence. The single pur-

pose which made the Congress into a national front, namely, the struggle for independence, was lost once independence was achieved; Gandhiji had the foresight to recommend on the morrow of independence that the Congress should be dissolved and different trends inside the national movement should crystallize into proper political parties. Obviously, this was ignored by those who had been able to succeed to power and as years passed the new rising class of money bags reaping the harvest of a newly-freed economy could buy up the major section of political leadership and thereby ensure the domination of Big Money over the Congress politics.

However, the law of diminishing returns played havoc particularly with passing away of Nehru's charismatic leadership. Now the cross-roads have been reached and practically every leader in the Congress has to choose which way to go: the path to which the Patils and Morarjis have been beckoning, or the one which has been taken by Krishna Menons and Ajoy Mukherjis. This is the inescapable choice before the Congress leaders today and it is in this context that every development including the latest Chandrasekhar-Morarji controversy has to be seen.

* * *

THE Right forces did anticipate this possibility and hence all the talks of coalition with like-minded parties. Their irritation with Smt Indira Gandhi is understandable for they find it difficult today to lead her up the garden path as they tried to do through

Sri Asoka Mehta at the time of the Devaluation in 1966. But much water has flown under the bridge since those days and the present policy stance of Smt Indira Gandhi's Government, whether in relation to foreign policy or public sector, has become irksome for the Right. Their main difficulty has been to find a person who would fit in as their leader. Sri Patil is too exposed and almost totally bereft of any mass popularity. Sri Desai is not only uncouth in his public relations but too many skeletons from the Kanti cupboard has spoiled his image. To throw a challenge at Smt Gandhi, other names are sometimes mooted though nothing definite is yet fixed: whether the laurel will be reserved for Dr. Ram Subhag Singh or Sri Sanjiva Reddy or Sri Chavan, it is too early to forecast in the uncertain climate that prevails in New Delhi today.

The Right had a very unpleasant jolt in the mid-term elections. With Sri Atulya Ghosh tossed into the limbo and Sri C.B. Gupta very much truncated—while Sri M.P. Sinha and Sri K.B. Sahay treated as castaways by the popular verdict—the Syndicate itself is in shambles. The measure of its nervousness is provided by Sri S. K. Patil's wobbling as to where from to stand for Parliament, for no seat seems to be a safe seat for him today. The Right no doubt has got the Congress President in its pocket but Sri Nijalingappa's buffoonery hardly carries the stamp of a consummate political acrobat.

It is in this background that Sri Chandrasekhar's broadsides have hit Sri Morarji Desai badly. While the responsibility for turning down Sri Chandrasekhar's original demand for a Commission of Enquiry into Birla irregularities lies on the Cabinet, as a whole, (how many among them, after all, is not indebted to the Birlas?) Sri Chandrasekhar's latest allegations against Sri Desai has brought a new dimension into the whole episode. If the Congress Parliamentary Party general body has to proceed with a clamour for punishment against Sri Chandrasekhar, the serving of the chargesheet on him

gives him new opportunities to substantiate his allegations against Sri Desai, leaving no escape route for the Finance Minister having to face a high-level enquiry, which by convention demands his stepping down from office. In other words, Sri Chandrasekhar has nothing to lose but nationwide popularity to gain, while Sri Morarji Desai is threatened with the loss of his entire political empire. If Sri Chandrasekhar is expelled from the Congress, he will be a national hero while the image of Congress leadership as a whole—not of Sri Desai alone—would be irreparably damaged. The matter was not taken up in the Working Committee not because the Syndicate-Desai combine did not have a majority there, but because of the fear that Sri Chandrasekhar might appeal against the decision of the Working Committee to the AICC which would provide him with a much bigger forum in which to wash Sri Desai's dirty linen.

The wit in New Delhi today therefore cannot but comment that the over-zealous three—no witches but charming ladies, Smt Tarakeshwari Sinha, Smt Sucheta Kripalani and Smt Sharda Mukherji—have spoiled Sri Desai's

case by trying to exploit the incident for an attack on the Prime Minister. This misfired miserably as Smt Gandhi, herself well-versed in the art of political manoeuvring, carefully warded off such an attack and set in the constitutional process for taking action on grounds of party discipline which in reality might give fresh opening to Sri Chandrasekhar to substantiate his case against Sri Desai.

Meanwhile, Sri Morarji Desai's crisis has helped Sri Chavan out of a very difficult situation. Of late, Sri Chavan's standing was very much damaged because of a series of setbacks. From Shiv Sena to Dharma Vira, apart from his liberal use of police against the Central Government employees while taking no action against communal forces—all these brought down Sri Chavan's standing considerably, and there were talks in New Delhi that he might not be able to retain the Home portfolio for long.

But the spotlight was taken off from Sri Chavan the moment Sri Chandrasekhar's attack put Sri Morarji Desai at the centre of the stage. It is significant that the immediate reaction of Congress MPs from Maharashtra was

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Opposition Members in Rajya Sabha alleged that the Madhya Pradesh Governor's wife was engaged in scrutinising the list of supporters presented by the Congress Party. "Have you appointed a caretaker Governor in Madhya Pradesh?" Sri Bhandari asked.

—News item

that they should keep out of the fray. Later on, Sri Chavan himself in his quiet way, has taken up the role of a mediator in the Chandrasekhar-Morarji clash. So, instead of himself being the target of attack, Sri Chavan has come out as a shield for Sri Morarji Desai and unifier of the party. A neat little diversionary operation.

Smt Gandhi's stand has no doubt foxed her critics, since she did not oblige them by any false move so far. Rather, some of the accusers now seem to have been put on the defensive; at least, Smt Tarakeshwari Sinha faces the prospect of some of her ancient irregularities (which had cost her a ministerial post under Shastri) being dug up for re-scrutiny. Few in the Desai-Patil camp can claim to be living outside glass houses.

* * *

SMT Gandhi has a trump card in her hand, and her critics know what it is: in case of any serious threat to her leadership of the Congress Parliamentary Party, she can any day exercise her constitutional right as Prime Minister to ask the President to dissolve the present Lok Sabha and order a fresh general election. And every Congress MP has a mortal fear of facing the electorate just now after the nerve-racking

experience of the mid-term poll in which the Congress has faced its greatest debacle. Smt Gandhi thus virtually wields the Damocles' sword over the whole lot of Congress MPs: some of her close supporters think that even if the eventuality comes that she has to drop Sri Morarji Desai from the Cabinet, there would be no big repercussion even if there is a big noise over it.

Is Smt Gandhi's position all that strong? No doubt she has emerged from the mid-term poll in a much better position than all the other Congress leaders: no doubt she has been able to establish rapport with leaders of non-Congress Ministries from UF in West Bengal to DMK in Tamilnadu; in fact one of the complaints of her critics is that she is more considerate to Sri Jyoti Basu than to some of her close colleagues in the Congress.

Yet with all that, the challenge from the Right need not be underplayed. If the Right has not been able to build up the image of a leader of their own exclusive choice, it does not follow it does not have enormous resources at its command. The more its political base is shrinking the more desperate it is becoming. One of Sri Desai's closest associates confided: "If Chandrasekhar is not punished, then the party will be

split within a month." If military take-over is a discredited proposition after the fiasco that faces Ayub today, a political coup riding roughshod over democratic norms can hardly be ruled out: the way the office of the Governor has been exploited in the service of reactionary politics particularly with Sri Chavan's benediction, underlines the danger of the Constitution being distorted by the Right in its bid to hold on to power.

In this tussle for power, each side will have to choose its allies in the coming crucial months. If the Morarji-Patil combine has made up its mind about enlisting support from the Swatantra and Jana Sangh circles, Smt Gandhi will have to decide whether she will join hands with the Left. The days of peppering over rift in the Congress camp seems to be over: phoney platitudes can no longer keep the Congress together nor ensure its continuation in power. The emerging alternatives of the Right and Left confront each other: there is no escape from that confrontation for any of the stalwarts from Sri Morarji Desai to Sri Chavan, from Smt Indira Gandhi to Sri Jagjivan Ram. For, 1969 has seen that political initiative has slipped out of the hands of all these leaders, once and for all.

March 18

N.C.

Impressions

SARAL PATRA

SRI G.M. Modi's faux pas over industry's relations with the new United Front Government in West Bengal, has an interesting sidelight. The speech of the retiring President for the forty-second annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, it was explained by some FICCI stalwarts, had been printed and distributed before the delegates from West Bengal had any chance to point out what they considered a "damaging slip". Sri Modi, of course, came out with a correction, but even the published version clearly showed his scepticism.

The fact is, the leaders of the FICCI are convinced that the concern expressed in Sri Modi's Presidential address about their fears arising from the victory of the UF in West Bengal are shared by their tribe in that State, even if it might not be "proper tactics" to say so at this stage. Some of them claimed, in private conversation with journalists, that even those who talked of having opened a "dialogue" with the leaders of the United Front, were hesitant to make any forecast about the outcome turning in their favour.

Apparently, the FICCI is not at all certain of the developments in the coming period going in favour of its constituents. Hence, it took special care to make a "tonal" change in its demands

on the Government, even as it firmly spelt out its mind. It has always been the policy of the country's industrial and commercial interests to keep two steps ahead of the Government. The 1969-70 Budget having provided the concessions regarding export duties on tea, jute, etc., which they have been clamouring for, the past twelve months, the FICCI has gone ahead to ask for the same concessions for other exportable commodities also in the name of promoting exports.

It is again the Budget concessions, which has made the FICCI to ask for further relaxation of controls and reduction in corporate taxes. Sri Modi was so encouraged that he even went to the extent of telling the Prime Minister that her Government's policy regarding curbing of monopolies was an exercise in futility. And he pointed out that compared to the business houses in the USA or UK those in India were just punies. They had, therefore, to be provided with proper "incentives" to grow as much.

Sharper has been the attack on the proposal to channelise imports of all raw material through the State Trading Corporation. Again, this was an attempt to forestall those who were campaigning for nationalisation of import-export trade. However, here they won a signal

victory. The STC chief, a man from the private sector brought to improve a public sector organisation, could hardly stand his ground, and did tittle to defend his new employers. He was not only apologetic, but went out of his way to assure the magnates that the STC was *only* export-oriented and begged of them to give the scheme a trial.

The finality of the position of the FICCI came in its comprehensive resolution, moved by no other than Sri Babubhai Chinai, MP (who, incidentally, is Sri S.K. Patil's permanent host in New Delhi) demanding removal of all controls and impediments to investment, production and distribution, and reduce taxation on the corporate sector and individuals to encourage savings "at a higher rate."

These had become necessary for the industrial magnates all the more now in view of the "green revolution" in the countryside. The new wealth created in the rural areas had enhanced the possibility of better exploitation of that market with consumer goods. And the return to the entrepreneurs cannot obviously be commensurate if the controls over investment, licensing, etc, and profits were maintained at the present rate. The demand obviously is that those who have been so far making good in the industry and had come to be recognised as the "captains" of industry and commerce, should be allowed to have their share also from the newly developed source of wealth.

The master-stroke in the FICCI's adventure into the field of current politics must be the prerogations on national integration. Most of the speakers at the concluding day's session were aghast that linguistic states with a "federal" constitution had bred only parochialism. Businessmen and industrialists, obviously, could not countenance the prospect of being deterred from extending their tentacles wherever they found it "cheap and profitable". So they discovered everything, from the food zones, inter-state transport restrictions, varied sales tax rates to the linguistic states, coming in the way of their

Morarji Contradicts Logic

SAMARJIT GHOSE

CONFUSION begets confusion and the 1969-70 Central Budget of Sri Morarji Desai provides a glaring instance in this direction. The current Budget is formulated on the basis of a confused understanding of the Government of the economic situation.

The Economic Survey of 1968-69 presented before the Budget contains conflicting statements in dealing with such subjects like industrial recovery, price situation and fiscal and monetary developments. It is admitted that the recession occurred primarily in agricultural based industries and in equipment industries other than those catering for the requirements for agriculture. This is followed by an expression that it became necessary to adopt restrictive fiscal and monetary policies in order to hold inflation in check; and the restraint on public investment affected the demand for the output of steel and equipment industries.

Another conspicuous reading of the economic situation is presented by saying that a slowing down in private investment also occurred, in part because of decline in income and savings and because of a less optimistic outlook on the part of industrialists. The ability of industry to finance new investment was also affected by the rise in cost of inputs at a time when output could not be raised in a number

of industries because of slack demand conditions. It will be interesting in this connection to recall the statement of Sri Morarji Desai during the presentation of his previous Budget when he had said that the threat of inflation being very real, the level of total effective demand had to be kept in check.

Read in the context of other observations made under the heading 'fiscal developments' where it is stated that the Central Budget for 1968-69 had been designed principally to secure the recovery in industrial production, one fails to understand how this principal intention is consistent with the restraint on public investment referred to above. Similarly, Sri Desai by his own understanding of the situation by less than economic logic visualised the recovery in industrial production when declines in incomes and savings and consequential slack in demand condition brought out the direct results of his fiscal policy, which he described as 'anti-inflationary'.

Without having to dilate on other aspects of Sri Desai's thoughts on the correlation of the economic condition and the fiscal and monetary policy, it becomes clear that his concept of anti-inflationary measures not only encroaches on his own concept of anti-recessionary measures but also place the Finance Minister in a self-contradictory position from where no positive direction is humanly possible to emerge in a Budget. It is also futile to search for a

direction, obviously for the very reason that the Finance Minister is not mentally prepared to attack the problem of employment, the one single factor centering on which the whole economy of our country can be either improved or be allowed to collapse.

It is no surprise, therefore, that the Finance Minister has strained his eyes over a long list of commodities and has desperately chosen the items to be taxed so that the demands for disbursements from the respective heads of the government can be met without leaving a large uncovered gap in his deficit Budget.

Sri Desai provided for a capital expenditure of Rs. 737 crores in 1968-69 Budget which itself was utterly inadequate to enable the country to come out of the clutches of recession in a planned atmosphere. The revised estimate in this regard is placed at Rs. 530 crores and this only shows the lack of interest on the part of the Finance Minister towards the problem of generating income in the country from productive ventures and expanding the scope for effective employment. This year's Budget provides for a capital expenditure of only Rs. 765 crores, thus making no substantial improvement either in the outlook of the Finance Minister towards a revival of the economy or in the practical aspect of the economy which is plagued with the evils of high unemployment and non-utilisation of installed industrial capacity and natural resources.

Sri Morarji Desai seems to be alive to the dangers of wily contrivances practised in the trade of agricultural produce. The Economic Survey reports that one of the reasons behind the rise in the price index of industrial raw materials was the raw jute price rise by 67 per cent as a result of speculative activity in a situation when the availability of raw jute improved to 94.5 lakh bales reflecting a production rise of about 10 lakh bales. Like a helpless spectator, the Finance Minister has seen the improvements in availability of raw cotton and sugarcane as

Mainstream carried articles on the Central Budget in its issues of March 8 and 15, 1969. This one arrived too late for the last issue.

well as major oilseeds becoming the subject of cornering activities. But, instead of feeling the necessity for imposing restrictions on all such trades, Sri Desai attributes these incidences to natural trading features and tries in his fiscal measures to rejuvenate the agricultural based industries by giving reliefs in his current Budget. Here also, he is not to succeed, because many of his concessions are half-hearted and as such wasted.

Sri Desai's attempt to deprive the States of the opportunity to tax the rural sector by proposing a central agricultural wealth-tax looks to be politically motivated, now that the non-Congress Governments are in power in several States. His rather punitive taxation measures bear no fiscal justification and hits the large body of middle class who can otherwise provide savings for investment in industries and create a better climate for investment. The inclusion of fertilizers within his taxation fold rejects his own contention that there is no room for complacency with regard to the availability of foodgrains in relation to the expansion of population. It is a definite anti-national measure and perhaps a dictated one to which Sri Desai has succumbed.

Perhaps it is consistent with the dictation from foreign quarters that Sri Morarji Desai presented 'the first budget of the Fourth Plan Period' allocating only Rs 1,738 crores as total plan provisions, out of which only Rs. 1,336 crores are in the capital budget. When on the price front a stability appeared in sight due to most pronounced decline in prices in case of food articles, particularly foodgrains, which registered a decline of 9.5 per cent over the year, thanks to a favourable nature and bumper crop, a bold breakthrough could possibly be made by a controlled dose of self-liquidating deficit financing and larger Plan outlay. The price for not braving the situation will perhaps be costlier for the nation with recession lingering on and unemployment spreading on a wider front.

An Aspect of Economic Development

PRADHAN H. PRASAD

To analyse the problem of economic development let me start with an illustration. Let us imagine a family on an island having a house, five acres of cultivable land, some cattle for ploughing and other accessories like plough etc. The family devotes two-and-half acres of land for growing grains for human consumption and half acre each for growing cotton (for clothes etc), flowers (for decorations etc), seeds, green manure and cattle fodder respectively.

The output of grain, cotton and flower (that is, the output of three and half acres of land) constitutes what is termed as the net income of the family. The rest of the land is devoted to the production of what is termed as capital or goods for gross investment (that is, seed, green manure and cattle fodder). If the family is now interested in having more of grains, more of cotton and more of flowers than before, it is facing the problem of economic development.

The problem essentially is as to what should it do? As land is limited, what it needs is more of green manure and more of seed than before. That means that, to begin with, it will have to devote more than half acre of land to green manure and more than half acre to seed. The significant question is as to what should be reduced, to begin with, so that additional land be devoted to green manure and seed. Can the land devoted to cattle fodder be

reduced? No, because it will weaken the cattle; cultivation will suffer and the very purpose of development will be defeated. Can then land devoted to grain and cotton production be cut? The answer is both yes and no. The answer is yes, if the family is well-fed and well-clothed. The answer is no, if the family is ill-fed and ill-clothed. This is because the loss of productivity (due to fall in efficiency) consequent upon the cut in quantity of grain and cotton will be in greater proportion than the gain arising out of additional land for seed and green manure. The family in the latter situation can be termed as the one in an under-developed economic situation. In such a situation one has no option but to reduce the land devoted to flowers. However, as the family gets more of green manure and more of seed than before, more flowers than before will be available even on a reduced size of land in the subsequent years. So ultimately the family gets more grain, more cotton and more flowers than before. The initial reduction in the consumption of flowers has been affected not because flowers are bad things *per se*, but because there happens to be no other alternative. What is true for the family is also true for a nation.

Both grain and cotton, here, symbolise wage-good consumption while flower symbolises luxury-good consumption. The need for additional seed and green manure symbolises the need for additional capital, which is also termed as net investment (that is, net addition to the stock

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of capital). So the strategic requirement for development is increasing the flow of resources for capital formation at the cost of luxury-goods. It is needless to emphasise that the higher the rate of such a flow, the faster will be the rate of development.

However, there are a few questions that can be raised. One may argue, and rightly so, that instead of cutting land devoted to flower, the family can sell flowers to other families on other islands and get the additional seed and manure that is required. However, this also involves a reduced consumption a luxury-goods initially. The only difference is that the required transformation of luxury-goods into capital-goods is affected through the foreign trade mechanism provided it is advantageous. The other argument is that if some other family is ready to help (that is, foreign aid) one need not curtail the consumption of flower. But even then if one

does curtail the consumption of flower, the rate of development will be accelerated. It is also, sometimes, argued that increased skill of the workers can generate the process of development. But the cost of training workers (for increased skill) as well as additional capital per skilled worker will, nonetheless, require reduced consumption of luxury-goods. Thus, one cannot escape the conclusion that capital formation consequent upon reduction in consumption of luxury-goods is the strategic requirement for development.

It may be rather easy for a family to decide upon such a course of action if it desires to develop. It is not that easy for a nation. Not all families of a nation are equally poor. Those who are not that poor (and it is these who by and large consume luxury-goods) are not interested in sacrificing their luxuries for the development of the nation. A developing nation, obviously, has to face this problem.

A liberal art of planning will envisage tax and other direct measures (such as even exercising control over production and import of luxury-goods) to achieve such an end. But will it succeed? Enactments have never been able to eliminate completely legal and illegal evasion of taxes. Moreover, even if luxury-goods are taxed out or if production and import of luxury-goods are banned, what is there to prevent the families from using grain for decorations instead of flowers? In other words, what is there to prevent luxury use of commodities that are not luxuries. It is difficult to visualise a budgetary policy that will succeed in redistributing the income so that the luxury use of commodities is significantly reduced. Does not this mean that the solution requires an institutional change whereby such staggering income differentials (that permit the luxury use of commodities) are eliminated altogether?

Bilateral talks between the Governments of India and West Germany took place in New Delhi during this week, covering economic and political relations between the two countries.

Aid and Trade : West German Style

KUNHANANDAN NAIR

RECENTLY in Bonn the author had the opportunity of meeting a number of Indian and West German trade experts, businessmen and diplomats in an endeavour to make a study of India's trade with West Germany and Bonn's much-publicised "development aid" to India.

The striking feature of the whole affair is the extraordinary imbalance in India's trade with Bonn which has been adding up to New Delhi's balance of payment difficulties and foreign exchange crisis that undoubtedly has had its adverse impact on our

development planning.

In 1961 India had an adverse trade balance of 559-million mark with West Germany. It fluctuated but grew every year and accumulated. In 1967 it stood over 600 million marks. The total loss for India during these seven years adds up to over four milliards of marks, while the grand total of our trade deficit with West Germany since independence would run into several milliards. This is a colossal loss of foreign exchange and a perpetual drain on India's gold reserves.

TABLE I
INDIA'S TRADE BALANCE
WITH WEST GERMANY
(Rupees in Millions)

Year	Imports	Exports	Adverse Trade Balance
1958-59	945	152	-793
59-60	1165	210	-955
60-61	1225	199	-1026
65-66	1372	182	-1190
66-67	1518	244	-1274

When Federal Chancellor Dr. Kurt Georg Kiesinger visited

India in November, 1967, this serious situation was reported to have been brought to his notice by our Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi. The final communique issued in New Delhi said: "The two heads of Government reviewed the pattern of Indo-German trade and economic relations. The Indian Prime Minister referred in particular to the persistent imbalance in the commercial exchanges between the two countries." Chancellor Kiesinger however, avoided any concrete commitment on this vital question but vaguely promised her to refer the problem to "discussions between the experts of two countries".

Since then the experts have met several times but India's adverse trade balance has only been increasing.

In a seminar of Indian and West German traders, commerce experts and diplomats held at Dusseldorf last year the Indian Ambassador Sri Khub Chand had pointedly referred to these "unpleasant facts" of the lopsided cycle of trade and aid which is far advantageous to the other side. The Ambassador then publicly warned West Germany in these words:

"We feel that there can be no continuing relationship between the two countries over a long period of time without more balanced-trade. If (West) German exports are merely encouraged by aid and not balanced by Indian exports, we cannot have a truly healthy long-term relationship." Probably this was the first time in West Germany an Indian envoy spoke the truth openly and fearlessly at the face of the "aid" givers.

However, such plain speaking has not so far been strong enough to break the resistance of the West German monopolists and the anti-Indian Nazi steel frame of the state apparatus in Bonn, which like the proverbial Shylock is only interested in boosting its sales in India to earn maximum profit and political advantages.

What is the attitude of West German monopolists to Indian exports?

To quote their spokesman, the Chief Editor of *Handelsblatt* the

organ of the Chamber of Commerce, Dr. J. M. Hunck:

"India has always been a sellers' market and not a buyers' market. You cannot ask us to buy more in India. But you must try to sell more in West Germany."

Dr. Hunck's unilateral conclusion has been that it is inevitable that Indian exports cannot but go on slumping down. When he made this distortion at the Dusseldorf seminar, the Indian Ambassador was forced to intervene to read out statements how India's foreign trade has required new dimensions and exports have gone up specially in socialist countries.

India is unable to surmount the discriminatory tariff laid by the European Economic Community, the financial organ of imperialism, whose prominent member is West Germany. The present tariff structure, highest in the world is aimed at depressing the trade of underdeveloped and developing nations. There are quota restrictions and excise duty in West Germany which block the entry of Indian manufactured and semi-manufactured goods. For example, India is the second biggest tobacco producer in the world with over half a million tons output last year. But India cannot sell much in West Germany because there is 30 per cent tariff against even unmanufactured tobacco, while the EEC associated countries have hardly any duties to pay. If India makes cigars and exports them to Bonn then the duty for manufactured goods is as high as 180 per cent. As a result of this cut-throat tariff system that fortifies the monopoly interest in West Europe, even the best Indian Virginia cannot enter the EEC market. If the tariff is lowered it is estimated that India can easily earn over Rs. 200 million a year in tobacco sales alone which will immediately register a 100 per cent increase in her exports to West Germany over the last year's figures. But the Bonn Shylocks would not oblige.

Even India's traditional export items are not safe in the Western market. The fall in international tea prices had cut into Indian export earnings. At the London

Tea Auction, the Western tycoons are manipulating prices to their advantage. West Germany which is a party to these manipulations, has developed a special taste for Chinese tea since the ideological split. Politics became the main lever that moves the trade. The sixfold increase in Bonn-Peking trade since India-China war is only one example.

It must be added here that trade terms of West Germany are far worse than trade terms offered by Japan to India. Japan imported from India goods worth 120 million dollars last year as against 35 million dollars imported by West Germany.

The situation is quite the opposite in the case of India's trade with USSR and other socialist countries.

In 1951 Indian exports to USSR were as small as two and a half million dollars. Fifteen years later it grew into a massive 196 million dollars. During the last ten years, India's exports to GDR, a state which does not exist according to Bonn maps, have registered tenfold increase, despite West German pressures on India to depress the relations. Last year, the Soviet Union lifted five times more goods in value than West Germany lifted from India. While the "mighty" West Germany imported from India in 1967 goods worth only 140 million marks as against an export of 860 million marks, the "tiny" GDR (whose total trade volume with India is only one-fifth compared to West Germany's) lifted from India during the same period goods worth 104 million marks as against her export of 112 million marks.

Added to this fairly balanced GDR trade is the advantage, firstly, of a bilateral rupee pay-

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India's
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A Study in Evolution
by
SULEKH C. GUPTA
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ment agreement; and secondly, of GDR purchasing more and more of India's manufactured goods. On the other hand, to West Germany, India has to pay in hard (dollar) currency. Moreover Bonn purchases only raw materials and traditional goods from India, while contemptuously rejecting the manufactured goods of India's national industry.

India's trade balance with the USSR has always been a hand-

aid given by West Germany. From 1963 to 1967 India received from West Germany 1624 million marks as credit. During the same period, India lost foreign currency worth 3093 million marks in adverse trade balance with West Germany as a result of which India's gold reserves were depleted. What is taken away by one hand is almost double the amount given as "aid" by the other hand. And what is given as aid has to be

There is no denying India is in a blind alley in West Germany. To meet this situation, the Indian Ambassador has devised four way-out.

- (1) choosing specific Indian commodities with particular attraction in West German market;
- (2) increasing the "contribution" of Indo-German joint ventures to India's export efforts;
- (3) fresh West German investments in "export oriented" industries in India; and
- (4) increase the quantum of "aid".

Having failed on the foreign aid front, it seems India is now pinning hopes on West German private capital investments in "export oriented" industries in India.

Thus the main stress is laid on private capital investments.

An Indo-German joint working group, set up in Bonn, to study this question "welcomed the recent trends in India towards encouraging foreign collaborations especially in export-oriented industries".

The group consisting of the Director of the Deutsche Bank Mr. Hans Woydt recommends that such industries with West German investments should earmark 80 per cent of their products for exports and the other 20 per cent should be sold in Indian market. The Bonn group hopes that "the advantage of having a foothold on the Indian market would also be a considerable attraction for the West German entrepreneur to locate himself in India." It further thinks that "India would be an advantageous base for West German industrialists" to export their goods quickly "to markets nearer to India than to West Germany" such as in East Africa, South East Asia, Middle East and Australia, if they build factories on Indian soil.

In short, the joint venture is to transform India into a spring-board for West German monopolists for neo-colonialist penetration into other under-developed and developing areas. This is a recommendation to give a firm base on Indian soil for West German imperialism.

TABLE II

INDIA'S TRADE BALANCE WITH USSR IN COMPARISON WITH WEST GERMANY

Year	Imports from USSR	Exports to USSR	Trade Balance with USSR	Trade Balance with Bonn
58-59	172	259	+ 87	- 793
59-60	172	304	+132	- 955
60-61	159	288	+129	-1026
65-66	832	930	+ 98	-1190
66-67	1022	1163	+141	-1274

(In millions of Rupees)

some plus that has grown year after year, while India has a constantly growing minus trade balance with West Germany. Soviet Union placed last year a huge bulk order for Indian made railway wagons. During the same period India's efforts in Bonn to get orders for Indian railway wagons for the state-owned "Deutsche Bundesbahn" was frustrated, thanks to the high and mighty attitude of West German Officials.

Now take the last five years' trade deficit in comparison with the much publicised development

ultimately refunded with interest. The present level of repayment and servicing charges on account of debts already contracted from West Germany approximates, on an average, 150 million marks a year. India gets 250 million marks "aid" a year from Bonn and pays out of it 150 million marks as debt servicing charges. And for the remaining 100 million marks she has to endure an adverse trade balance of 600 million marks a year plus the political pressure of Hallstein Doctrine plus the propaganda that Bonn is doling out "charity" to Indians.

TABLE III

LEVELS OF WEST GERMAN "AID" AND TRADE

Year	India's adverse trade deficit with Bonn	Bonn Credit to India
(In millions of West Mark)		
1963	470	398
1964	505	380
1965	806	344
1966	712	252
1967	600	250

WHAT KEEPS LAKHS AND LAKHS OF SMOKERS LIKE ME SATISFIED ?



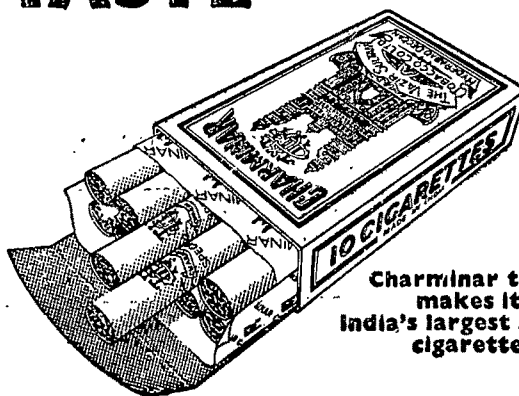
CHARMINAR TASTE OF COURSE!

We Charminar smokers
(lakhs of us) demand something
special from a cigarette.

And get it from Charminar—taste.

Charminar taste comes from
the flavour of pure tobaccos, carefully
grown and carefully blended by
experts.

Yes, Charminar's got the taste.
Lakhs of satisfied smokers
like me enjoy it !



Charminar taste
makes it
India's largest selling
cigarette

W.C.C.A

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

A New Assessment of His Thoughts

M. STEPANIANTS

THE history of the Indian Muslims since the 1857-59 uprising against the British rule upto the victorious conclusion of the national liberation movement in 1947 is characterised by a variety of trends in their religious, philosophical, social and political outlook. In spite of this diversity, in the long run, they have shaped into two main trends in the political field. They were : the communal movement, which resulted in the formation of Pakistan, and the movement for Hindu-Muslim unity.

In the concluding stage of the national liberation movement, these two trends were relatively personified by two political figures—Mohammad Ali Jinnah who led the communalist movement and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who stood for the unity of Hindus and Muslims.

The two main religio-philosophical trends of Indian Muslims were religious modernism and revivalism. Again, if we are to associate two great names with these trends, the first was represented by the poet-philosopher Mohammad Iqbal, and Maulana Azad can be considered one of the foremost ideologists of Muslim revivalism in India. It is necessary to make the reservation here that the distinction between modernism and revivalism in the religio-philosophical trends among Indian Muslims is itself rough and relative and the connotations are not strictly applicable. Each of these trends contains within itself, not only different ideological tendencies, but sometimes trends which produced contradictory practical results. For example, among the revivalists, the Jamat-i-Islam wanted to go back to the medieval economic and social structure. On the other hand, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad sought to express in revivalism the democratic content of Islam, applying it to the political conditions of his times.

Azad, with the majority of his compatriots, considered religious beliefs to be a necessary element not only in the life of every individual, but in the life of

the society as a whole. Philosophy and science, according to him, gave us knowledge of facts, but they were not able to give man spiritual certainty and inner peace of mind. "Religion", wrote Azad, "gives us the belief in moral values. And this a belief whose light cannot come to us except through religion. It teaches us that life is a duty which must be fulfilled. It is a burden which must be borne."

After joining the national liberation struggle Maulana Abul Kalam Azad looked to religion not only for answers to metaphysical problems, but also for solution to the concrete political problems of the day. He was not satisfied with the traditional interpretation of the Koran, which he considered dogmatic and an obstacle to progressive social development.

He sought to interpret the Koran in the light of modern times. But he did this, not by modernising Islamic dogma, but by revivalism of the original teachings of Islam.

Azad's method of interpretation of the Koran was ; "to search for the reality about it in its own pages." (Abul Kalam Azad, *The Tarjuman al-Quran*, Vol I, Bombay 1965, p xxx ii)

Azad sought to read Koran as it used to be read and understood by Muslims at the time of the Prophet. In this, he took account of the fact that the first generation of people among whom the Koran was read were not sophisticated and their mind was not cast in any artificial or "conventional mould furnished by civilization. It was content to receive a simple thought in its plain simplicity." (*ibid*)

Koran's thought, according to Azad, was very simple. Following his chosen method, he explained the origin of the word 'Allah', the name of the Creator thus : "the burst of ecstasy and admiration before the almighty creator expressed itself in the exclamation 'Ilah' indicating wonder and the humbleness of man."

Azad did not even try to go into a logical explanation of the existence of God. He held that it was unnatural for man to doubt, or to reject the existence of God, because the feeling that God exists is in the very nature of human beings. Starting from the postulate of the existence of God, he analyzes the attributes of God, in understanding which, he maintains, man is very often wrong. According to Azad, it is as natural for man to anthropomorphize divine attributes as it is for him to have an unshakable faith in the existence of God. "Whenever he tries," he writes, "to visualize a thing unseen or unfelt, he inevitably conjures up its qualities and feeling of which he is aware in his own mundane life... whenever man attempted to carve out an image of God, he gave to him his own shape." (*ibid*, p. 105)

According to Azad, only the Koran shows the middle way between the transcendentalism of the Upanishads, which leads, in the ultimate analysis to the rejection of any divine attributes at all, and anthropomorphism. Though Maulana Azad was right in seeing in Islam a tendency to overcome anthropomorphism, he made two inaccuracies. Firstly, he was wrong in holding that the first attempt to overcome an anthropomorphic understanding of God was made by Islam. It was not Islam, but Juda-

ism, which first tried to overcome anthropomorphism. Secondly, neither Islam nor Judaism fully succeeded in overcoming anthropomorphism as can be seen, for example, from the fact that both Allah in Koran and Yahweh in Judaism act and speak like human beings.

Azad's interpretation of divine attributes formed the basis of his ontological views. He assumed four main divine attributes, which in the first Surat of Koran are determined as Rabbul-i-Alamin, Al-Rahman, Al-Rahim, Malik-i-Yawmaddin.

Azad's Contradictory Interpretation

The sociological inferences arising out of Azad's interpretation of divine attributes are rather contradictory. On the one hand, by accepting the expediency and harmony of the universe, which are seen as the expression of divine providence and mercy, man is reduced to a passive existence in this beautiful and harmonious universe. Any action by man to reorganise this world thus became senseless and irrelevant. On the other hand, by conceding divine justice to reward or punish the actions of man, Azad held man responsible for his actions, thus admitting man's free will.

Azad's epistemology inevitably follows from the theism of his ontology, with its recognition of God as the leading force in the process of human knowledge. The divine guidance (*hidayat*) manifests itself in the abilities of instinctive, sensitive and rational knowledge. Even the highest form of knowledge is imperfect, because according to Azad "what is beyond our senses, reason can scarcely comprehend ... Even in the sphere of mundane activity which may be regarded as its field of operation, reason or intellect cannot always give us an effective lead." (*ibid*, p. 151)

But there is a force which can correct the mistakes of the intellect and show men the right way. This is the force of divine revelation (*Al-Huda*), or, in other words, Religion, the way of life. To Azad, this revelation or religion was not a blessing confined to one people, but given to mankind, without any discrimination, through a number of prophets, whose teachings did not contradict each other. They all aim at uniting all people in their belief in the oneness of God.

Azad however made a distinction between the spirit of religion and its outward expression. According to him, Koran teaches that differences existing between religions are not differences of the spirit—*Din*, but distinctions in the outward expression of religion, in the ways and methods of worship (*shar'a* and *Minhaj*). These distinctions are natural as they are determined by the different social conditions and times.

The idea of the oneness of God and through it the idea of the unity of humanity provides the main theoretical justification for the political stand Azad took in the national liberation movement.

His philosophical and political views find full expression in the pages of journals edited by him—firstly, in *Al-Hilal*, (June 1912, November, 1914) and then in *Al-Bilagh* (November, 1915, March 1916).

The decision to publish the magazines, which moulded the opinion of Indian Muslims, was taken after his two-year stay in a number of Muslim countries—Iran, Egypt, Syria and Turkey. The acquaintance with Iraqi revolutionaries, with leaders of the Young Turk movement, with the followers of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, greatly influenced the world political outlook of the young Azad. The realisation of the need to change the attitude of Indian Muslims towards the colonial administration had already come, directly after the partition of Bengal in 1905 and the events following it. Now, it matured into a firm political conviction. The main objective of his journals became the awakening of Indian Muslims, rallying them into political activity in their struggle against the British.

The publication of *Al-Hilal* was a challenge to those who followed the Aligarh movement, initiated by Syed Ahmed Khan, who stood for cooperation of Muslims with the British, seeing in it the only way for the salvation of the Muslims community in India. Rejecting loyalty to the British, Azad took the first steps away from the policy of the Aligarh school. The next step, no less important, was a rejection of the positions of narrow religious nationalism leading to communalism and weakening of the national liberation movement.

Azad's Thought After A Decade

But the evolution of Azad's thoughts took a period of ten years. Till then, through the pages of *Al-Hilal* Azad spoke as a Muslim nationalist who inseparably linked politics with religion. His statement to a correspondent of the *Al-Hilal*, published in the issue of December 29, 1912 is characteristic of his views in those days: "You have suggested separation of politics from religion. But if we do this what, then, is left with us? We have developed our political thinking from religion...we believe that every thought which draws inspiration from any institution (including politics) other than the Quran is Kafr (infidelity)." (Abdul Waheed Khan, *India Wins Freedom, the Other Side*, Karachi 1961, pp. 22-23).

Azad did not realize then the need for the unity of Hindus and Muslims in the common struggle against colonialism. On the contrary he advocated political separation of the two communities. "Islam", he stated, "is such a perfect religion that its followers need not copy (imitate) Hindus in moulding their party. There is no greater shame for the Muslims than to beg from others for political education. The Muslims must not join any political party. They were the leaders of the world. If they submit to God, the whole universe will bend to their will".

Azad set religious unity of the Muslims against unity of the nation, considering that every Muslim is first of all a citizen of the World Muslim Brotherhood. These ideals of Azad undoubtedly were influenced by the ideas of Pan-Islamism, which was widely spread in the whole Muslim world at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Azad more than anybody else among

Indian Muslims advocated the Pan-Islamic theory of Jamaluddin Afgani. Unlike Mohammed Iqbal, who, though influenced by Afgani, never reduced the idea of Pan-Islamism to the defence of the Khalifate, Azad believed that the political loyalty to the Khalifate and the complete submission to it of all the Muslims of the world was the pillar of the pan-Islamic society. According to Azad, the submission of the Muslim community to the Khalif is not of a religious, but of a political character, because the religious guidance in Islam is a prerogative of God and His Prophet. However Azad made a very essential reservation, that the political loyalty would be absolute so long the Khalif acted in correspondence with the dogmas of the Koran and the teachings of the Prophet.

Not belittling Azad's enthusiasm for religious nationalism and even in a certain degree for Islamic separatism, it should be said in all fairness that it was not those ideas which brought popularity to Azad. He became popular mainly because of the militant anti-colonial character of his journals. It is logical therefore that in 1914 *Al-Hilal* was banned, and the same happened to *Al-Bilagh* which continued to espouse the cause of *Al-Hilal*. And Azad himself was exiled from Calcutta.

Decisive Period

The Governments of Punjab, Delhi, UP and Bombay deprived him of the right to live in these provinces. Since April, 1916 upto the end of 1919 Azad was interned in Ranchi. The years of internment were for Azad the decisive period in reconsidering his own views. In this he was influenced by the development of the events in India and by the violent growth of the national liberation movement in the country. The final deviation from ultra Islamic nationalism to the positions of co-operation between Muslims and Hindus in the struggle against British colonialism was promoted also by the policy of the Indian National Congress towards the Khilafat.

The Khilafat movement against the forces of imperialism which broke up the Ottoman empire and the power of the Turkish Sultan, got the support not only on behalf of Muslims but from all those who opposed imperialism in general. On the initiative of Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian National Congress expressed its solidarity with the Khilafat movement and started a mass agitation in defence of Turkey and other Muslim states against imperialist aggression.

The evolution of Azad's outlook from religious to secular bourgeois nationalism was determined in a great degree by the developments in Turkey and the Arab countries, particularly the elimination by Ataturk the institution of Khalifs and the strengthening of Arab nationalism which was based on the unity of territory, language, history and culture of Arab peoples.

In 1920 Abul Kalam Azad became a member of the Executive Committee of the Indian National Congress, and to the end of his life he remained

one of the respected leaders of the party supporting and working for Hindu-Muslim unity.

The developments of the liberation movement in India convinced Azad that its success depended above all on unity of all Indians irrespective of their religious, language and other differences. Azad justly believed that the so-called communal problem could and had to be solved after India got her independence. According to him, the partition of the country on religious basis would not solve the problem; on the contrary it would make Hindu-Muslim antagonism more acute. "Two states confronting one another", he said, "offer no solution of the problem of one another's minorities, but only lead to retribution and reprisals by introducing a system of mutual hostage." (*Azad India Wins Freedom*). Unlike many of his compatriots Azad understood that the root-cause of Hindu-Muslim and, in general, communal conflicts is not in religious sentiments, but in certain socio-economic reasons. "The real problems", he wrote, "of the country were economic, not communal. The differences related to classes, not to communities. Once the country became free Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs would all realise the real nature of the problems that faced them and communal differences would be resolved". (*ibid*, p. 184)

Azad foresaw international repercussions due to Partition. Therefore, he firmly opposed political independence at the cost of the unity of the Indian people and the partition of the country. "If an angel were to descend from the high heavens and proclaim from the heights of the Qutab Minar, 'Discard Hindu-Muslim unity and within 24 hours swaraj is yours', I would refuse the preferred Swaraj, but will not budge an inch from my stand. The refusal of Swaraj will affect only India while the end of our unity will be the loss of the entire human world". (*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, a memorial volume, edited by Humayun Kabir, New Delhi 1959, p. 49.)

Two-Nation Theory Rejected

Azad rejected the two-nation theory which was put forward by the leaders of the Muslim League to justify their demands for partition. While in youth, Azad stressed in his writings and speeches the isolation of Muslims, their superiority over the followers of other religions, particularly of Hinduism, and called on Muslims to follow a specific "Islamic way", he now advocated the indissolubility, of the fortunes of Indian Muslims and Hindus, their common social and political interests determined by the centuries of common life. In his presidential address at the Ramgarh session of the Indian National Congress in 1940 Azad stated: "Our language, our poetry, literature, society, our tastes, our dresses, our traditions and the innumerable realities of our daily life bear the zeal of a common life and a unified society...our social intercourse for over one thousand years has blended into a united nationalism."

Those who are criticizing Azad often try to accuse him of being contradictory. In fact the

philosophical and socio-political views of Azad in later life were very much different from those he held in his youth. However, this contradictoriness cannot be an evidence of his inconsistency, it only shows the logical evolution of Azad's views, determined by the historical conditions of the development of Indian society. Once having rejected the former convictions, Azad firmly, and we can even say courageously, advocated his new convictions prompted by his life's experience, by the experience of the struggle.

Azad based his conception of nationalism on the community of territory, history and culture of the people. Azad explained that nationalism was one of the highest stages in the development of human relations and collective feelings. It is higher, for instance, than the realisation of family relations, than the feelings between the people of the same village, city or district. Azad has not succeeded in giving precise definition to the notion of nation. However, it could be concluded from his speeches and writings that he related nationalism to a certain territorial and historical community. It is important to point out the distinction that Azad made in the nature of nationalism—the "aggressive" and "defensive" types. Analysing the history of the European nations Azad came to the conclusions that "though nationalism was born to defend the freedom and the rights of man, later on it became the greatest impediment to their achievement" (*ibid*, p. 37). So Azad rightly saw the tendencies in the development of bourgeois nationalism, though he did not comprehend its real causes.

In Azad's interpretation, Islam does not oppose nationalism if it is not of an aggressive character. At the same time Islam recognises two stages above it. These are the feelings of affiliation to one religion which unites the people of different countries and nations, and the highest form of community which is the realization of belonging to a world human brotherhood. Though the final end of Islam is to achieve this highest stage, according to Abdul Kalam, Islam succeeded to reach only the former, and he identifies this as the medieval Khilafate.

Idea of World Citizenship

In the last decade of his life, Azad began to speak and write on the idea of world citizenship. He considered that it was necessary to revise the method of teaching geography and history in order to reach "the unity of world and humanity." (*Speeches of Maulana Azad*). In his presidential address at the 2nd session of Indian National Commission for co-operation with UNESCO Azad said: "We must have new maps for children in the elementary stages in which the world will be painted in one colour; we must teach the child that he is a denizen of the world first and foremost, and then go on to tell him that just as a town is divided into different wards for purposes of convenience, so the world is divided into segments like Asia and America, Africa and Europe, but such divisions do not disrupt the unity of the world."

The idea of world citizenship was logically con-

nected and based on Azad's conception of one God and religious pluralism. It was a naive and utopian hope for solving world conflicts by way of reforms in the field of education and by synthesis of cultures.

Azad sought to prove not only the unity of different religious teachings and the necessity of their co-existence, but equally tried to find reconciliation for the so-called conflict between West and East by pointing out similarities in the cultures of West and East. He explained the difference between these two cultures as a difference in the accent each placed on different aspects of the same problem.

Eastern and Western Concept of Man

According to Maulana Azad, since the times of the Greek philosophers, the West always paid more attention, not to what man is, but to what he does. The East, in contrast, laid stress on the internal spirituality of man. According to the Eastern concept, man cannot be understood unless he is seen as the emanation of God. Maulana Azad believed that the Western as well as the Eastern concepts suffer from onesidedness in the understanding of man. The Eastern concept raises man to the level of divinity and Koran even considers him to be the regent of God on the earth. That makes man the highest form of creation. But the same concept, as Azad rightly points out, carries within itself elements of fatalism. Because, if man is the emanation of God, then everything he does, ultimately happens according to the will of God. This in its turn, reduces man so "a toy in the hands of Fate." Here, Maulana Azad practically recognizes the impossi-

(Continued on Page 29)

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Growth of Business Houses

TATAS, BIRLAS AND MAFATLAL

A Factual Survey for the Period 1963-64 to 1966-67

B. DATTA

IV

THE MAFATLAL GROUP

Financial Position in 1966-67

THE group recorded substantial improvement over the three years ended 1966-67. Though the number of companies 1966-67 belonging to the group increased only by two, paid-up capital and total tangible assets of the group companies stood higher by about 185 per cent and 176 per cent respectively in 1966-67 over the level operating in 1963-64. The remarkable growth achieved by this group during the span of three years, as would be explained later, is by and large in respect of 4-5 companies which had only nominal capital in 1963-64. The table below sets out a comparative view of the group in overall terms for the two years viz., 1963-64 and 1966-67 :

Overall Financial Position of the Group
(Amounts in Rs. Crores)

	1963-64	1966-67	Percentage increase in 1966-67 over 1963-64
1. Number of Companies	21	23	9.2
2. Paid-up Capital	10.3	29.3	185.0
3. Reserves	15.9	19.2	21.1
4. Long-term loans	negligible	35.3	—
5. Short term loans	9.2	24.4	164.4
6. Other liabilities and provisions	10.5	18.6	76.6
7. Total assets (Tangible)	45.9	126.7	176.0
8. Fixed assets	18.9	77.2	308.3
9. Turn over	43.1	77.6	80.0
10. Profits before tax	4.6	5.1	12.4
11. Profits after tax	2.4	3.4	41.5

This is the third and concluding instalment of an article by the Director of the Department of Company Affairs, Government of India, which appeared in the Annual Number of Company Notes and News, Vol. VII, No. 1. The first two instalments of this article dealing with the Tata and the Birla Groups appeared in Mainstream, March 1, and March 8, 1969.

In absolute terms, paid-up capital of the group companies increased over the three year period ending 1966-67 by about Rs 19 crores and total assets by Rs. 80.8 crores. Both long-term and short-term borrowings increased by Rs 35 crores and Rs 15 crores respectively over the period under review. The profitability of the group companies despite substantial increases in total capital employed registered marginal increase ; profits before tax rose by Rs 56 lakhs and profits after tax by Rs one crore only. A comparatively larger increase in profits after tax in absolute terms is largely on account of somewhat lower tax provision than required made in 1966-67.

The capital structure of the group companies for the two years, viz., 1963-64 and 1966-67 is set out in the following table :—

	1963-64	1966-67
1. Percentage of paid-up capital to total assets	22.4	23.1
2. Percentage of net worth to total assets	57.0	38.3
3. Percentage of loans to total assets	20.1	47.1
4. Percentage of other liabilities to total assets	22.9	14.6
5. Percentage of fixed assets to total assets	41.2	60.9

The picture regarding the capital structure of the group clearly reveals that capital requirements were financed to a considerable extent by Loan Finance rather than by Owners' Capital. Thus while borrowings by the group companies in 1966-67 formed a little over 47 per cent of the total tangible assets as compared to 20 per cent in 1963-64, the proportion to total assets of Owners' Capital stood lower at 38 per cent in 1966-67 as compared to over 57 per cent in 1963-64. Accordingly, the bulk of the growth in fixed assets which formed nearly 61 per

cent of the total assets in 1966-67 as compared to 41 per cent in 1963-64 was financed by and large by greater reliance on borrowed funds. Some details about the growth of important sources of funds that became available to the Group during the period under review are given below.

Paid-up Capital and reserves

The paid-up capital of the 21 companies taken by the Monopolies Inquiry Commission amounted to Rs 10.3 crores in 1963-64. As mentioned in part I of this article, after adjustments on account of winding up of certain old companies and acquisition and floatation of certain new ones the total number of companies in 1966-67 that could be taken as belonging to this group was 23 which had paid-up capital of Rs 29.3 crores in that year. The increase in paid-up capital of the group companies is accounted for to the extent of Rs. 5 crores by three new companies added to the group. The balance of the increase of Rs 14 crores is in respect of old companies listed in the MIC Report for the year 1963-64. The paid-up capital position of the three new companies in 1966-67 is as follows :

	Paid-up Capital (Rupees in crores)
1. Ahmedabad Jupiter Spg. Wvg & Mfg. Co. Ltd.	0.9
2. Hoechst Dyes and Chemicals Ltd.	0.2
3. Polyolefins Industries Ltd. (New Company)	3.6
Total	4.7

The bulk of the increase of Rs 14 crores in respect of old companies is explained by the growth in paid-up capital of the following two companies :

	Increase in Paid-up Capital (Rs in Crores)
(i) National Organic Chemical Industries Ltd.	12.0
(ii) Mafatlal Gagalbhai & Co. Pvt. Ltd.	1.0
Total	13.0

In 1963-64 the National Organic Chemical Industries had a nominal paid-up capital of Rs five thousands. In 1966-67 the company's paid-up capital had grown to Rs 12 crores which formed more than one-third of the total paid-up capital of the group companies.

It would be interesting to analyse the sources from where the increase of Rs 19 crores in paid-up capital of the group companies was financed. It seems that during the period under review only four companies, including the newly acquired ones, approached the capital market for raising about Rs 9.3 crores by offering shares of the value of Rs 6.3 crores to the public. The remaining amount was subscribed by the Directors of various group companies and their friends. The break-up of amount offered to public is indicated below.

Companies that approached the Capital market for Raising Paid-capital

Name of the Company	Date of issue of Capital	Total amount issued (shares)	(Amount in Rs Crores)	
			Amount offered to the public (shares)	Amount under-written by under writers
1. Mafatlal Fine Spg. & Mfg. Co. Ltd.	February, 1964	1.1	0.5	...
2. National Organic Chem. Industries Ltd.	January, 1966	4.6	4.6	4.6
3. Polyolefins Industries Ltd.	March, 1966	3.6	1.2	1.2
Total		9.3	6.3	5.8

CLARIFICATION

The following clarification has been received from Sri R. Parthasarathy, Assistant Editor, Company News & Notes, Department of Company Affairs, Government of India:

"In the article on 'Growth of Business Houses—Tatas, Birlas & Mafatlal—a Factual Survey for the period 1963-64 to 1966-67', which appeared in the Annual Number, viz. January 1, 1969 issue of *Company News & Notes*, it was indicated on page 2 under the 'Birla Group' that 'East India Investment Company Ltd.' went into liquidation in 1966. (See *Mainstream*, March 1, 1969, page 14, column 2, para 1.) On re-examination it has been found that the Company, which actually went into liquidation is 'East Indian Investment Corporation Private Ltd.' But this Company does not belong to the Birla Group. The Company which actually belongs to the Birla Group is 'East India Investment Company Private Ltd.' The Birla Company 'East India Investment Company Private Ltd.' is a live one with assets of around Rs. 15 lakhs."

—Editor

As against the total amount of Rs 6.3 crores offered to the public Rs 5.8 crores had to be underwritten by the following underwriters :

Institutional Underwriters

Name of Underwriter	Amount underwritten (Rupees in lakhs)
1. Industrial Development Bank of India	307.6
2. Life Insurance Corporation of India	70.0
3. Industrial Credit and Investment Corpn. of India	60.0
4. Industrial Finance Corpn. of India	60.0
5. General Insurance Cos. (All combined)	55.0
6. Joint Stock Banks	10.0
7. Industrial Investment Trust	10.0
8. Others (Firms of brokes etc.)	5.0
Total	577.6

The underwriters had to subscribe ultimately to the extent of Rs 4.1 crores. The increase of nearly Rs 10 crores in paid-up capital in 1966-67 over the 1963-64 level not covered by fresh share issues was accounted for by :

(Rs. in crores)

(a) Bonus issues	2.5
(b) Shareholdings of foreign collaborators in National Organic Chemical Industries Ltd.	4.0
(c) Contributed to the share capital by Directors, their friends and the companies belonging to the group (NOCIL)	3.4
Total	9.9

Borrowings

The short-term and the long-term loans outstanding in 1966-67 amounted to Rs 59.6 crores as against Rs 9.2 crores in 1963-64. The phenomenal increase of Rs 50 crores in borrowed funds was financed by

Governmental financial institutions, banks and foreign sources as shown below :—

Financing of Loans

(Brack-up of institutional financing of outstanding loans is based on balance-sheet data)

(Rs. in Crores)

Sl. No.	Source	Loans outstanding		Net increase over 1963-64
		1963-64	1966-67	
1.	Financial Institutions.			
(i)	I.F.C.	5.7		5.7
(ii)	L.I.C.	1.4		1.4
(iii)	I.D.B.I.	1.7		1.7
(iv)	I.C.I.C.I.	(0.03)		2.9
	(Negligible)			
2.	Foreign Loans	16.2		16.2
3.	Deferred payments	6.0		6.0
4.	Other Loans (from banks, Mg. Agents, Subsidiary & Holding Companies, trade and other deposits)	9.2	24.4	15.2
5.	Debentures		1.3	1.3
	TOTAL	9.2	59.6	50.4

Of the total loans of Rs. 59 crores outstanding in 1966-67 National Organic Chemical Industries Ltd. accounted for about Rs. 22 crores, and Polyolefins Industries Ltd. about Rs. 5 crores. In these companies foreign loans amounted to over Rs. 16 crores. The outstanding debentures of Rs. 1.2 crores were underwritten by the following institutions when issued :

Underwriting of Debentures

Sl. No	Name of underwriter	Amount underwritten (Rs. in lakhs)
1.	I.C.I.C.I.	15.0
2.	Unit Trust of India	15.0
3.	General Insurance Cos. (All combined)	10.0
4.	Joint Stock Banks (All combined)	40.0
5.	Industrial Investment Trust	5.0
6.	Investment Corpn of India	5.0
7.	Others (firms of brokers etc.)	32.0
	TOTAL	122.0

Profitability

Despite substantial growth in paid-up capital and the total assets, the companies belonging to the Mafatlal Group did not show any striking improvement in their profitability. Though the turn-over of the group companies at Rs. 77.6 crores in 1966-67 accounted for 80 per cent rise over the 1963-64 level the profits before tax of all the companies belonging to this group increased in absolute terms only by about Rs. 56 lakhs in 1966-67 over the 1963-64 level. This phenomenon is partly explained by the fact that increase in turnover over the three year period was considerably lower than the increase of 176 per cent in total assets. This in turn may be due primarily to a few important companies which might not have got over the period of gestation. The managerial remuneration paid by the group companies including the managing

agency commission etc., however, amounted to Rs. 33 lakhs in 1966-67 as compared to Rs. 31 lakhs in 1963-64. Again, sole-selling and other selling agency commission also amounted only to Rs. 16 lakhs in 1966-67.

Industry-wise growth of the group

Most of the investments in terms of total assets of the Mafatlal Group were accounted for by three main industries in 1963-64. These were Chemical and Allied Products Cotton Textiles and Investments in other companies. As indicated in the table below out of the increase of about Rs. 81 crores in total assets of the group companies by 1966-67 over the 1963-64 level Rs. 79 crores are explained by the additional flow of funds to two Industries, viz., Chemical and Allied Products and Cotton Textiles.

Industry-wise Distribution of Assets and Net Increase in Assets

(Amount in Rs. lakhs)

Name of Industry	1963-64			1966-67			
	No. of Cos.	Total Assets	% of investment in each industry to total Assets	No. of Cos.	Total Assets	% of investment in each industry to total Assets	Net Increase in Assets
							% of increase in Assets in each industry to total increase
1. Chemical and Allied Products	3	845.2	18.4	4	5674.0	44.8	4828.8
2. Cotton Textiles	6	2671.9	58.2	7	5763.7	45.5	3091.8
3. Sugar	1	167.6	3.6	1	243.6	1.9	76.0
4. Insurance	1	22.2	0.5	1	66.0	0.5	43.8
5. Jute Mfg.	1	197.9	4.3	1	236.0	1.9	38.1
6. Investment Business	1	568.2	12.4	1	580.4	4.6	12.2
7. Wood industry	1	70.1	1.5	1	70.7	0.5	0.6
8. Consultancy & Business Services	1	2.8	0.1	1	3.0	...	0.2
9. Printing and Engraving	1	3.0	0.1	1	2.8	...	-0.2
10. Managing Agency Business	5	42.7	0.9	5	31.2	0.3	-11.5
TOTAL	21	4591.6	100.0	23	12671.4	100.0	8079.8

Sixty per cent of the Industrial Investments was directed towards "Chemical and Allied Products" and 38 per cent to 'Cotton textiles'.

V

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE GROWTH OF THREE GROUPS

THE following table sets out increase in terms of percentages recorded by the three groups in respect of various sources of funds that became available to them as also their turnover and profits before and after taxation. Aggregate assets (tangible) increased by 32 per cent in the case of Tatas, 74 per cent in the case of Birlas and 176 per cent in the case of Mafatal. But increase in fixed assets in the case of Tatas was only 24.5 per cent. The Birla Group recorded an increase in fixed assets of 80 per cent and Mafatlal of about 308 per cent. The

improvement in the profitability was the highest in the case of the Birla Group, Tatas showing a decline in profits after tax. In the case of the Tata Group tax provision made in 1966-67 accounted for more than 50 per cent of total profits before allowing for taxation. Birlas tax provisions accounted for about one-third of profits before tax. In the case of Mafatlal tax provisions were also about one-third of profits before tax. On the whole, Birla group achieved substantial improvement of 78 per cent in its profits after tax. But Mafatlal with comparatively larger

Comparative View of the Growth of Three Groups in Various Industries

(Amounts in Rs Lakhs)

Name of the Group and the Year	Names of Industries														Total Assets of all the companies in the group
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
A. TATAS															
(1) Total assets in 1963-64		2345.9	2193.8	5076.2	5876.2	16052.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	586.2	...	4,18,08.0 ✓
(2) Percentage of investment to total assets		5.6	5.2	12.1	14.0	38.5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(3) Total assets in 1966-67		3363.9	3716.8	5986.0	9443.5	18223.8	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.4	...	...
(4) Percentage of investment to total assets		6.1	6.8	10.9	17.2	33.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	678.9	...	5,50,59.3
(5) Increase in 1966-67 over 1963-64		1018.0	1523.0	909.8	3567.3	2171.8	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.2	...	...
(6) Percentage of increase in investments to total increase		7.7	11.5	6.9	26.9	16.4	...	...	...	...	...	...	92.7	...	...
B. BIRLAS															
(1) Total Assets in 1963-64:		6968.0	881.4	...	...	241.1	2459.4	2312.6	336.0	2280.0	2227.5	2941.2	153.6	1677.0	2,93,24.5
(2) Percentage of Investments to total Assets		23.8	3.1	...	...	0.8	18.8	7.8	1.1	7.7	7.0	10.0	0.5	5.6	...
(3) Total Assets in 1966-67		9101.1	1050.7	1731.6	...	321.6	6019.4	5012.4	2568.7	4273.5	3775.6	4121.9	1022.0	2423.7	5,09,81.7
(4) Percentage of investments to total assets		18.0	2.0	3.8	...	0.6	11.8	10.0	5.0	8.4	7.4	8.0	2.0	4.7	...
(5) Increase in 1966-67 over 1963-64		2193.1	169.3	1731.6	...	80.5	3560.0	2699.8	2232.7	1993.5	1548.1	1180.7	868.4	746.7	...
(6) Percentage of increase in investments to total increase		10.1	0.8	8.0	...	0.4	16.4	12.5	10.3	9.2	7.1	5.4	4.0	3.5	...
C. MAFATLAL															
(1) Total Assets in 1963-64		2671.9	845.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	197.9	45,91.6
(2) Percentage of Investments to total assets		58.2	18.4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.3	...
(3) Total assets in 1966-67		5763.7	5674.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	236.0	1,26,71.4
(4) Percentage of investments to total assets		45.5	44.8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.9	...
(5) Increase in 1966-67 over 1963-64		3091.8	4828.8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	38.1	...
(6) Percentage of increase in investments to total increase		38.3	59.8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.4	...

of growth in assets showed increase in profits after tax about 42 per cent over the same period.

Percentage Increase in- 1966-67 over 1963-64

	Tatas	Birlas	Mafatlal
1. Number of Companies	Nil	5.3	9.2
2. Paid-up Capital ...	24.4	36.9	185.0
3. Reserves ...	11.9	40.9	21.1
4. Borrowings ...	51.2	119.0	548.0
5. Other Liabilities ...	33.1	100.0	76.6
6. Total Assets (tangible)	31.7	73.8	176.0
7. Fixed Assets ...	24.5	79.9	308.3
8. Stock in trade ...	47.0	48.5	102.3
9. Turn over ...	36.5	56.8	80.0
10. Profits before tax ...	18.8	55.5	12.4
11. Profits after tax ...	15.9	78.0	41.5

It is necessary to put here a word of caution. Substantial increases in terms of percentages shown for the Mafatlal Group in the above table does not in any way bring the group near the two top business houses. In absolute terms the assets of Tata Group in 1966-67 were Rs. 551 crores, of the Birla Group Rs. 510 crores and of Mafatlal only Rs. 127 crores. The increase in assets recorded by the Mafatlal Group over the three-year period was Rs. 81 crores in absolute terms. The comparable figures for the Tata Group was about Rs. 133 crores and the Birla Group Rs. 217 crores. Though details have already been given in the relevant parts of this article about the individual groups, it may be mentioned that in the case of Mafatlal Group the increase of Rs. 81 crores in assets is substantially accounted for by 1-2 companies whose assets were absolutely negligible in 1963-64. For instance, National Organic Chemical Industries Ltd, had assets of only Rs. 5 thousand in 1963-64, but, by 1966-67 these increased to about Rs. 35

crores. M/s. Polyolefins Industries Ltd. which did not exist in 1963-64 had total assets of Rs. 9 crores in 1966-67. In addition, Ahmedabad Jupitar, a newly added company accounted for another Rs. 9 crores. Mafatlal Fine Spinning and Manufacturing Company's assets increased during the three years by Rs. 7 crores. M/s. New Shorrock Spinning and Manufacturing Company's assets increased by Rs. 6 crores and in the case of M/s. Standard Mills Co. Ltd. the assets increased by about Rs. 5 crores.

A look at the three statements appended in this article showing the pattern of investments of the three groups in different industries would reveal that flow of capital of the companies belonging to the Tata Group is towards those industries which have not attracted much capital from the other two groups. For instance, Tata's investment in "Iron and Steel" and "Railways and Accessories" accounted for Rs. 220 crores in 1963-64. By 1966-67 investments in these industries increased to Rs. 276 crores accounting for nearly 50 per cent of aggregate tangible assets of the entire group. Investment in these industries by the Birla and Mafatlal Groups for one reason or the other has not taken place. All the three groups have made substantial investments in two industries, viz., cotton textiles and chemicals and allied products. Again investments in "Electric Generations" are higher in the case of the Tata Group, the Birla Group being second with investment of nearly Rs 17 crores in the Industry in 1966-67 accounting for about 8 per cent of its total assets. In the case of the Birla Group investments flowed to other Industries also, viz., aluminium and other metal products, rayon, paper and 'pulp products', 'cement and allied industries', 'jute textiles', 'electrical goods', 'sugar and trading business' to a notable extent. A comparative view of investments made by the three groups in different industries can be seen from the statement (on page 25).

APPENDIX III*

MAFATLAL GROUP

Industry-wise distribution of assets and net increase in assets

Name of Industry	1963-64			1966-67			(Amounts in Rs Lakhs)	
	No of Cos.	Total Assets	% of investment in each industry to total Assets.	No. of Cos.	Total Assets	% of Investment in each industry to total Assets.	Net Increase in Assets	% of increase in Assets in each industry to total increase
1. Chemical & Allied Products.	3	845.2	18.4	4	5674.0	44.8	4828.8	59.8
2. Cotton Textiles	6	2671.9	58.2	7	5763.7	45.5	3091.8	38.3
3. Sugar	1	167.6	3.6	1	243.6	1.9	76.0	0.9
4. Insurance	1	22.2	0.5	1	66.0	0.5	43.8	0.5
5. Jute Manufacturing	1	197.9	4.3	1	236.0	1.9	38.1	0.4
6. Investment Business	1	568.2	12.4	1	580.4	4.6	12.2	0.1
7. Wood Industry	1	70.1	1.5	1	70.7	0.5	0.6	...
8. Consultancy & Business Services	1	2.8	0.1	1	3.0	...	0.2	...
9. Printing & Engravings	1	3.0	0.1	1	2.8	...	(-)0.2	...
10. Managing Agency Business	5	42.7	0.9	5	31.2	0.3	(-)11.5	...
	21	4591.6	100.0	23	12671.4	100.0	8079.8	100.0

* Appendices I and II covering Tata Group and Birla Group appeared in Mainstream March 1 and 8 respectively (Concluded)

What Price Dollar ?

SADHAN MUKHERJEE

THE bug of "hot money" which sets off a chain reaction in Western monetary system and trips its delicate balance remains still beyond the clutches of the financial experts. Plans are plenty but none appears to be satisfactory to all the governments concerned.

The latest in the series is the one recently formulated by the central bank governors in Basle. This plan in essence is a commitment to meet at the time of any speculative influx of "hot money" and to take measures to combat any monetary convulsion. But this plan is yet in the embryo stage subject to the approval of the finance ministers of the Group of Ten who had asked the governors to devise a way to control the bug of "hot money".

In a way this plan is more nebulous than the original "Carli-Fowler" plan which required a firm undertaking by these countries to automatically recycle the "hot money" inflows. What is common between that and the latest plan is that in either case the surplus central banks of West Germany, Switzerland and Italy refuse to commit themselves to any binding clause that would require them to advance large credits in time of any monetary upheaval.

Thus the latest plan in no way represents an advance on the tricky road of monetary settlement. The only point that is new is that there would be a coordinatory swap arrangement at central bank level under the aegis of the Bank for International Settlements, just like the arrangement under which France was granted a 2,000 million dollar loan last November to stave off the crisis following the flight of its Franc. The limit of the present swap may be extended to about 5,000 million dollars.

But this sort of prop-placing does not resolve the basic problem of the Western monetary system which is tied to the dollar. The clash between the interests of the USA and that of other Western countries is really the crux of the monetary crisis. National economies of Western countries refuse to remain tied any more to the apron-strings of the US economy which has really lost its leading role as such in terms of its surpluses.

On January 22, US Treasury Secretary David M. Kennedy spelt out the ideas of the new Nixon Administration on the monetary question. He said : "It will be our purpose to maintain a strong dollar both at home and abroad." And "we will not seek to answer our problems by changing the monetary price of gold." Thus, it is clear that the new US Administration is bent upon maintaining the supremacy of dollar.

A strict budget control including cuts in social expenditure and reductions in fringe benefits of common man as well as running the risk of greater unemployment — this is how the Nixon Administration wishes to shore up the sagging US economy and keep the false dollar-gold parity up.

But other Western countries have their own problems which cramp their desire, if any, to help US maintain its facade of artificial dollar stability. The December report of the Executive Commission of the European Economic Community, as revealed in Brussels on January 22, showed that despite a spurt of industrial growth in the EEC, the balance of trade positions of Italy, France, Belgium and Luxembourg continue to be adverse while those of West Germany and the Netherlands remain almost unchanged.

In other words, national imbalances continue and in all these countries domestic prices are shooting up and it is feared that working-class actions might come soon in a big sweep. A pointer to this has already come from Italy where the biggest 24-hour general strike since the last war took place on February 5 involving nearly 18 million workers who are demanding a settlement of the pension dispute. In France, questions of national wages on a sliding scale linked to cost of living, 40-hour working week and several other demands will figure in the talks scheduled in March between the representatives of the trade unions and government. If talks fail, a big wave of strikes is sure to come.

These pulls of national demands in West European countries the US wishes to surmount by suggesting a greater flexibility of exchange rates of the currencies of these countries vis-a-vis the dollar without changing the dollar-gold parity which remains at 35 dollars per Troy ounce of gold since 1934.

The existing limit of exchange fluctuation, which does not take into account either balance of trade position or even the overall balance of payment, is only one per cent either side of parity. This range may be extended to some 5 or 7 per cent.

This will create a queer situation, or at least that is what such a plan will lead to. While the dollar-gold parity will remain unchanged, exchange rates of currencies other than dollar would not be directly related to gold. But already since 1958 most of the Western currencies are freely convertible into gold. In addition, a greater flexibility of exchange rates would further widen the scope of international speculation in currencies.

It stands to reason that Western countries are not likely to submit so easily to this move. Their lack of confidence in the US dollar cannot be offset by such palliatives. The stability of the dollar is gone and nothing would satisfy the national ego of capitalist countries as seeing the dollar lose its all-powerful halo and join the ranks of ordinary

currencies.

Since 1934, it is estimated, dollar has depreciated by about 65 per cent of its built-in value. There has been almost a continuous rise in US balance of payment deficits since 1957. US gold reserves, which were about 24,000 million dollars in 1949, dwindled to about 11,400 million dollars in 1968.

The official 25 per cent gold coverage to the dollar within the USA has been abolished and today, out of some 75,000 million dollar paper currency in circulation, some 82 per cent have no gold backing at all.

The six partners of the US at the Washington meet in March last year tacitly agreed to keep on holding their accumulated dollars and not insist on converting them into gold. Now the question is how long will they hold on for the sake of safeguarding US economy, especially when their own economies are in stake?

Internal pressures within these partner countries are rising very fast. Interesting changes in the political balance of forces are also taking place. For the first time, Italian Communists have won seven seats in the European Parliament (the legislative arm of the EEC), and consequently a voice in the European Common Market organisation. Out of the 36 Italian representatives in this body, seven at least are going to fight not on the basis of Keynesian economy but on the lines of Karl Marx. A significant change no doubt.

US foreign expenditure has reached fantastic proportions running into billions of dollars while at the same time its internal economy has become inflationary. US investment and assets abroad in 1968 amounted to an estimated sum of 122,000 million dollars.

Financing of foreign commitments by the US is no longer possible from its balance of payments and trade surplus. Its armament and military expenses are taking a severe toll of its economy.

Charles Schutze, a former US budget director, frankly admitted a few weeks back that the US economy cannot get out of the

rut of its war expenditure. He pointed out that "even if Vietnam war ends soon, US military expenditure will remain about 76,000 million dollars (annually) —only some 2,000 million dollars less than now. But if the war continues, by 1974 the US military expenditure will be around 100,000 million dollars." At present, the Vietnam war alone costs the US treasury 30,000 million dollars.

But this crisis is not of US economy alone. In some of the other leading Western countries like France, UK, West Germany etc., the situation is equally precarious.

The above two Tables regarding paper currency circulation and foreign trade balances in four countries would explain the point better.

It is clear from these two

Tables that the total amount of paper currency in circulation in all these four countries had been rising sharply from year to year resulting in the fall of purchasing power of these currencies. The trade balance too, except for West Germany, remained deficit.

At the end of 1968, the US marginally improved its balance of trade position but that is admittedly only a temporary spurt. It is also not conceivable that the positive West German balance of trade is going to last indefinitely. It may not take long for other countries to wipe off this balance.

Among these four countries two in particular—the US and West Germany—spend very large amounts on military account. The national debts of these two countries are extremely high.

PAPER CURRENCY IN CIRCULATION (in thousand million)

Year	West Germany (Mark)	France (Franc)	Britain (Pound)	USA (Dollar)
1961	23.1	45.6	2.2	30.2
1965	29.6	66.3	2.6	37.2
1966	30.8	69.9	2.7	39.2
1967	31.4	72.8	2.9	41.3

FOREIGN TRADE BALANCE (in thousand million)

Year	West Germany (Mark)	France (Franc)	Britain (Pound)	USA (Dollar)
1965	+0.8	-1.4	-0.8	-1.3
1966	+7.7	-4.8	-0.8	-1.6
1967	+16.1	-4.8	-1.3	-3.6

SPENDING PATTERNS

United States—in thousand million dollars

Year	Expenditure	Budgetary deficit	National debt
1961	104.5	-6.7	296.5
1965	127.9	-4.5	321.4
1966	150.6	-5.6	329.8
1967	not known	not known	345.2

West Germany—in thousand million marks

Year	Expenditure	Budgetary deficit	National debt
1961	43.3	0.0	26.0
1965	62.7	-1.6	33.0
1966	67.0	-2.2	35.6
1967	75.0	-8.3	43.5

Thus, it can be seen that the actual economic health of these two countries is not particularly good despite their outward appearance. The present state of affairs in all the Western countries show that the greater attempt at garnering the surplus value generates only bigger crisis. Competitive elan works on national as well as on international scales.

The days of dollar supremacy are gone. Taking advantage of its gold stock and dollar's overall acceptability as international reserve currency, the US had been riding rough-shod for a long time. It forced other currencies to devalue, while keeping the dollar in tact despite its depreciation. Since 1944, currencies of the capitalist world have been devalued 61 times! The devaluation of the Indian rupee was also one in this chain. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) never became an independent body as promised but remained only an instrument of US financial domination.

French franc was devalued six times since 1944. One dollar was equal to only 40 francs; on 25.12.1945. Next day, it became

equal to 119.1 francs; on 26.1.1948 to 214.39 francs; on 27.4.1949 to 330 francs; on 30.9.1949 to 350 francs; on 10.8.1957 to 420 francs and on 26.12.1958 to 493.7 francs.

On the last mentioned date, the French government introduced a new monetary unit, with 100 old franc being equal to one new franc. One dollar was made equal to five new francs or 500 old francs rounding off the fraction.

British pound was equal to 4.03 dollars in 1948. On 30.9.1949 it was devalued by 30.5 per cent. In November 1967 it was further devalued making it equal to only 2.40 dollars. Following the devaluation of pound, 26 other currencies related to pound were also devalued.

The West German currency was artificially propped up by the US, the former being the greatest ally of the latter. Ever since its introduction, the West German D mark was undervalued. Under pressure from other countries, the US finally agreed to a revaluation of D mark by 5 per cent in 1961.

Now the day of retribution for the US seems to be drawing near. Three currencies of the Western world are under question: will the French franc and US dollar be devalued and will the West German D mark be revalued?

A devaluation of the French franc by more than 10 per cent will finish off the EEC; any devaluation of the dollar will upset the monetary system itself. And any revaluation of the West German D mark will open up the way for other stable currencies of the Western world, like the Swiss franc or the Netherlands guilder, to make competitive revaluation. This can easily set off a chain reaction for other currencies as well. The Basle gold guarantee will no longer hold good.

A renewed currency crisis, which might come sooner than many would expect, might enforce a return to gold standard as international exchange or evolve some sort of a world promissory note. In any case, the Bretton Woods mechanism would be thrown out and dollar supremacy eliminated for ever.

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD (Continued from Page 20)

bility of solving the problem of theodicy within the framework of religio-philosophical conception.

Maulana Azad sees another weakness of the Eastern conception of man in the fact that by stressing the unity of man with God, it makes man indifferent to human sufferings, looking at them as some illusion. From this follows, according to Azad "the Eastern mode of thought" which "has at times paid inadequate attention to social welfare and progress." (*ibid*, p. 186).

On the contrary, the Western conception stresses the necessity of social progress which can be achieved as a result of the personal efforts of every member of human society.

However, Azad saw the weakness of the Western conception in underestimating the spiritual aspects of the human being. "If we think of man as only a progressive animal, there is nothing to prevent his using science to further interests based on the passions he shares in common with animals" (*ibid*, 185). Azad believed that humanity's salvation lay in the synthesis of the Western and Eastern concepts of man. "If the achievements of Western science can be utilized in the Eastern spirit of man's affinity with God, science would become an instru-

ment not of destruction but for the establishment of human prosperity, peace and progress...." (*ibid*, p. 187)

What Azad calls the Western and Eastern concept of man is, in fact, materialistic and idealistic interpretation of man. To say that the eastern people always understood man in the idealistic sense will mean denying the materialistic elements, which, in fact, do exist in the philosophical thoughts of the East. On the other hand, the philosophical theories of the West cannot be reduced to materialism, by the way, in the vulgar sense of the term.

It is a fact that idealism mainly dominates the Eastern thought, and materialism is widely spread in Western thought. But it would be wrong to determine the idealistic philosophy as purely Eastern and the materialistic philosophy as purely Western.

The desire of Maulana Azad to synthesise the so-called Western and Eastern concepts of man is in fact an attempt to reconcile idealism with materialism. For Azad himself, the conclusion about the need for such a synthesis is the result of the progressive evolution of his ideas from absolute conformity to the religious ideology to the realization of some merits of materialism.

Malayalam :

Semantic Dishonesty

O.V. VIJAYAN

MALAYALAM literature suffers from inbreeding and immobility. Critics who are in a position to compare, however, say that in spite of this there have been at least a few decisive works, and that as a whole the language tends to be on par with, and at times ahead of, some of the most advanced Indian languages. This is no consolation, though. Because the Indian watermark still seems to be below the world standard.

What precisely are the reasons for this backwardness it is difficult to say. But it is possible all the same to list the scores of sociological and historical, even religious, factors, which possibly had a lot to do with our literatures getting timid and tentative. This timidity does not apply to the sexual situation alone. Even letting a character indulge in raucous language will appear indecorous to many writers. In this manner, a vast segment of experience is deliberately cut out. This is tragic, typical of a society which seems to be congenitally middle class, retaining, too, a good deal of false feudal values, and an attachment, bordering on the pathological, to a tradition that has become a myth long since.

Nevertheless, the writer who is conscious of the market and of the selling capacity of sex is far from being averse to using large doses of it surreptitiously. There is also a fairly prosperous branch of under-the-counter literature which

dabbles in sex without the contraption of manners. Its practitioners have very little literary ambition. They take their plots from Western penny dreadfuls and make shoddy translations of them. We shall not concern ourselves with this *genre*. What would interest us, however, is the sexual presence in the writing of the *literary* writers. These display a strange awareness of the sexual calculus; for instance, they recognize adultery. They recognize adultery in a very guilty sort of way, taking sides as partisans of morality, but nevertheless, taking deep and long peeps into where the fun goes on. With the result, the reader who is himself a prude wanting a morally insulated vicarious sex experience, is able to read the piece without feeling guilty. He reads to participate voyeuristically at the same time joining hands with the author in condemning the immorality of the characters.

This no doubt is an extremely childish attitude. If the writer and the reader are so much appalled by the sexual deviousness in the society they might as well not write or read about it. They might, with profit take to the literature of morality and of piety. Obviously, they are not prepared to do this. Because there are no kicks in the *Gita* or the *Bible*, nor even in the *Confessions of St Augustine*.

This has resulted in a great

pervasive dishonesty. No writer describes the human anatomy without bashfulness. No one uses the vernacular expression for the breast, for instance, for fear of being vulgar. Nor is one content with a permanently wrapped breast. Instead, one would use the Sanskrit *sthanam*, which he imagines gives phonetic respectability to an obscene thing. If the breast itself is handled so gingerly, one can imagine the other and more intimate regions of the human body.

Like a disease the dishonesty of semantics grows into a dishonesty of metaphor and even experience. Thus, the writer often finds himself in states of great vacuity because he is forbidden to say what his natural instincts tell him to say. This again is sought to be solved by the employment of massive padding. If you take a column length of any Malayalam writing whether it be journalism or fiction or poetry, you can chop down at least two-thirds of its bulk as functionally irrelevant. An ornithologist writing on birds, for instance, begins by talking about *the twice-born at dalliance beneath the firmament*. This grossly monstrous expression would sound fairly normal in Malayalam because unfunctionality is so much the accepted tradition. No one would think it idiotic, no one would think it cleaner to finish the business with just one little crisp *birds*.

So we have the depressing picture of a body of writing which is not merely dishonest in relation to the basic human condition but also carries on its shoulders an enormous hump of waste tissue. Now, regarding the concept of fiction itself. It is amusing to find writers in Malayalam take sides discussing the stream of consciousness. This is almost like taking sides in the Wars of the Roses, because the problem belongs properly to the last generation of writers. This is not to suggest that one has to write by the newest vogue. Far from it. The stream of consciousness itself was not a matter of vogue; James Joyce adopted it as a vital instrument of the writer's breakaway

from the inhibited plot novel. Where we misunderstand its role and historic meaning is in mistaking it for a fashionable experiment. Most Malayalam writers who try deviations from the traditional narrative are concerned with what they ostentatiously describe as the *pareekshanam*, the experiment. Nothing could be more silly. The experiment or what looks like the experiment can only be allowed to result from a probing of deeper and newer levels of experience. This probing itself is no experiment but a very vital and legitimate process. A writer lets himself down into these depths not to find a fashionable mode. But as he does that and comes up with greater insight into the human condition he struggles for a new dimension of expression. From this result new coinages of words as well as new structures of story-telling. It would be an upside down way of looking at things if we mistake these for deliberately formal experimentation.

The entire new range of English and European fiction, for instance, is the result of the new sympathy man has developed for the accident of his birth, the mystery of his destiny, and the inescapability of his death. Post-existentialistic writing is qualitatively different from what had gone on before. I have run into dozens of writers in Malayalam who think that existentialism also is a kind of fad, though they are not aware of it seriously enough to take sides. They still remain on the left and the right banks of the stream of consciousness. But those who are dimly initiated into Sartre and Camus tend to produce shoddy parodies or to denounce the existentialists as irrelevant to Indian metaphysics. The Indian situation for these is expressed in pat equations of a vedantic or upanishadic system understood dangerously superficially. There is constant rasping talk about the Indian tradition and its sacredness, the Indian tradition as it explains rebirth and death but certainly not where it speaks with relaxed candour of what goes on in

between.

This faulty absorption of the enormous Hindu heritage and the inferiority complex-ridden response to Western achievement have completed the destruction of the Malayalam writer. He has no familiarity with the real nature of Western writing or Western thinking. There were writers about fifteen years ago who were so unfamiliar with Ibsen and even Thomas Hardy that they believed their readers to be equally ignorant. A fairly prominent writer did a literal translation of Ibsen and claimed it as his own, happily believing Ibsen to be an obscure find of his own.

Things are better in poetry. The three great poets of the last generation, Vallathol, Assan and Ulloor, and the doyen of the living ones, G. Sankara Kurup, all have a certain classical facility of expression. But these men function largely within a formal poetic tradition, and have added nothing to a fair combination of the Aryan and the Dravidian geneologies of poetics. Changampuzha, the poet who created a tremendous upsurge of words in the forties, represented a fascinating deviation. He was a teen-age phenomenon who indulged in gross sentimentality expressed through a torrent of brilliant, beautiful and meaningless words. The man died young, and merci-

fully the tradition died with him. We are left with an *avant grade* which is slightly more aware of the possibilities of poetry. But they are trapped within the metrical rigidities of Malayalam poetry which force them to resort to padding to fill in the gaps of meter. They are also trapped in a system of didactical thinking. I take the example of Vailoppilli Sridhara Menon who in his *Abode of his serpents*, begins with lofty fantasy, throws up immense images from the serpent lore of Kerala, and then slumps down in a terrible and unnecessary anti-climax. The poem ends in denunciation of superstition, and a factual description of how the serpent-infested forest was cleared and turned into a prosperous plantation.

Good enough, if we were writing down the history of a village community for distribution to Block Development Officers. What such facile didacticism accomplishes is the ravaging of artistic reality, the imposition of social realism, of surface realism, on artistic experience. But the writer may not be aware of the unfreedom of his expression if he gets no opportunity to measure himself up against contemporary standards. It is precisely this that is prevented by the small regional coteries which enclose each exclusive hero within a fence of adulation.

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Towards

United

Front ?

KRANTI SEN

THE resounding victory of the United Front in West Bengal, exploding once for all the myth of Congress invincibility, has had its impact on the neighbouring State of Assam.

In the first place, it has convinced the people that the ending of twenty years of uninterrupted Congress monopoly of power is possible of achievement in the next General Election if Assam "goes the Bengal way".

Secondly, it has infused a sense of urgency in the Left parties to sink their differences and cement their unity so as to forge a programme-based United Front of the Left and progressive forces on the pattern of the West Bengal UF, as the democratic alternative to the Congress in Assam.

Lastly it has further increased the demoralization in a faction-ridden and petrified Congress, steadily losing touch with the people, its image as a party capable either of inspiring the masses or of initiating programmes for lifting this backward State from the morass of appalling poverty resulting from

a chronically stagnant agriculture and next-to-non-existent industries, tarnished beyond redemption.

About this last fact there is no room for doubt : indeed, Congress leaders seem to have already resigned themselves to the inevitability of being ousted from power. A former president of the Pradesh Congress frankly admitted to this correspondent that he saw no hope of the Congress coming back to power after three years when it would have to seek a fresh mandate from the people.

A former Minister was more forthright in prophesying doom of his party. Pointing to the growing alienation of the Congress from the plains tribals and the Muslims, he said that in the 1972 General Election, the Congress would "just fade out" in Assam. Yet another Congress leader felt that if the Congress debacle in West Bengal was due to the party having become synonymous with Atulya Ghosh, it was something to be welcomed, as it might help the Congress to purge itself of the "vested interests" that had come to dominate his party in every State (including, he implied, his own).

While the "fading out" of the Congress in Assam seems a near-certainty, its replacement by a collective leadership of progressive and forward-looking elements cannot be automatically taken for granted in the political situation now prevailing in the State. Unless the Left parties come forward to provide a unified leadership, the defeat of the Congress may well lead to a power-vacuum which will be sought to be filled up by chauvinist and reactionary forces.

The Left movement in Assam is still weak, the influence of the Communist and Socialist parties is still insignificant compared to West Bengal or Kerala. To add to their difficulty, widespread unemployment and the total apathy of the Central and State Governments for the industrialization of the State have created in the masses a psychological complex of being deliberately kept backward and exploited, the remedy for which is sought not

in the building of popular movements on *economic* demands but in strengthening of *centrifugal* tendencies which envisage an independent destiny for Assam— independent of the rest of the country.

This feeling of being exploited by 'India' is so strong in the Brahmaputra Valley that no party can afford to ignore it if it has to survive, let alone grow. The competition between the Congress and the Left parties— also between the Left parties themselves—has been mainly on the question of who is the best champion of the Assamese cause. Each tried to outdo the other and wittingly or unwittingly each contributed to the growth of parochialism, overtly or covertly. To undo what has been done, to restore the correct perspective, to awaken the masses to the reality, to tell them that poverty and backwardness can be overcome only by the united action of all the toiling people of Assam, not in isolation but in unison with the struggling masses of the country—to do this even at the risk of losing popularity temporarily, calls for imagination, fortitude and sustained work at the grass-roots level.

In the long run, however, this is the shortest cut. A myopic leadership trying to bypass the central issue and to measure its success only in terms of electoral gains without regard for principles or taking a tailist position with regard to prevailing popular sentiments, will run the danger of being outwitted and outmanoeuvred by chauvinist elements having no democratic or socialist pretensions.

The Republic Day disturbances at Gauhati last year served, in a way, as an eye-opener and helped the parties to be resipiscent of their past omissions and commissions. The PSP leadership, for instance, has since been denouncing all parochial slogans and attitudes in a forthright manner.

The statement issued recently by the State Council of the CPI, while calling on the Left parties "to draw on the rich lessons from the mid-term poll...and close up their ranks without

further delay" also sounded a note of warning that "in the absence of a progressive Left front, however, the opportunists and sectarian chauvinist forces might disrupt the unity of the people and damage the prospect of regeneration of Assam".

In another statement, Sri Gaurishankar Bhattacharjee, ex-Communist leader and now leader of the United Legislature Party, also emphasized the need for unity of the Opposition members in the Assembly and wanted a "minimum common programme" chalked out for the purpose.

The Opposition within the Assembly is divided into two broad groups : the Progressive Democratic Front consisting of the CPI (7), PSP (5) and Independents (9) ; and the United Legislature Party composed mainly of Independents (18) with widely divergent views from progressive to extremely parochial. To this group also belong the four SSP members and the solitary RCPI member. Together, the two groups command a strength of 44 in a House of 126.

The ULP leader Sri Gaurishankar Bhattacharjee is himself a controversial figure and many among the Opposition members including some in the ULP itself, are highly critical of his role after he left the CPI about three years ago. While Sri Bhattacharjee is believed to be trying to build a United Front within the Assembly under his leadership, the CPI is understood to have made it clear that the proposed Front will have a collective leadership of the constituent parties.

The State PSP is rather lukewarm to the idea of a United Front being formed immediately just as a reaction to the UF success in West Bengal. Its all-India policy of avoiding joint fronts with the Communists notwithstanding, the Assam unit of the party has been cooperating with the CPI group within the State Assembly. But, a spokesman of the party explained, to join a broad United Front with the Communists with a view to replacing the Congress and taking over the responsibility of government the party would have to

seek permission from its central executive. Anyway, the question of united front will come up for discussion in the State Conference of the party to be held next month.

The CP(M), a very small segment of the Left in Assam, while formally recognizing the need for a united front, raises a host of objections to the manner in which the proposal of a UF is being mooted. A party spokesman claimed that there could be no real or effective United Front without the CP(M) leading it. The validity of this claim is supposed to be borne out by Kerala and West Bengal.

Differences and misgivings notwithstanding, there is an objective basis for the building up of a united front of Left parties and progressive individuals. The movement for setting up a second oil refinery in Assam under the public sector can be made a good starting point. Already in the Samyukta Andolan Parishad there is a nucleus of a collective leadership. The Parishad is composed of the CPI, PSP, SSP, RCPI and SUC. After initial hesitations, the CP(M) has also joined it. The area of agreement can be extended and the Parishad may gradually take up other popular issues like eviction of peasants who have occupied *khas* land and destruction of standing crops.

Some understanding between the Left parties is also necessary on the question of united action by the different central trade union organizations. One of the major strongholds of the Congress is the tea-garden labourers among whom the INTUC has dominant influence. The influence of the APTUC or the HMS is still negligible. Of late the APTUC has intensified its work in the tea-garden areas. The HMS is also trying to make inroads into areas which had so long been the close preserve of the INTUC. Instead of frittering away their energies in mutual rivalry—a peculiar feature of the Left movement in Assam is that there are areas where all the Left parties are present and jostling with one another, while there are vast areas where no party has a whole-time worker—

they should evolve norms of work so that the INTUC can be isolated and its influence weakened.

A minimum programme covering the basic demands of the working class and the peasantry ; assuring the plains tribal communities a greater measure of autonomy and all possible help to preserve and enrich their language, literature and culture ; and inspiring the confidence of the religious and linguistic minorities can rally behind the proposed United Front the conscious support of all sections of the people.

Such a programme will take the party cadres to the people and enable them to combat obscurantist and parochial tendencies. It will also help project the image of the united front as an entity in which the constituent parties, while retaining their individual identities, merge into a collective whole. This was the secret behind the spectacular success of the UF in West Bengal. The same experience can be profitably applied in Assam as well.

IN THE COURT OF SHRI. C.G.
SURI DISTRICT JUDGE :

DELHI :

PROBATE CASE NO : 18 of 1969.

Citation Under Section 283, Act, XXXIX of 1925. In the matter of the estate of the late Shri *mt. Mehtab Kaur* who died at *Delhi* on the 11th day of *November*, 1968

To

All concerned

WHEREAS *Smt. Swaran Kumari W/o. Ram Parkash Chhabra R/o. 3/20 Senapat Farrukhabad U.P. and other* has made an application for the grant of probate of the Will/Letters of Administration of the estate of the deceased and the 31st day of *March* 1969 at 10.0' Clock has been fixed for the hearing of the case, this citation is issued calling upon you to come and see the proceedings in this court before the grant of the Probate/Letters of Administration.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 12th day of *March*, 1969.

Sd/- (C.G. Suri)

DISTRICT JUDGE : DELHI
(SEAL)

Post-mortem on Bombay Riots

A CORRESPONDENT

NO political party, much less the State Government of Maharashtra, has come out unscathed from the four days of rioting, arson and loot triggered off by the Shiv Sena agitation for an early settlement of the Mysore-Maharashtra border dispute, in the first week of February.

The Chief Minister, Sri V.P. Naik, known for his moderation and his quiet efficiency, today has his reputation so badly tarnished, that he is almost a nervous wreck. A week after the riots, when a deputation of Shiv Sena leaders called on him at the Sachivalaya, to clarify their "official" stand on the border agitation, he flared up at the very sight of the deputationists. "You have disgraced me. With what face can I now go and plead Maharashtra's case in New Delhi?" he screamed at them.

The plight of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress and the Bombay Congress Committee is no less. Soon after the riots when it was almost clear that the Shiv Sena Pramukh, Bal Thackeray would be released from Preventive Detention, the BPCC President, Sri A.K. Hafizka issued a public statement demanding that no leniency should be shown to those who had instigated all the trouble. The statement had the salutary effect of staying the Government's hand.

The MPCC, in order to save its own face, has been at pains to give the entire episode the colour of an inner-party conflict. It has waited in deputation on the Congress President, Sri Nijalingappa, when he was in Bombay on March 1 to tell him how sore it was over the fact that a sister Pradesh Congress Committee—in Mysore—should have levelled "wild criticism" of the Maharash-

tra Government and the State Congress regarding the handling of the riots. The MPCC President, Sri Vasantrao Patil, who once presided over an anniversary celebrations of the Shiv Sena organ, *Marmik*, told Sri Nijalingappa that the Pradesh Congress had always regarded the SS as a "fascist" organisation and had objected to the ways of the SS. No one in Maharashtra could recollect any specific instance where the MPCC chief had publicly called the SS a "Fascist" organisation or disclaimed its methods.

It is clear that the riots have now forced the MPCC and the State Government to fight a defensive battle on the question of implementation of the Mahajan Commission report, for which Mysore has been pressing ardently.

Maharashtra Congress leaders, after sustained lobbying in Delhi and elsewhere had ensured the support of some Congress leaders from other States, to their stand that the Mahajan report was not, after all, quite impartial. Now all those non-Maharashtra Congressmen who were inclined to support Maharashtra's case, for one reason or another, have turned luke-warm. They seem to have veered round to the view that non-Maharashtrian interests are not quite safe in the State.

Astute politician that he is, Sri Vasantrao Naik has now proposed an easy solution to the entire boundary problem. He, along with other Congress leaders from Maharashtra has proposed that they are prepared to abide by an arbitrary award from the Prime Minister on the State's dispute with Mysore.

Maharashtra is left with no other alternative, since even the Congress leaders from Kerala,

disgruntled over the Mahajan award, are not now inclined to uphold the Maharashtra Congress stand on the Mahajan report.

Maharashtra's demand is, however, indisputable. She wants that boundary disputes should be settled on the basis of well-defined principles, like the adoption of the village as the unit for redrawing State boundaries to reduce the number of linguistic minorities to the minimum.

The MPCC now poses as if it is terribly hurt by the attitude of "leaders from other States who try to put both the Government and the people of Maharashtra in the dock, because of the situation created by the Shiv Sena agitation."

The Shiv Sena, on the other hand, has been at pains to assert that it is in no way responsible for the orgy of violence and loot that prevailed in Bombay for four days. Its leaders have gone on record to say that it is unilaterally suspending its agitation on the border issue. Instead, it is launching a signature campaign to secure the release of Bal Thackeray from prison.

Within the organisation there is a move to institute a collective leadership. So long it was the will of the Pramukh that prevailed. It is not likely, however, to shed its parochial, chauvinistic attitude and ideology.

There is some indication of a re-evaluation of their own stands *vis-a-vis* the Shiv Sena on the part of the allies of that organisation—including the Swatantra Party, the Praja Socialist Party and the Peasants and Workers Party. Other political organisations like the CPM, CPI and the SSP, which sought to make headway in the wake of agitation whipped up by the Shiv Sena, have quietly beaten a hasty retreat. They are no longer ardent champions of the Pataskar Formula, nor would they like to be publicly associated with the sinking ship that the Shiv Sena today appears to be.

The Peasants and Workers Party, which is possibly the only well-knit rural political party in Maharashtra, is however, pledged to support any organisation or

seek the support of any party to resist the efforts of the "Congress leadership to impose the Mahajan award on Maharashtra." The PWP would welcome the cooperation of the Shiv Sena too in its proposed agitation on the boundary dispute. The PWP is one of the major constituents of the Sampoorana Maharashtra Samiti, which it plans to reactivate to agitate the boundary issue.

The PSP, which struck an alliance with the Shiv Sena to contest the elections to the

Bombay Municipal Corporation in 1968 and helped the SS become the largest single opposition party in the Corporation, is striving hard to make it clear that it was in no way associated with the violence and arson. But for fear of losing whatever little political influence it weilds today it dare not publicly renounce its association with the Shiv Sena.

Except for the infinitesimally small splinter group—the Socialist Workers Party—there is no political organisation or group in

Maharashtra which can boast of a totally clean conscience in their relations with the Shiv Sena. If they have not cohabited with the SS, many of them have cast covetous eyes on its potential for political mischief. Not one of them therefore dare cast the first stone at this new political out-cast. The SWP is too small a dwarf even to lift a stone.

All of them are now trying to make amends for their past sins of opportunism and political myopia.

Institutional Changes and Agricultural Productivity

S. C. NANDWANI

THE problem of increase in agricultural productivity is primarily a matter of social significance.

The institutional structure may be widely responsible for the stagnating agricultural output in countries with substantial land reserves. The level of production of small farms is quite low and to a great extent can be raised by making use of even the elementary achievements of agricultural science coupled with little investment. Public works projects, like the development of multi-purpose river valley projects or the building of fertilizer plants have made a substantial increase to the agricultural output, but a fuller use of these facilities can not be made without a change in the institutional structure, in the shape of improving the position of tenants, share-croppers and small farmers, and provide to them agricultural knowledge.

The cooperatives and the community development schemes have done very little useful work in this direction. Even according to the report of the Balwant Rai Mehta Commission, only 22 per cent of small farmers in the regions covered by the scheme, took advantage of the introduction of selected seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, improved methods of cultivation etc. Compared with it is the case of the big landlords whose percentage on this count was 66.

The advantage of technical knowledge could also reach the big landlords only while the tenant farmers were handicapped. They had difficulties in extracting loans and lacked the incentive to invest. It has become quite essential under the circumstances to bring about the institutional changes in order to lay the foundation for agricultural revolution.

During the three Five Year Plans, the rate of growth in agriculture remained at a very low level. Some increase in output was made possible during the first two Plan periods, but it was brought about by extending cultivation to new lands

while the output in the Third Plan showed signs of decline and the spectre of population explosion loomed large, with the prospect of famine and semi-starvation following in its wake.

Improved variety of seeds brought some consolation but now the only increase in the food production can be brought about by raising agricultural productivity through intensive cultivation.

Agricultural sector represents three-fourth of our population. It is but logical to assume that the problem of maintaining production and employment in this sector should be the main concern of our economic policy. More so when this sector leaves a significant impact upon the other sectors of the economy. We must take this into account while drawing our attention to the urgent problem of increasing agricultural productivity and its relation to economic development.

The problem of agricultural productivity is to be treated as basic to all other problems as it has a direct impact on the output earnings of the tillers

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and to some extent on employment. But the problem does not seem to be that easy. The renovation and reorientation of the peasantry is a problem of a different character from the problem of revival of the industrial sector. The average value of man's output in agriculture is considerably lower than in the industry. It is particularly so because of our attachments to the age-old traditional pattern and complete reluctance to adopt the new scientific methods. It may also be due to the larger number of peasant farmers, giving rise to disguised unemployment. The task of improving productivity in agriculture is therefore more difficult for all these reasons.

What adds to the difficulty is the rotten institutional structure with low level of education.

Besides, there are no incentives in agriculture to increase agricultural productivity. Increase in productivity may not sometimes lead to an increase in the earnings of the peasants. Agricultural commodities have mainly an inelastic demand. This is very often offered as an argument for the low level of earnings in agricultural sector, because the value of the output per man is determined by the forces of demand and supply. In this case an attempt to increase productivity may even mean low levels of earnings per head or, at the most with increase in productivity, the level of earnings may remain constant. Efforts to increase productivity are made only if they can help to increase the level of earnings and not for the simple reason that it results in larger output.

So, there is not enough incentive in agriculture to improve productivity. Although this is applicable more to the developed countries and less to India yet the problem no doubt exists here for most of the food products and price virus affects agriculture and industry in opposite directions. Higher prices in agriculture may not induce expansion while lower prices may bring about the same. This is due to the psychology of the farmer in the Indian

set-up. He has the tendency to cling to the same standard of living and hence the desire to earn only that minimum.

In spite of the fact that conditions of poverty and squalor persist for most of them, population continues to depend on agriculture and shows the least inclination of moving out of it. Why does not labour tend to move out of agriculture? Agriculture in India and many other developing countries is taken as a way of life and in spite of the vast underemployment and disguised unemployment, labour force does not move out. This is also because of the fewer opportunities being available to the labour force for profitable employment outside agriculture. Low levels of earnings in agriculture give no incentive to the manufacturing industries to produce more and employ more workers. The aggregate demand in the industrial sector does not increase as a result of low level of living in the predominant agricultural sector. In the developed countries there is no such problem, as they have substantially less proportion of working population engaged in agriculture. Though in their case too the difference remains in the level of earnings between agriculture and industry yet that is small enough to be attributable to the preference of the people to live on their lands.

Agricultural productivity is also affected by the instability of prices. In order to avoid all types of risks, the farmer would like to diversify his production not suited even to the condition of the land. This implies that cultivation is done at a higher cost than if the prices were stable or even predictable. This entails losses to the community in the shape of lesser output.

The price instability does not touch the employment front in agriculture for the people are so much prone not to leave the land; they also seem to have no scope outside agriculture. This makes productivity figures still bleak if we take it as output per man hour instead of output per man acre.

There is tremendous scope

for bringing about many institutional reforms in agriculture. The countrywide system of land reforms is not yet complete. Landlordism still persists, sometimes in the guise of phoney cooperatives. And the network of community development schemes and cooperatives have unmistakably failed to fill the organisational vacuum. The tenant still feels insecure on the land.

All these factors need a timely solution, as important as the drive for good seeds, fertilizers and crop protection.

The land reform policy must aim at the elimination of exploitation and social injustice within the agrarian system by establishing owner cultivation on the widest scale. Cooperatives must not be thrust upon the farmer as a policy matter. The experience of many countries where cooperative farming has been introduced, reveals that the productivity figures declined and these countries reverted back to private farming much against their ideological setting. Even in Poland 85 per cent of the cultivable land is in private hands, while three per cent with the state and 12 per cent with the cooperatives, for the simple reason that the state and the cooperative farms do not yield the same output per acre as the private farm, given the same technical conditions.

If some attempts are made to flow more capital into agriculture, it will result in an automatic process of driving men out of agriculture and will go a long way in increasing productivity. Farming will be taken as a business unit and not as a way of life. The change no doubt drastic is admissible under the present socio-political set-up. Steps should be taken in making agriculture a profitable and stimulating enterprise. The scheme of social security shall have to be enforced on a larger scale and industrialisation programmes planned side by side to provide for the accelerated exodus from agriculture. The industrialisation of the country shall have nothing to offer if we failed to raise the production per head in agriculture.

FICCI IMPRESSIONS (Continued from page 10)

unhindered expansion. National integration, of course ; but it has to promote the commercial interests, of the monopolists, profiteers, hoarders and business sharks.

Sri S.L. Kirloskar, the eminent Maharashtra industrialist (who has family ties with Sri Morarji Desai because of the marriage between their offsprings), would not be satisfied with anything less than a complete overhaul of our Constitution, with the abolition of the linguistic states as its first charge, so as to ensure "economic progress" and straighten out the "twisted economic reality".

Sri Kirloskar and the other "captains" were understandably silent about the role of the big industrial houses financing "parochialism" to disrupt the unity of their workers in order to deny their just dues. After all, today, it is no secret that the Shiv Sena in Sri Kirloskar's Maharashtra had been built into a Frankenstein with the funds liberally doled out by the business houses. One has yet to see a resolution of the FICCI extolling the cause of one India and condemning and exposing those who had financed the rampage of these hirelings of big money, both Indian and foreign. The hypocrisy of it all was so disgusting that some "captains" from Tamilnadu thought it better to go out of the hall "for a smoke".

Again, they have scrupulously avoided mentioning the role of big money in financing political parties to serve its interests. It, too, is no secret that some of the state satraps, against whose parochialism they fumed and fretted, were financed and built up by big business houses in order to capture monopoly rights in particular States.

But, perhaps, the most outstanding omission by the voluble participants was their refusal to meet the points raised by Prime Minister. She had said, inaugurating the session, that political and social objectives could not be sacrificed for the sake of achieving a faster rate of economic growth. In fact, this session of the FICCI also turned out to be a grievance

ventilating occasion instead of what was pompously advertised as a means to discover common grounds of understanding with the Government.

Smt Gandhi was apparently reluctant, perhaps advisedly, to call a spade a spade. Yet, she could not help pointing out that in a society where affluence and power were tiny specks in the vast sea of poverty, the monopoly in industry and commerce did attract hostility, particularly when industrial development had become an instrument to benefit only a few.

But it was her own Government that was now busy devising ways to hand over more and more industrial fields for exploitation by the very same people who had no concern for the political and social objectives of economic growth. The Government has, of late, discovered the need to apportion a greater role to the private sector, particularly to see through the commitments in the Fourth Plan. According to reports, it has decided to re-sile from its earlier stand and give a sufficiently relaxed and liberal interpretation to the Industrial Policy Resolution so as to permit units in the private sector to manufacture items falling strictly under the State sector.

The thinking is not new, it has been made more explicit now. For Smt Gandhi has been reserved the doubtful privilege of inaugurating the annual meet of the private sector and tell them what her own Government either did not believe in or was taking steps to forego.

Even as the FICCI session concluded, the participants would be reassured that the coming period would not be very bleak for them, at least not made so by the Government. Whether the people who are direct sufferers from the policies would quietly accept them any more is a different matter. It is perhaps this contingency that had made these "captains" of Indian industry and commerce to speak so stridently even as they were being assured of more facilities.

FORM OF NOTICE UNDER SECTION 11 OF ACT VIII OF 1890

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Judge at Delhi

Present

Guardianship Case No. 33 of
1969

Inhabitant of Risaley R/o
Village Bankner, Delhi
Petitioner

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The Petitioner above named having applied to be (3) appointed the guardian of the (2) Person and Property of the aforesaid minor, the 25th day of March, 1969 has been fixed for the hearing of the application, and notice is hereby given to (4) general public that if any other relative, friend, kinsman or well-wisher of the aforesaid minor desire to be appointed or declared as guardian of the (2) Person and Property of the said minor, or desire to oppose the application of the petitioner aforesaid, he should enter appearance in person in this Court on the aforesaid date, and be prepared to adduce on that day any documentary and oral evidence which he may desire to adduce in support of his claim to such appointment or declaration, or in support of his opposition to the application of the petitioner aforesaid.

Given under my hand and the seal of this Court, this 12th day of March, 1969.

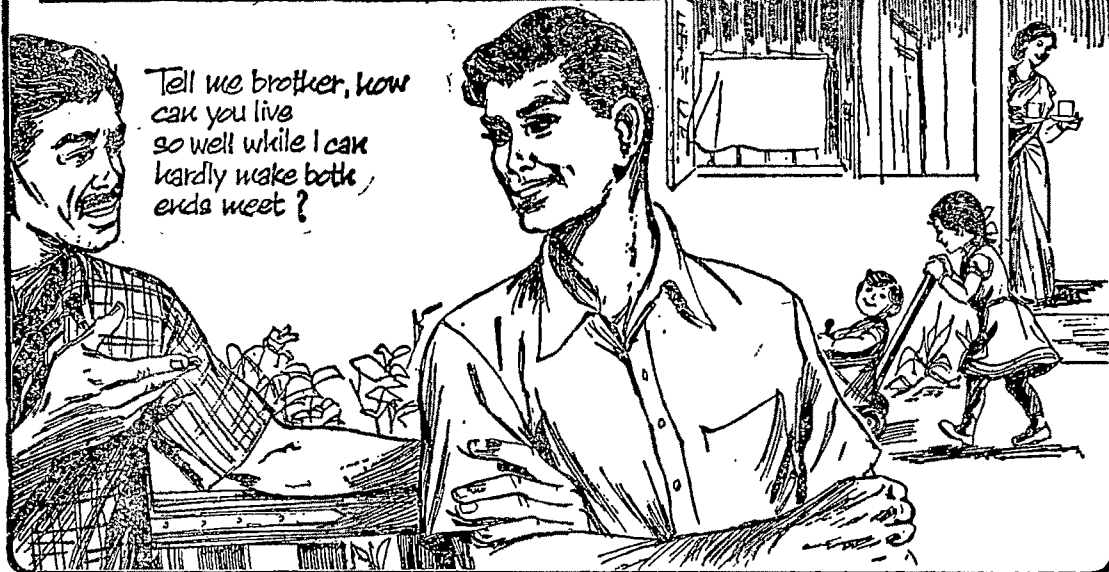
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District Judge

DELHI

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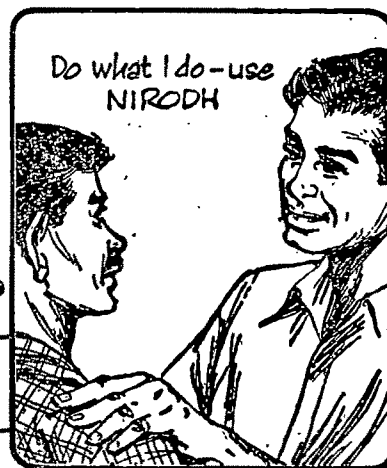
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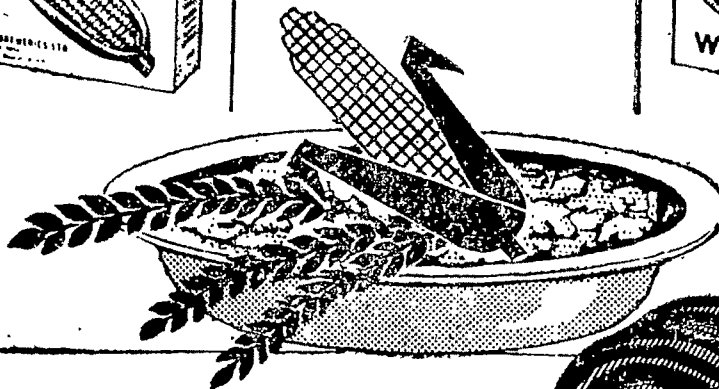
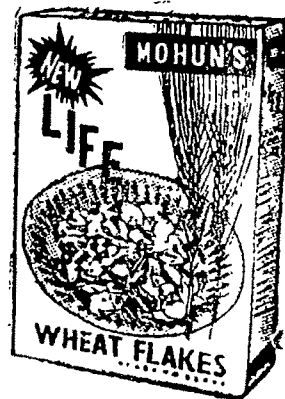
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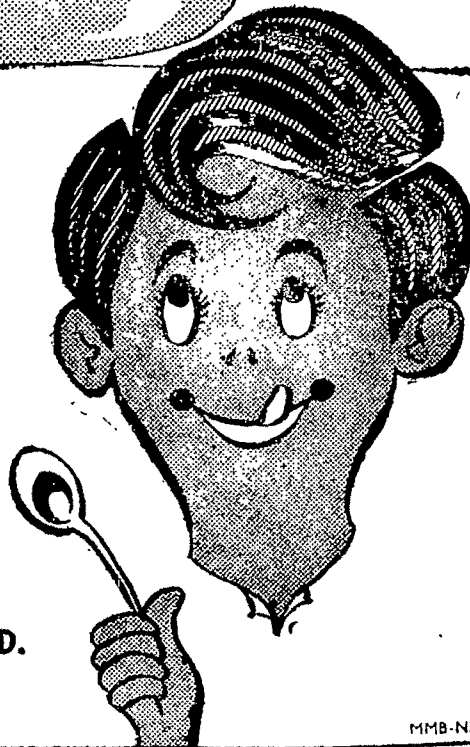


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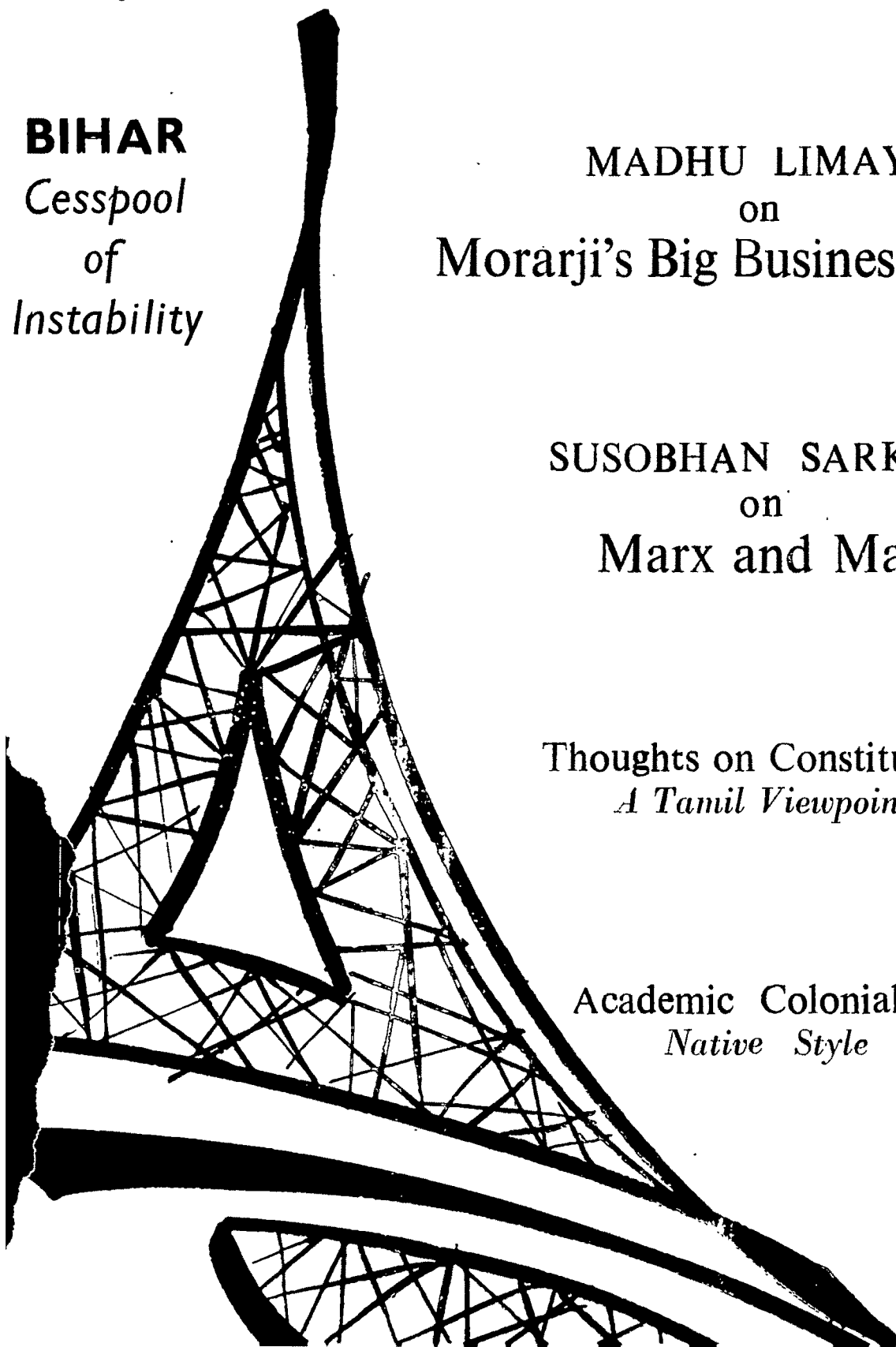
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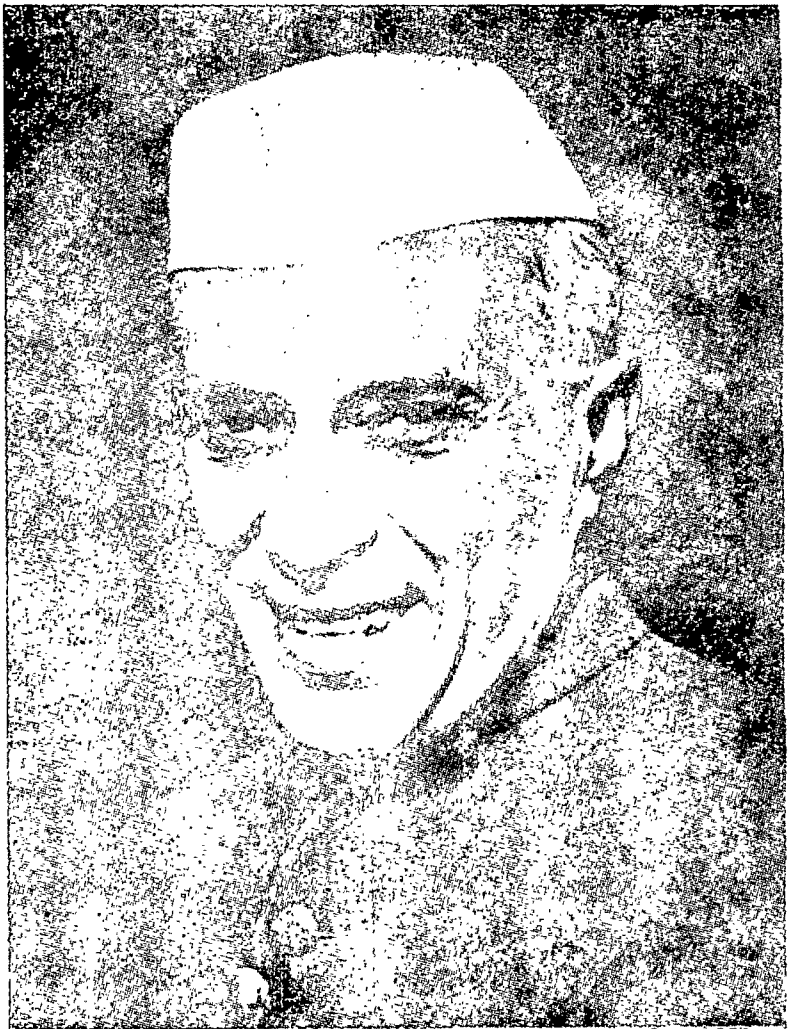
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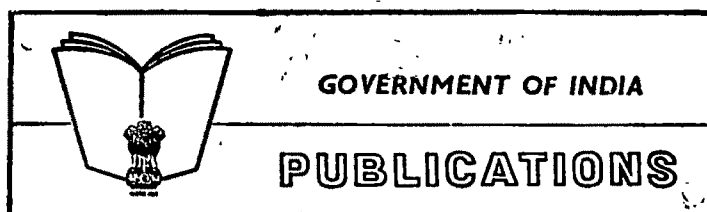


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davp 68/679

SETTING THE TARGET

DRAMATIC developments in Pakistan have underlined that in our situation a polarisation of political forces is entirely desirable.

The one clear lesson that has to be learnt from the anarchy in Pakistan is that the lack of polarisation in politics helped the reactionary forces backed by foreign powers to disrupt the national fabric. It is with this lesson in mind that we should examine recent talks of coalition politics in this country. Many Congress leaders have come to realise that to survive as a political entity it has to seek alliances with "like-minded" parties.

Earlier, it was only Sri S.K. Patil who had been clamouring for alliance with like-minded parties of his own choice, namely, Swatantra and Jana Sangh; few took him seriously at the time. Now others in the central leadership, notably Sri Morarji Desai and Sri C. Subramaniam, are talking of coalitions; while Sri Desai has not clearly spelt out the character and purpose of the alliances he has in mind, Sri Subramaniam has in a note to the Congress President suggested that the Congress should consider as "like-minded" the PSP, the SSP and the CPI though he is doubtful if the CPI will respond. Unlike Sri Patil, he has opposed alliance with Swatantra and Jana Sangh. Sri Nijalingappa, despite his tendency to pontificate on every conceivable issue often to the embarrassment of his colleagues, has not chosen to name his preferences, although it is a safe bet that left to himself he would not find it impossible to agree on Swatantra and Jana Sangh. Srimati Indira Gandhi has maintained silence, but her supporters think that she is in favour of a Left-inclined coalition.

The debate that has begun in the Congress Party underlines the fact that Congressmen are frantically engaged in finding out the best ways to keep themselves in office; many of those who are busy canvassing are the ones who are not committed to the party's professed ideology of establishing a socialist state. The search that is on now for allies and "like-minded" parties and groups must therefore be seen largely as an attempt to prevent the emergence of radical political groupings committed to drastic social and economic transformation like the one in power in West Bengal. What is to be particularly noted is the anti-Communist tone of the proposals being put forward within the Congress.

Recent developments make it clear that there will be concerted efforts on the part of the entrenched Right in the Congress leadership to make use of the

contradictions in parties like the SSP to weaken the Left to the extent possible. Sri Subramaniam has never been an admirer of the Communists, and his move to get the SSP declared a "like-minded" party has to be viewed in this context: the anti-Communist bias of a section of the SSP leadership is well known. Not very different is the attempt to rope in the PSP which even after the departure of Sri Asoka Mehta has not shed its prejudices.

At the other end of the scale, the CPM has shown signs of serious rethinking about the other parties in the country, including the Congress. In the period after the 1967 General Election the CPM has grown increasingly realistic and has come to recognise that social and economic transformation through the use of parliamentary institutions is quite possible. Now it has also begun to see that the Congress is made up of mutually contradictory elements and that it is possible to think of some of these elements as potential allies in a broad front of progressives on a national scale. Both Sri Sundarayya and Sri Basavapunniah have spelt this out, although they also make it clear that in their view the trend towards polarisation within the Congress will take a long time to take shape. There can

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indeed be genuine differences over this understanding. It is possible, for instance, to say that the limited period available before the Fifth General Election and the fears among Congressmen that they may perhaps lose their majority at the Centre in 1972 will hasten the pace of polarisation within Congress ranks. The Morarji Desai-Chandra Shekhar controversy, whatever the share of faction politics in bringing it to the surface, is one of the more positive indicators that the conflict between vested interests and popular aspirations will have to find reflection in some form within the ruling party at the Centre which is also still the biggest political factor in the country.

It would indeed be wrong to be enthused unduly by these developments, for there is little certainty yet that the split in the Congress, if and when it reaches the culmination point, will straightaway lead to clear-cut polarisation: it is quite possible, in the context of the large number of opportunists at the top in that party, that the progressive elements will find themselves ineffective and unwanted. It is conceivable that many of the more militant among them will be silenced by offers of office. Despite all this, however, the possibility that some of them will play a part in strengthening Left and democratic forces cannot be ruled out. The CPM's rethinking is presumably based on this understanding. About the CPI's position in regard to unity of the progressive forces irrespective of party affiliations there has not been much doubt in the public mind.

What emerges out of all these developments is the clear need for unity of the Left and democratic forces on the basis of a clear-cut programme. Even in the CPM there is evidence of thinking in terms of

a programme-based unity on the national plane. Others have made this plea before, but obviously it is only now that events are shaping on these lines and the prospect of such a common platform is getting bright.

In this new situation the parties of the Left have the biggest responsibility. It is their continuous struggle, however inadequate and inchoate, that has brought it about. Now the task is to further the cause of unity of the progressive sections all over the country by working out a common programme capable of implementation within specified time-limits. The common purpose will have to be the elimination once and for all of the hold of a handful of Big Business houses and rural vested interests on the economy as well as the administration of the nation. With this as the basis a programme must be worked out; the United Fronts' approach may perhaps serve as a model, although on a national plane certain changes will be needed to gain wider popular acceptance. If the Leftist parties come together at least now on such a platform and seek to rope in like-minded elements in the Congress and other parties, there is no reason why they should not be able to offer a viable alternative at the Centre even earlier than 1972.

The basic requirements are that these parties should forget short-term advantages confined to regions or localities and think in terms of a radically-oriented Centre which alone can ensure the fulfilment of the ideological commitments of all progressive parties and groups in the country. The initiative has to be a collective one from all the parties of the Left. The time is short, and Pakistan crisis underlines it.

New Delhi Skyline

MUCK FROM MADHYA PRADESH

MUCK from Madhya Pradesh stinks even in New Delhi.

By the time these lines reach the reader, the newly-elected leader of the Congress Legislature Party would have formed his interim Government. But it is unlikely that the Congress leadership would have learnt any lessons either in Bhopal or in New Delhi from the events in that State.

The Samyukta Vidhayak Dal Government had to go. Riding the crest of anti-Congressism, it had come into existence with the

help of defectors from the Congress—largely a feudal rump which exhausted its fund of public goodwill within a few months of its birth. This corrupt feudal communal combine then lived from crisis to crisis, managing to escape extinction by the skin of its teeth by throwing overboard the dead-weight of decency, public weal, impartiality in administration. Corruption, casteism, nepotism, jobbery, political horse-trading were the rule. Every day of this misrule was a nightmare.

Every situation throws up its own leadership. There was the woman scorned who had grandiose dreams of a return to her feudal glory who played on the gullibility of a simple people. There was the man, blinded by jealousy, who had set out to destroy the Congress to settle a personal score and whose only motivation was personal aggrandisement. There were men who were bought and sold, wine-d, dined kidnapped and bribed. There was the party, which thrived on communal

hatred, which knew riots as the only form of mass movement. This motley gang known as the SVD Government, was doomed to death the very day it was born.

Only in a state where three-fourths of the people had lived under the "Princely Order" only twenty years ago, who had hardly imbibed any traditions of national movement, democratic functioning or resistance to encroachment on freedom, could such elements have come on the top.

This Government was ably abetted by Sri Shyamā Chāraṇ Shukla, who, instead of functioning as an effective, principled leader of Opposition, divided his time between persuading the Congress High Command to readmit the defectors and cajoling the Chief Minister to return to the old fold. This leader of the Congress Party was so innocent of politics that he believed Sri Govind Narain Singh when Sri Singh's own partners in power had no doubts that his word could never be relied upon. Sri Shukla flattered himself with crumbs of promises thrown at him by Sri Govind Narain Singh and a section of the Congress High Command. The game could not possibly go on for long.

The SVD Government came into existence with the blessings of a section of the Congress High Command. In moments of candidness, which were rare, Sri G. N. Singh used to name his patron saints in New Delhi and

proudly proclaimed that the common link between him and them was an intense dislike for Sri D.P. Mishra. Not that Sri Mishra was a political untouchable in New Delhi. His sin was his specific alignment in the High Command which tended to upset the political apple-cart of Smt Gandhi's rivals at the top.

The Rajmata of course, has her own friends in the Congress. By her affluence rather than by her eloquence, she could win friends and influence people while in the Lok Sabha as a Congress member. Money does speak in such cases. The vast estate of the Scindias needed careful husbanding and management. She needed sound advice about investments. The gallant and chivalrous Sadoba Patil could always be relied upon to help such gracious ladies in distress.

In his quest for political 'like-mindedness' Sri S. K. Patil cannot look beyond the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh horizon. The Rajmata has been in both at the same time. Her allies in the Congress were powerful while she headed an opposition party in Madhya Pradesh.

Confident of sympathetic manoeuvres in her favour at the Centre, the Rajmata set out to set up her house of cards and called it the SVD. Money, lure of power and preponderance of politicians uninhibited by principles or conscience have always been her allies.

Whenever in difficulty, more trumps. She did that and so did Sri G.N. Singh. Whenever the constituents of the SVD created trouble, they rushed to New Delhi on a round of 'courtesy' calls. Was not the benign Sri Nijalingappa a friend of Sri G.N. Singh's father? Did he not know the problems of the Native States from his Praja Mandal days like the palm of his right hand? Everytime these leaders came to New Delhi, it was indeed like a family reunion—sentimental get-together, nostalgia for the good old days, but little 'politics'.

As the crisis in the SVD deepened, those courtesy calls became more frequent. Sri Nijalingappa, Sri Chavan and Sri Patil were always available for these calls. And then there was Barkis who was always willing. Sri Naresh Chandra Singh of Sarangarh made his usual rounds with his *alter ego* Sri G.N. Singh. It was so heart-warming to see the SVD leaders chaperoning the prospective leader of the Congress Party to the chambers of the Congress President and other members of the Congress High Command. It was truly a two-(or one?) party rule in Madhya Pradesh. And it was this section of the Congress High Command that blessed Sarangarh to be the new leader of the Congress Party because it was assured of the SVD support for this leader.

But Sarangarh was too obliging. He obliged Baroda by saying that he was with the Princes' concord on the issue of Privy purses. He obliged Gwalior by saying the he had put himself in the hands of the Rajmata. He even obliged the Congress by resigning from its membership; the leader-designate defected! What an astute management of the Congress affairs by the Appas and Patils and Chavans. No sacrifice seemed to be too great to keep Sri D.P. Mishra out.

Not that young Sri Shukla neglected his public relations job. Ever so often he would make air dashes to New Delhi (at the cost of the State Congress Legislature Party of course) and would assiduously go on his rounds of courtesy calls and receive 'sym-

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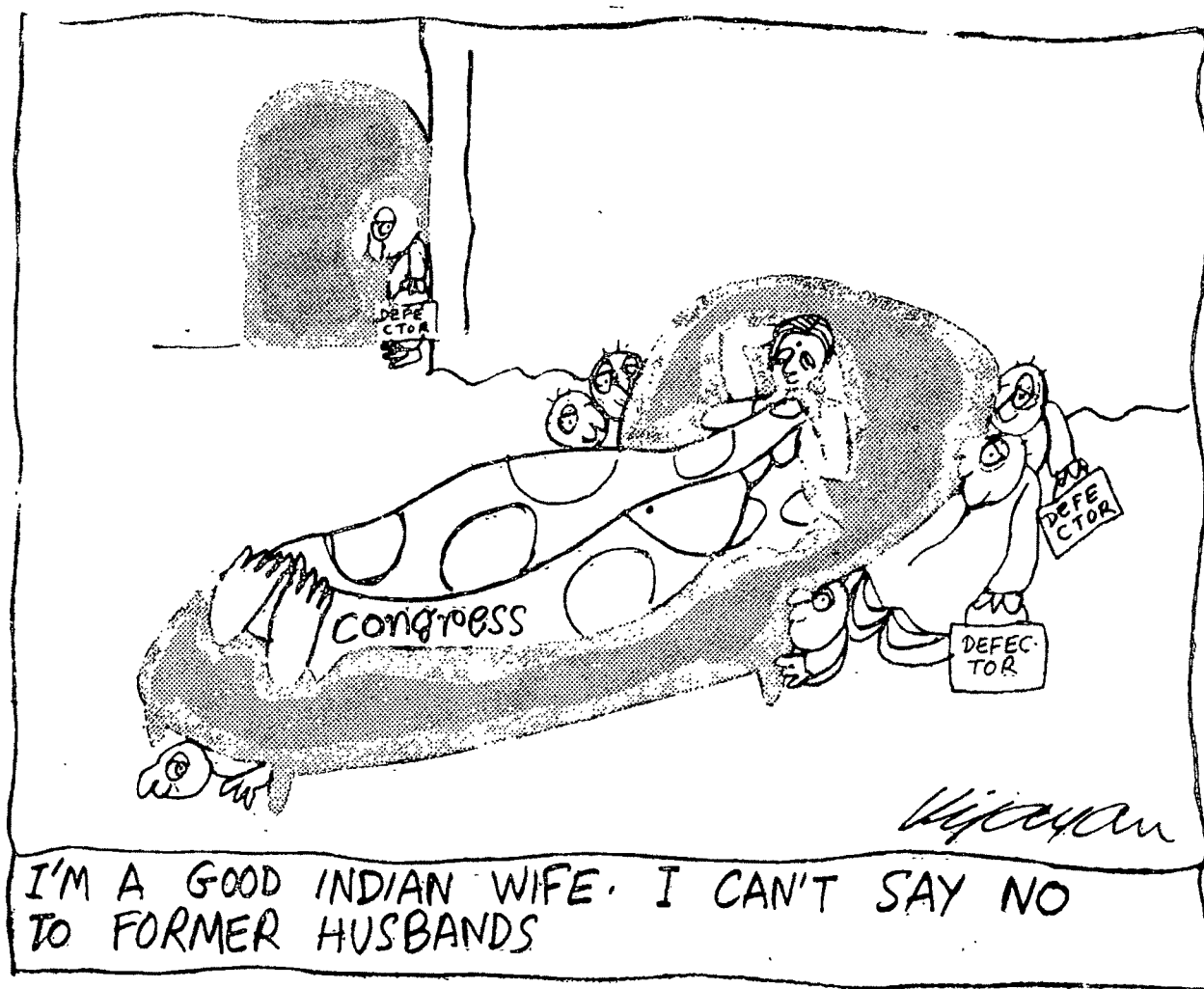
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pathetic' hearings from all but the Prime Minister.

When these SVD leaders fell out and the Government of political opportunism became a first-class thieves' kitchen, they found their solace in these New Delhi parleys. All the constituents of the SVD began to disintegrate. The charisma of the Rajmata seemed to have gone with the wind, and the Jana Sangh giant showed its feet of clay. The defectors started re-defecting. The Maratha and Rajput interests clashed. Disenchantment set in between Sri G.N. Singh and the Rajmata. The

administration came to a grinding halt. Corruption became institutionalised. It stank and the stench reached New Delhi. Obliging, New Delhi evolved a new strategy.

At a dinner in New Delhi, there was a 'chance' meeting between Sri Patil, Sri Nijalingappa, Sri Chavan and the Rajmata. She wanted Sri G.N. Singh out, and out he was, only to be in the Congress Party with his band of twenty. A regular procedure has been laid down by the AICC for admitting defectors back into the Congress Legislature Party. But Sri G.N. Singh was given

a special red-carpet treatment. The leader of the party in the Madhya Pradesh was not consulted, the party was not informed, the Prime Minister was kept in the dark. The G.N. Singh *barat* drove from Bhopal straight into the Jantar Mantar sanctum and was inducted into the Congress. An obliging spokesman of the AICC told newsmen that in case of contest for leadership of the State Congress Legislature Party, these men would have the right to vote. There is a word for it in the dictionary—Gerrymandering.

Speculation about the timeliness of the High Court Judge-

ment against Sri D.P. Mishra may be an exercise in futility, but those who were anxious to find a stick to beat Sri Mishra and his friends in New Delhi, hailed it as a godsend. The Judgement stirred the otherwise placid waters. Another stink rose. For a while, it was the thought that the New SVD chief Minister designate, Raja of Sarangarh would resign from the SVD with his adivasi followers and head a Congress Government. The legal luminaries of the AICC pondered over times of rules and regulations for a while only to come out with the brilliant idea that the Raja was not a 'defector' what if he had resigned from the Congress and the assembly, put himself at the disposal of the Rajmata and the Concord and headed the Government—the had not crossed the floor, 'technically speaking'! Half a dozen contenders to the *gaddi* appeared overnight giving a wide choice to the Central leaders to pick their favourites from. And principles were straightjacketed and distorted to suit political conveniences of these leaders.

Should it be a Congress Government, or a coalition with the 'Progressive Legislators' Party? (A coalition may give Sri Mishra the upper hand). Could anybody, given the reins of Government temporarily, be banked upon to convert Sri Mishra's following into a minority? Could in the name of stability, more feudal rump, more relics from the dustbin of history, be brought into the Congress party? These weighty considerations kept some of the Congress leaders worried for a long, long time.

And Hamlet was sought to be staged without the Prince of Denmark. The poor people of Madhya Pradesh never entered into these calculations. A persistent fight against feudalism and communalism is the only worthwhile programme for the Congress. The arrival of feudal elements into the Congress would instead give the Government neither stability nor decency and less of votes at any future poll.

But who cares, as long as it serves the immediate factional interest of party bosses in New Delhi?

March 25

Onlooker

Central Hindi Directorate

(Ministry of Education)

Poems in modern Indian languages on Gandhiji, or inspired by his philosophy, are invited by the 15th May, 1969 for a collection to be brought out during the Gandhi Centenary on the following address. Each poem should be accompanied with a rendering in Hindi or in English. It should also be accompanied with a transliteration into amplified Devanagari, as approved by the Ministry of Education, Government of India. Copies of amplified Devanagari chart can be obtained free. Poems should also accompany a bio-data of the poet as also a Photograph in pass port size. Remuneration for accepted poems will be paid in accordance with rates in force.

Central Hindi Directorate,

(Ministry of Education)

West Block No. VII, R.K. Puram,
New Delhi-22.

davp 68/673

Morarji Desai's

Big Business

Oriented Budget

MADHU LIMAYE

THIS year's Budget has brought into sharp focus the conflict between the corporate sector dominated by a few big monopoly groups and the farming population of India, between the richer sections of our society and poor and the middle classes.

Sri Morarji Desai has come out with a number of new concessions for the first and heavy burdens on the second.

Not for nothing did the mouthpiece of Big Business, *Eastern Economist*, begin its "first thoughts" on the budget with these words: "This journal has no serious grievances against Mr. Morarji Desai's general performance and is inclined to view it with moderate satisfaction." It has congratulated the Finance Minister for having shown "characteristic political courage in proposing excise duties on fertilizers and pumping sets" (February 28, 1969).

Another organ of Big Business, *Commerce*, also spoke of Sri Desai's "political courage" and asserted that "it should be obvious that there is no other way for any Finance Minister but to tap the growing farm income." The weekly wanted "surplus from agricultural sector be transferred to other sectors", meaning thereby, obviously the big corporate sector. It said "where perhaps he made a mistake is in not fully accepting the Planning Commission's suggestions of 15 per cent levy on the fertilizers". "The

complaint, if at all, should be," it continued, "that he has not gone far enough to tap adequately the growing prosperity of the rural sector." In another place, the same journal has said: "Mr. Desai has done well to levy excise duties on fertilizer and power driven pumps" (March 8, 1969).

The third spokesman of the corporate sector, *Indian Finance*, writes in a similar vein: "Perhaps we should be thankful that a beginning has been made. Had he possessed the necessary courage and determination, he could have made at least Rs. 100 crores available from the rural sector." It further advised Sri Desai that "he should not give in on raising resources from the rural sector."

The fourth organ of Big Business, *Economic Times* wanted Sri Desai to come out with "bolder proposals" for taxing the farmer. It felt that Sri Desai would "do well not to yield to pressure tactics"

The fifth capitalist journal, *The Financial Express* daily was so enraged by the opposition to agriculture imposts that it attacked the difference between "qualities of head and heart of the majority of MPs."

The general attitude of the Big Business financial journals is reflected in the speech of Sri Palkhiwala, the corporate sector's tax lawyer. Sri Palkhiwala has stoutly defended the new imposts on agricultural inputs. The

corporate sector leadership of the Swatantra Party would have liked to support these levies, for this Party is but a political projection of the Forum of Free Enterprise. However, in order to win electoral support the Swatantra Party has to enter into arrangements with the feudal and farm elements also. It was at the direction of these elements that Sri Masani had to oppose the agricultural levies.

The question that arises here is whether the Socialist and Communist Parties have any farm strategy, whether they have any agricultural programme, which mainly falls within the State sphere and is the concern of the non-Congress Governments.

If they have not yet evolved such policies—and it is obvious that agriculture is their weakest link—it is time they started seriously applying their minds to this.

There is urgent need today to forge a broad unity of industrial workers, urban poor, urban middle classes and in the rural areas of agricultural labourers, landless people and poor and middle layer peasants. Unless we win over these classes in the rural areas, organise them and instil class consciousness and self-confidence in them, it would be difficult to challenge the political and economic dominance of the landlord-Kulak class.

It is this class, which controls the Gram Panchayats and Zila Parishads, the Co-operative Societies and Rural Banks, and profits greatly by the Community Development and other cognate schemes, rural credit facilities etc.

These Kulak-landlord groups are the mainstay of the Congress and other conservative groups in the countryside.

In discussing the Budget proposals, this class point of view as the political question of Central encroachments on the States has to be constantly borne in mind.

Let me, at the outset, make it clear that I am not opposed to the principle of taxing wealthy landlords. In fact, during the discussions on the Finance Bill last year, it may be recalled that

I had drawn the Central Government's attention to the prosperity of the Kulak (rich) farmer and had stressed the need for tapping these surpluses for the purpose of expanding irrigation facilities and narrowing the gap between the irrigated sector and non-irrigated sector in agriculture. While I welcome the fact that Central Government's attention has been drawn to this need, I cannot but express my serious disagreement with the methods the Finance Minister has employed to give effect to these principles.

Three Aspects

My objections are three-fold :

First, the duty on fertilizer will indiscriminately hit the rich farmer as well as the poor and the middle layer peasant. The number of landholdings in our country is approximately 55 millions, out of which 40 millions are holding below five-and-half acres. This class of our cultivators has only very recently started making use of chemical fertilizers and other techniques. Any imposition of excise duty on this valuable agricultural input will act as a disincentive and nip in the bud what is called the "new dynamism in agriculture." *It is necessary to help 40 million small-holders by abolishing land revenue and compulsory grain levies, supplying them cheap electricity, and credits and ensuring for their produce adequate support prices.*

My second objection is based on the question of legislative competence and constitutional propriety. As it is, the relations between the Centre and the States have become embittered during the last two years for reasons into which I need not go here. So, any measures that will smack of encroachment on States rights should have been meticulously avoided. In his Budget speech the Finance Minister has clearly said that the new tax imposed on fertiliser is a form of tax on agricultural income. And although in a Court of Law, an attack on this tax as violative of Article 246(3) read with entries 14 and 46 in the State List may, perhaps, not succeed on technical ground, it cannot be denied that

since the object of this excise duty is to mop up part of the additional income generated in agriculture, it is another name for Agricultural Income Tax.

Thirdly, although Sri Desai had fortified himself with the advice of the Attorney General, I have very grave doubts about the legislative competence of Parliament to impose tax on agricultural property. I would, of course, like the States to tax this property as also to mop up part of the additional incomes that are being created in agriculture and use them for extending irrigation and for narrowing the disparities between the two sectors of our agriculture, namely irrigated and non-irrigated. Last year progressive farmer grossed Rs. 7000 on irrigated plots growing sugarcane and an equally hard working dry farmer got only Rs. 1100 on hybrid jawar.

Most of the State Governments are today dominated by the rich farmer, and I agree that they have so far been most reluctant to impose any tax on this class of prosperous farmers. In order to overcome this reluctance and class pressure, the Finance Minister could have offered effective inducements to the State Governments by making a proposal on the following lines :

Excise duty on fertilizers should be withdrawn and the State Governments be persuaded to impose either agricultural income tax or development levy above a certain reasonable level of land holdings. The minimum is to be different in the case of irrigated lands and unirrigated ones. The contention of the farmer is that the imposition of agricultural income tax in the present state of our farming where no accounts with regard to the cost and inputs etc. are kept by our agriculturists, the Government officers would abuse this tax to harass the farmers and extort bribes and consideration out of them. So, a development levy can be a good substitute in the short run.

The States, should also be induced to impose tax on agricultural property, the Central Government offering to give them for both the taxes—matching

grants. The proceeds from these two taxes, that is, development levy or agricultural income tax plus tax on agricultural properties and the matching Central grants to be put aside in an irrigated fund earmarked for the purpose of extending irrigation and electricity facilities for agriculture.

Such a proposal, while giving an incentive to the small producers, would also make the rich and prosperous farmer contribute to the general welfare. The Centre could also have suggested to the States that the exemption limit for the purpose of agricultural income tax should be double that for income from other sources.

Banks Cartel

The Government frequently talks about curbing the growth of monopoly in the Indian economy. However, its actions do not match its professions. It is a fact that the scheduled banks in this country have entered into some kind of a cartel agreement directed *at keeping down the rate of interest on the depositors' deposits*, and this has been done with the connivance and active support of the Reserve Bank of India. A healthy competition will not only stimulate savings and increase deposits but also make credit available to the credit-starved sectors such as small industries and agriculture. The Finance Minister has not, however, indicated any measure for achieving these objectives.

It was expected that the Finance Minister would this year introduce a courageous innovation by imposing wealth tax on companies. But he did not do that. On the contrary he came out with a number of new incentives and concessions to the corporate sector and big business.

To say that tax burdens on the very rich have been steadily growing is not true. In fact, a comparison of income tax burdens as in 1949-50 with the new proposals for 1969-70 will show that whereas the burdens on the Rs. 10,000 to 15,000 income groups have increased, those in groups with income of three lakhs and over have actually decreased. The following table will be instructive :

(Continued on page 38)

Bihar in the Cesspool of Instability

GIRISH MISRA

and

BRAJ KUMAR PANDEY

THE instability created by the mid-term election continues in Bihar. In spite of the initial victories scored by the Congress-led coalition, the sword of uncertainty is constantly hanging over its head. Nobody knows when the Government will go out of power but everybody agrees that it is not going to last longer.

The instability and uncertainty in the political life of Bihar is the result of the mid-term election. The people did not give a clear-cut mandate either to a single party or an alliance to rule the State. The Congress which has emerged as the single largest party with 118 is far short of the absolute majority. Long before the mid-term election was held, the people anticipated such a situation. The Congress—the biggest political party in the State—had been passing through a crisis since 1967. Before the Fourth General election, Sri B.N. Jha resigned from the Chief Ministership under the Kamaraj Plan and Sri K.B. Sahay succeeded. Since then Sri Jha had been trying to capture power again. He made efforts to bring the Raja of Ramgarh into the Congress and capture power. When Sri K.B. Sahay group foiled his game, the Raja went out and formed the Jankranti Dal and later converted it into the Bhartiya Kranti Dal under the leadership of Sri Mahamaya Prasad Sinha. Sri Jha's blessings remained with them.

After the General Election in

1967, Sri B.N. Jha contested for the leadership of the Congress legislature party but he was narrowly defeated by Sri Mahesh Prasad Sinha. Had Sri Jha been elected leader, he could have formed a coalition with Sri Mahamaya Prasad Sinha, Raja of Ramgarh and their supporters. He could have secured the support of some Independents and a few defectors from other parties. With the election of Sri Mahesh Prasad Sinha, his interest in the formation of a Congress-led coalition diminished. On the contrary, his blessings and moral support was with the UF Government. Many a time, the other group in the Congress did not dare attempt a toppling operation and when it did succeed in its game of toppling and installing the puppet government of Sri Mandal, Sri Jha and his followers quit the Congress and brought down the Mandal Ministry. It must be remembered here that Sri Mandal was an erstwhile follower of Sri Jha.

It was the understanding of Sri Jha and his friends that the Congress could not afford to go ahead without them and it would have to yield to them sooner or later.

With the appointment of the Aiyar Commission by the first UF Government, the differences among the top leaders of the Congress in Bihar disappeared for the time being. They frantically tried their best to get the Enquiry Commission prevented from being set up. They moved the courts and failed and then they

installed the Mandal Ministry and there also they failed.

After the fall of the Paswan Ministry, there was no alternative but to impose the President's Rule and order the mid-term poll. During the President's Rule, the Aiyar Commission started its sittings. As the proceedings of the Commission began appearing in the newspapers, the five leaders of the State Congress became panicky. The first attempt on their part was to capture the Pradesh Congress Committee and then get the majority of the party nominations for their own men. The PCC elections could not be held till they were not sure of getting their own man being made PCC President. Some how or the other, Sri A.P. Sharma, a nonentity in the organization became President of the BPCC. The Secretaries were nominated from all the three caste groups to look after their own caste interests. The image of the Congress became more distorted.

To improve the image of the Congress in the State, the High Command denied tickets to the caste leaders who were facing the Aiyer Commission. But the purge was not carried further and except in two districts—Saran and Champaran—the nominees of the leaders got the tickets. The result was that the people could not be won over by this refurbishing of the image of the Congress. The Congress High Command deputed Sri D. Sanjivaiya and a number of observers from outside. Money was poured in and the important Central leaders toured the State.

The caste leaders of the Bihar Congress spared nothing to give a rebuff to the Central leaders. Some of them actively campaigned against the Congress candidates. The report of Sri Sanjivaiya makes it clear that the PCC office and one of the General Secretaries, Sri Ram Laxhan Singh Yadav, did not cooperate with him. On the contrary, they worked against the party candidates to prove that without them the Congress could not succeed. The Congress lost seven seats in Muzaffarpur, the home district of Sri M.P. Sinha, and seven seats in Gaya from

where Sri S.N. Sinha comes. The Congress could win only six of 22 seats from Shahabad—the district of Sri Jagjivan Ram, Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, Sri B.R. Bhagat and Sri Ambika Saran Singh. The nominees of Sri M.P. Sinha, Sri Nawalkishore Sinha and Ambika Saran Sinha lost even in the seats these leaders had themselves held. The Congress made impressive gains only in Saran and Champaran.

As soon as the election results were declared, the five leaders of the Congress started negotiations for forming a coalition ministry. They ignored the Congress High Command completely. The Central Congress leadership yielded before their defiant attitude and Sri Chavan went to Patna to supervise the election of the leader of the Congress legislature party. In the Congress legislature party election, the Congress members of both the parties participated and Sri Harihar Singh was elected, defeating Sri Daroga Prasad Rai.

Sri Harihar Singh who is 70 is popularly known as Sardar Harihar Singh. It was not an accident that he was sponsored by the five leaders. He belongs to a Rajput family of Shahabad. He is related to the Dumraon Raj family and has been on the managing committee of the institutions run by the Raj family. He joined the Congress during the twenties and remained in it till 1957. He was denied the Congress ticket in 1957 and then went out of the Congress with other Rajputs namely Thakur Girijanandan Singh, Sri Gajadhar Singh, Sri Ram Binod Singh and a Brahmin Sri Jankinandan Singh. A new party "Jan Congress" was formed and they fought and lost in the election. Then Sri Harihar Singh along with his friends joined the newly-formed Swatantra Party. In the third General Election (1962), he stood as a Swatantra nominee and lost. After a row with the Raja of Ramgarh, the then Chairman of the State Unit of the Swatantra Party, Sri Jankinandan Singh complained to the central Swatantra leaders and as a result of the action taken by Sri Masani, the Swatantra Party

was reduced to nonentity in Bihar. Sri Harihar Singh became an Independent and entered the Legislative Council. He won the Dumraon seat in the 1967 General Election. He supported United Front Government led by Sri Mahamaya Prasad Sinha. When the defections took place from the United Front and the Shoshit Dal Government with the support of the Congress was formed, Sri Harihar Singh became a Minister for Agriculture. At that time it came to be known that Sri Singh was paid a sum of two thousand rupee by Sri K.B. Sahay through cheque. According to Sri Singh, the money was given for the funeral of his son, but other people alleged that it was given to him to induce him to join the Mandal Ministry. A privilege motion was moved against him in the last Vidhan Sabha. The motion could not be decided upon because the Vidhan Sabha was dissolved. An unsuccessful attempt to reopen it was recently made by the Communist Member, Sri Raj Kumar Purvey.

Sri Harihar Singh has not received any formal education and the claims made in certain quarters that he is widely read in Philosophy, Economics, History, etc. lack substance. He is never worried about the ideological matters. It is worth noting to know that Sri Singh opposed the land reforms measures and pleaded for the retention of the zamindari system when he was in the Vidhan Sabha after the first General Election.

Such a man answered to the needs of the caste leaders of the State Congress. They thought, they could get done through him whatever they liked. It is said that indirectly they will control the State machinery, and the Government case against them before the Aiyar Commission will be weakened so that they could get a certificate of "not guilty" from the Commission and ultimately they will stage a comeback. (It is interesting to note that as soon as Mandal Ministry came to power it dispensed with the services of the lawyers engaged in preparing the Government case to present before the Aiyar Commission.

Besides, the leaders of the dominant group in the PCC, Sardar Harihar Singh is being backed by Dr. Ram Subhag Singh. In addition to the caste affinity, Sardar Harihar Singh belongs to the Parliamentary constituency of Dr. Singh and he enjoys a good following among the Rajputs. Dr. Singh has not scored any impressive victory in the election. Last time he changed his constituency and even then he could be elected only with the help of the Dumraon Raj family over which Sardar Harihar Singh has very great influence. It should also be borne in mind that for the first time a Rajput has become Chief Minister in Bihar.

Sardar Harihar Singh after being elected leader started negotiations with other parties namely the Jana Sangh, BKD, the Janata Party, the Shoshit Dal etc. The Jana Sangh refused to join the Coalition Ministry because this would affect its relations with the Congress Party at the Centre. Earlier the PSP had refused to extend its support in spite of persuasion by Sri Chavan. Then there was no choice left but to invite the Raja of Ramgarh and the Swatantra Party. The latter decided to support the Ministry without joining it. The condition laid before extending the support was, according to Sri N. Dandekar, that the coalition should not seek the support of the Communists and it would not levy any direct taxes on the peasants nor would it resort to compulsory procurement of foodgrains. No condition of this has till now come from the Congress side. It is strange that Sri Morarji Desai has proposed agricultural wealth-tax in his Budget while Sardar Harihar Singh has given this assurance to the Swatantra Party against levying any direct taxes on the peasants.

The Raja of Ramgarh with whom Sardar Harihar Singh has not only the caste affinity but also the fortune of working in the Swatantra Party, was invited to join the Ministry. The Raja and his party realized "the need of forming a stable democratic and nationalistic Government in Bihar" and extended his party's

(Continued on page 37)

Thoughts on Our Constitution

M.P. SIVAGNANA GRAMANI

THE Constitution that is in force today in our country has not been prepared by the representatives elected on adult franchise. Landlords, politicians and capitalists who comprised the then Provincial Legislatures—these gentry prepared our Constitution. The Constituent Assembly was not a forum of the real representatives of the linguistic States.

The Sub-Committee which prepared the draft of our Constitution was composed mainly of pro-Imperialists. Not one among them ever thought of or deeply considered the question of "One State—for each language." We may take them as having been even opposed to this principle. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee was a protagonist of the British Empire, who desired a 'homeland' for the Scheduled Castes. The other Members of the Committee were Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar and Syed Mohamed Saadulla.

If we are to say precisely, our present Constitution had a majority of South Indians who took a greater part of the responsibility in drafting it. The draft was prepared by members who were exclusively out of the Indian National Congress. It came into force on January 26, 1950 with the backing of the Congress by the Constituent Assembly. The States lost their rights because of the 'creators' of the Constitution.

The author who is a Member of Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly, is leader of Tamil Arasu Kazhagam.

The Indian National Congress half-heartedly adopted the principle of "One State for each language" on November 1, 1946 and wanted to reorganise the various States on the basis of language. As such, the present Constitution cannot be expected to continue without incorporating serious modifications or amendments to suit the changed circumstances.

Those who drafted the Constitution did not deem it fit to have the draft considered either by the States' electorates or the Provincial Assemblies, nor did they call for any amendments to the Draft Constitution. On the principle of 'Might is right,' at the will of the High Command of the Indian National Congress, the Constitution was adopted. Even the Plan of the British Cabinet Mission stipulated that once in 10 years, the people should be called upon to express their opinions on the Constitution. But our present Constitution does not give such a right to the electorate either to amend it or transform it in a large measure. These are the deficiencies that were there at the time of drafting of the Constitution. These initial discrepancies have made our Constitution an incongruity.

It is a fact that under the present Constitution, the States have not been recognised as separate entities having any independent status. All the State Governments have been reduced to the level of simple District Boards. The same 'freedom' enjoyed by the District Boards in a State is accorded to the 'States' by the Centre. This is a denial of the very principle of 'joint rule'.

We have three Lists in our Constitution, namely, the Union List, the States' List and the Concurrent List. The States have absolutely no power either to interfere or ask for any rights for themselves from the subjects of the Union. Though the subjects in the States' List are exclusively the concern of the States, one Article gives the Union the right to take over one or many of these subjects at its desire through and with the help of Parliament.

The Third List, namely, the Concurrent List, which is said to be common to both the Centre and the States, is liable to be managed by both the Centre and the States, for instance, Police, Education, Health, Law. The Union has Ministries for Education, Health, Law and Home and has an army of officials to run them. The States too have similar Ministers and officials. In case of conflict between the Union and the States, the Constitution says, the view of the Centre alone shall prevail over that of the States. Even the appointment of the Inspector General of Police whose field of work is in the State exclusively rests with the Centre. The States can at best recommend a list of its nominees for such appointments to the Centre; that is all. The same holds good in regard to appointment of Judges of States' High Courts. If the Ministries and the Assemblies in the States refuse to act as faithful servants of the Centre, they may be dismissed or dissolved and the State administered through the Governor by the President.

Add to the above, there is no chance given to the States to have one among themselves as the Governor of a State. It has become a convention to appoint one as a Governor who is from another State. A person is entrusted to look after the Ministry and Assembly who has not lived with the people and shared in his joys and sorrows in his lifetime. The drawbacks depicted hereinabove are a few that are conspicuous in our Constitution. With this all-leaking vessels, the Congress tries to draw water from the well of democracy to irrigate the crops of the Republic. Can the plants grow or thrive?

The Congress Party asserts that it is going to implement the socialism of the 'Avadi' Congress. To accumulate, to continue to crowd too much powers at the Centre, obviously when it is beyond its capacity to carry them out, is against the very basis of socialistic principles.

'Strong Centre'—Against Whom ?

It is argued that we should have a '*strong*' Centre. We ask : strong against whom ? To oppress whom ? If it is said that the Centre should be strong against foreign nations, I accept it. And in that case, all that the Centre needs are the subjects of Foreign Relations, Defence and Communications. And it is our firm desire that the Centre should have only these three portfolios exclusively.

What, then, is the necessity today for the Centre to have more powers at its command ? The truth of the matter is that either the Centre has not much faith in the States or it desires to dominate the States. Can any one refuse to accept this contention ?

Does the burden of defending the country from foreign nations lie with the Ministry of Health, or Education or Food or the Police ? If not, why should the Centre impose its will on these Ministries ? The States are anxious that they should be prosperous and their people should have health, education and progress to lead a good life. So it is evident that in these subjects like Health, Education and the like, the States have to be given full freedom to have their way.

Even patriotism is suspect !

The Police Minister of Madras sends his CID and reporters to watch me and my movements. At the same time, the Centre has a Special Department of Police in Madras to watch the State's Police Department. Yes, the Police Minister doubts my patriotism and his patriotism is doubted by the Home Minister at Delhi. This is the state of Free India today.

To say that the 'Big ones' at Delhi are more interested in the well-being of Tamils, than what I

as a Tamil or the Ministry of Tamil Nadu desires in this respect is to insult the Tamils. Let not the Delhi 'gods' bear the burden of protecting the States. To relieve them of their burden only, we are asking for more powers for the States. If the Centre were to have only three portfolios of Foreign Relations, Defence and Communications, can it not function more efficiently than it does today ?

Let not any one suppose that Tamil Nadu is alone affected by the accumulation of powers overwhelmingly at the Centre. All the States are very much affected by it. Hence it is a travesty of truth uttered knowingly when a group in this part of the country propagates that Tamil Nadu alone is affected by this inequality as some shout : "The North lives and the South wanes". This slogan is not only opposed to political belief but also a contradiction in terms. There are States in the North which are waning and there are prosperous States in the South too.

Rajasthan is an acutely famine-affected State. Orissa and Assam follow suit in being less developed. Punjab and Madhya Pradesh also are States that need progress and improvement. If we look at the South State-wise, Kerala may be said to be a famine-stricken State. Kerala's troubles in food is known all over the country. Why, compared with Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Mysore and Andhra do lag behind.

The people of Andhra Pradesh started a movement in 1953 for an independent State and they separated from Madras State. Why ? The Andhras then agitated with the slogan "Tamil Nadu fares well and Andhra wanes" and we cannot forget their another slogan : "We want our Andhra ; let all Tamils die". Yes, waning States are as well in the North ; and faring States are in the South too. In any field you will find that the States of Maharashtra, West Bengal and Tamil Nadu vie with one another in making progress. All the other States are always behind these three.

Industries may have developed to a great extent in the cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Ahmeda-

bad. By this reason alone it can not be said that the entire North is prosperous. Famine and plenty are common both to the North and South.

The States of Maharashtra and West Bengal may have become industrially advanced regions. We cannot blame the Centre for this result. Even during the British regime, the industries multiplied in Bombay and Calcutta. If it is to be accepted that the North prospers today, then the Britishers are to be blamed for having brought about such a result. Tatas, Birlas and Dalmias have not sprung up after 15th August 1947. They had come on the scene during the reign of Britishers. The fact is therefore that capitalists like Tatas, Birlas or Dalmias, who can be counted by the fingers do not comprise the entire North. There are crores of toilers and peasants in the North. We will have to say then that the industrial-capitalist group thrives in the North and the peasantry-labour mass is toiling. This state of affairs applies not only to the North, but also to the South, in fact, to every State.

Demand for more Powers

Hence the remedy for the evil of the Centre having an abundant accumulation of power under its control is not for the South to fight against the North. All the States should unite in order to have more powers for themselves from the Centre by demanding autonomy, complete and unfettered. If we look at this picture from a political angle, there is no North-South struggle or clash between Aryans and Dravidians. It is really a fight between the Centre and the States for more powers for the latter. Today in India we are having our own Government. There may be small deficiencies here and there. What is desired today by all forward-looking people is that each and every State should have full autonomy.

When we Tamils took part in the struggle for freedom from the British under the banner of the Indian National Congress, we did so because we felt that only by that freedom from foreign rule,

Tamil Nadu also will become free. Therefore, so far as the Tamils are concerned, the war of independence has not come to an end. It continues even after the 15th August 1947 and hence I wrote on August 1, 1947 in an editorial of *Tamil Murasu* (Tamil Drum) to this effect: "After the 15th August 1947, there is a change of war-fronts and change in the way of war, but the battle has not stopped".

I repeat the same today. On 15th August 1947, Tamil Nadu too like the rest of the Provinces got out of the control of the British. We celebrated that day and will continue to do so.

We took part in the struggle for India's independence; we did our duty and now claim our rights based on what has been done by us for the people of this land. What we ask is 'self-governing States all with equal status in the Indian Federation with a very strong defence. Our principle is that all the States are capable of remaining self-governing units; but to save themselves from the eagle-eyes of worldly big-powers, they should have a strong and secure protection of arms. Hence we say that the linguistic States should be self-governing units in the Federal Union.

Bigger Federation Needed

Those who asked for Dravidistan sought a federation of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore and Kerala which are all linguistic States. What we say is that if we have all the other States in the entire country in the Federation; it would be stronger still. In other words, if we can form a Federation with Kerala which has seized from Tamil Nadu the talukas of Devikulam and Peer-medu, if we can unite with Andhra Pradesh which has denied our northern border district which is rightfully due to us, I wonder what harm would befall us (that is, the Tamils and the Tamil Nadu), if we include in our Federation all the rest of the States in the country. No one can very well oppose our principle that we should have relations with our sister States on an equal basis and status. When once a federation

of linguistic States has been accepted on principle, there is no point in opposing the fact that a bigger Federation is always preferable to a smaller one.

It may be asked what, then, are the responsibilities of the Federation as per our ideal. These are—(1) Foreign relations; (2) Defence and (3) Communications.

All these three portfolios will be left to the charge of the Centre or Federation. These are not the powers that have been seized by the Centre from the States. These are the powers that are surrendered voluntarily by the States to the Centre in consideration of the need for defence. It does not therefore mean that the States have become slaves or handmaids of the Centre. It must not be forgotten that all the States surrender the same powers to the Centre and when all do so, there is no question of any superiority or inferiority complex.

Centre, Common to All

The Central Administration is to be a co-operative unit and there shall be equal representation to all the States unlike today where 40 per cent membership of Parliament is in the hands of the Hindi-speaking people. There

will be no chance for a group to dominate the rest.

As the Federation of our ideal has only three subjects to look after, there will be no fear of domination by Delhi over the States. These three portfolios are not revenue-earning ones. On the contrary, they are spending departments on a very large scale and hence the responsibility to maintain these Departments falls greatly on the States and the States will therefore be economically on a stronger base. When I say that all the States should form a Federation leaving the three subjects to the Centre, there is one special condition and that is the States should be recognised as 'independent self-governing units' in our Constitution. That is the safeguard for the States' powers to act freely and maintain their self-respect.

Tamils overseas

Though 'Foreign relations' is a subject for the Centre to deal with, about a crore of Tamils stay overseas. And it is a well-known fact that the Centre has not so far acted satisfactorily with regard to the question of these overseas people. A special right should be given to Tamil Nadu to look after the interests of these people.

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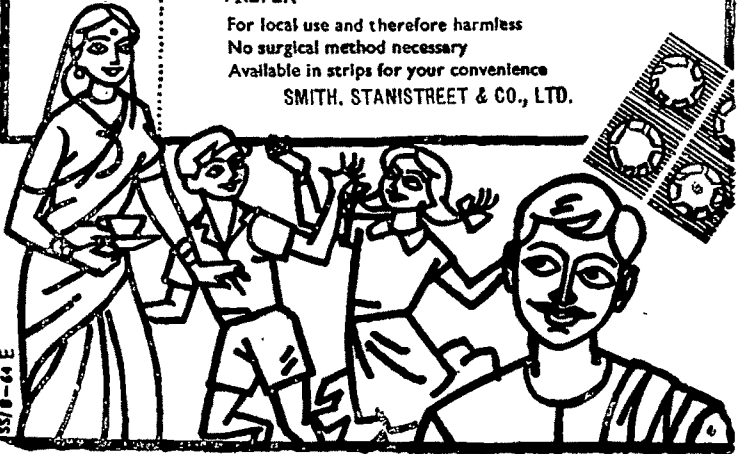
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Marx and Man

A Chapter in the History of Ideas

SUSOBHAN SARKAR

I

INTRODUCTION

As a mere student of history, I shall confine myself to a historical and logical presentation of some of the ideas of Marx and Engels, drawing heavily from their own writings, with occasional comments of my own.¹

Certain difficulties face us at the outset.

Firstly, Marx was a philosopher, a sociologist, a historian, an economist, and a political revolutionary, all in one. It is of course possible to extract one aspect of his thought, philosophy for example, treating it as an 'isolate' in the words of Professor Levy. But this leads to the danger of a partial incomplete understanding, of which one must always be conscious.

Secondly, Marx and Engels, throughout their lives, waged polemical struggles, neglecting the building of any system, from the *Holy-Family* (1845) and even before to the *Anti-Duhring* (1878) and beyond. They fought against mystic idealists and mechanical materialists, against orthodox economists and utopian socialists, against militant anarchists and 'respectable' reformists, and so on. But this naturally led to the danger of overemphasis in demolishing the particular enemy, which can be corrected only by keeping in view the entire corpus of their thought.

Thirdly, there is sometimes the assumption that we have a contradiction between the early and the later Marx. As it happens, in our present discussion, the opinions of the young Marx in the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* of 1844 and the *German Ideology* of 1845-47 figure very prominently. Are these formulations mere youthful speculation which Marx himself outgrew and abandoned?

Disillusioned socialists and philosophical idealists have in recent years largely seized upon the early writings, unpublished for so many years, to discredit familiar Marxism some even seem to imply

that Marx ceased creative thinking by the mid-forties of the last century. On the other hand, many practising Marxists, weighed down by concrete political pre-occupations, incline to think that these writings were immature and were justly allowed so long to remain in manuscript form; they would like to turn their back on the problem of the individual dominating Marx's earlier-thought. I think both these approaches are incorrect.

The non-publication of some of the manuscripts by Marx should not be unduly stressed. *The Jewish Question* and the *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right: Introduction* were actually published in 1844; the *Holy Family* in 1845. It was only 'altered circumstances' (the approach of revolutionary crisis), after all, which prevented the coming out of the *German Ideology* which had been sent to the printers.² Then followed hard days, exile, a multitude of tasks. The delay in publication after the death of Marx and Engels must be attributed to the apathy of German Social Democracy to the grave difficulties in the early years of Bolshevik rule, and finally to the interruption in the work of the Marx-Engels Institute after Riazonov.

Marx also had no limit to self-criticism and often enough kept his writings in manuscript, for future polishing; the history of the *Grundrisse* of 1857-58 and Engels' complaint at the delay in the completion of even the *Capital* testify to the fact that even in his maturity Marx was not over-eager to publish.

Marx had the habit of writing down and preserving an enormous mass of notes, out of which could be shaped at suitable moments finished works. *The Critique of Political Economy* and the *Capital* arose out of the notes in this way. Marx intended to the last the production of a philosophical treatise, mainly on the later Greek philosophies of "self-consciousness", among other projects. A harsh careworn life, urgent economic analyses and historical studies, day-to-day political activity, finally ill-health prevented the fulfilment of such plans. That does not take away the value of manuscript notes to which we have now access,

The author read this paper at a Seminar on 'The Concept of Man in Marxist Philosophy' held by the Centre for Advanced Studies in Philosophy, Visva-bharati University, on February 22, 1969.

It is true that Marx and Engels were no dogmatists, and they modified their views whenever they felt the need. The successive historical stages in social evolution, presented in the *German Ideology* and the *Communist Manifesto* in the forties of the last century, appear differently in the *Formen* and the *Critique of Political Economy* a decade later; further re-thinking on the subject can be detected in the seventies. In the Preface of 1872, the authors tell us that the *Communist Manifesto* had grown out of date here and there.³ Engels admitted even later that 'our knowledge of economic history' was incomplete and that 'economic history is still in its cradle'.⁴ The theory about the relationship of the superstructure to the basis was restated in successive clarifications.⁵ And political tactics were necessarily changed with changing situations.⁶

But such modifications are only in the detailed application of the basic theory, quite natural in a scientific way of thinking. The fundamentals of the Marxian outlook, on the other hand, seem to have remained unaltered since the middle or even the early 1840's, though of course there is an evolution in expression and analysis. Thus the 'alienation' in the *Jewish Question* (1844) and the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* (1844) is not substantially different from the 'fetishism' in the *Capital* of 1867 (Vol. I, ch. 1, sec. 4); alienation is confirmed again by Engels' concept of the State in his *Origins* (1884); the *Critique of the Gotha Program*, 1875, also fits in with this approach. Again, it is undoubtedly the hypothesis in the *German Ideology* (1845-47) which appears in specific historical studies like the *Eighteenth Brumaire* (1852); is summed up in the *Critique* of 1859; and is placed concretely in relation to capitalist society in the *Capital* from 1867 on.

We are justified in asserting therefore a self-consistent continuity in the evolution of Marx's thought, instead of contraposing a young idealistic Marx to an older Marx with hardened heart.

2

A PHILOSOPHY IN FORMATION

It was at Paris in 1844 that what Lenin described as the three sources of Marxism first flowed together—German philosophy, English economics, and French socialism. The years before 1844 were thus the formative years which laid down the foundations of what became the distinctive world-outlook of Marx.

Engels much later told A.M. Voden that Marx was never a Hegelian.⁷ Marx was entered at the Berlin University in 1836 as a student of law, not philosophy, though he read up philosophy among other subjects in his own way. Hegel's posthumous influence at Berlin was however too great to be escaped. What attracted the youthful Marx was the Hegelian dialectic method, and not the abstract system.

In a letter to his father (November 10, 1837), Marx described the Hegelian system as a 'false siren' adding that its reconciliation of Reality with the

Idea was unacceptable.⁸ In his doctoral *Dissertation* (1841), Marx sharply rejected Hegel's serene dismissal of the later Greek philosophy of self-consciousness.

For the Hegelian dialectic, on the other hand, Marx and Engels cherished great respect till the end. In the 1873 Preface to the *Capital* Marx protested against the current German tendency to treat Hegel as a "dead dog"; asserted that for this reason he avowed himself as 'the pupil of that mighty thinker'; and he did use in his masterpiece Hegel's 'mode of expression'. Engels, on his part in his letter to Schmidt (October 27, 1890) ridiculed superficial Marxists with the acid comment: 'What these gentlemen all lack is dialectic....Hegel has never existed for them....'

At the same time, Marx did not forget to point out his disagreement with the 'mystifying side of Hegelian dialectic' which has to be 'turned right side up' to discover 'the rational kernel within the mystical shell.' (1873 Preface to the *Capital*). And Marx as early as 1847, in his *Poverty of Philosophy*, laughed at Prudhon's use of the so-called Hegelian triad, though Plekhanov has pointed out that the triad did not play any very crucial part in Hegel's own argument⁹; Lenin tells us that in a letter to Engels on January 8, 1868 Marx expressed again his contempt for 'wooden trichotomies'.¹⁰

Not Hegel alone, but pre-Hegelian German philosophy as well left its mark on Marx. In the 1837 letter to his father mentioned above, Marx almost equated idealism with Kant and Fichte, and Engels acknowledged the debt decades afterwards.¹¹ Kant's humanism and autonomy of the human spirit appealed to the young man, while Fichte's primacy of action and the stress on practice became a veritable part of the Marxian heritage, though these still remained on the abstract mental plane, external to concrete social history. Fichte taught that man not merely comprehends things but realises himself in willing and working. This conception of the activity of the individual mind must have had a considerable influence on Marx's approach to man. The latest biographers understandably emphasise the role of Fichte in the making of the philosophical outlook of Marx.¹²

The young Marx was moved also by another philosophical trend—the later Greek philosophy of self-consciousness, which had aimed at widening the horizons of man beyond the intellectual limitations of Hellenism and the social limitations of slavery, and which carried a message of inner individual freedom as a reaction against a demoralised age. "The doubts of the Sceptics, the hatred the Epicureans bore towards religion, and the republican sentiments of the Stoics"¹³ all pointed in this direction. It is significant that Marx chose the Epicurean philosophy as the subject of his doctoral thesis. He was moved in this work by a vision of human liberation. In his *Preparatory Notes* (1839-41) we read: 'we are liberated from that philosophy which, as a fixed system, has burdend us with chains'.¹⁴ The ideal of Prometheus, the legendary liberator of man, is extolled, with his proud assertion: "I harbour hate against all the gods", with his famous retort to

the messenger from Olympus: "For your vile slavery, be assured, never would I change my own unhappy lot."¹⁵

Indeed, this rather 'unphilosophical' attitude of revolt characterised young Marx from the beginning. He imbibed from his father a love for the French Revolution, a respect for St Simon from his future father-in-law and from Gans, his teacher. 'With contempt, I will fling my gauntlet in the world's face', he wrote to his fiancée¹⁶. This was not mere youthful bravado. The Young Hegelians shared with him the admiration for the Greek philosophy of self-consciousness, but Marx broke away from them with the argument that human emancipation cannot be simply religious, emancipation must be social and political as well.

Even in the formative years, thus Marx was drawn into practical social activity. Working in the *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842) after graduation, he quickly realised that deputies in legislatures pursue specific class-interests, that the law was an instrument of private interests. He was learning, in his own words, 'to consider the state with the eyes of man', to turn away from theology, just as Copernicus, he said, had done in the field of astronomy.¹⁷ Marx demanded freedom of the press, defended the oppressed masses, expressed fierce anger against injustice. Criticising Hegel in 1843, he held that it was the material forces in civil society, and nothing else, which give rise to the State, an organ necessarily of class interests, and therefore not above our criticism. The 1843 *Notebooks* studied Machiavelli, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and even Hamilton.¹⁸ The *Year-Book* of 1844 gave the call 'to criticise the existing world ruthlessly.'

The pull towards materialism was not for Marx mainly a later development, in spite of all the weight of the idealist philosophy in the Germany of his youth. Indeed, his turning away from religion, which is integral to the idealist attitude, was early enough. 'I went on from idealism.....to search for the Idea in reality itself,' he wrote to his father as early as 1837 in the letter indicated above. '.....the quest for an *alien* being, a being above man and nature.....becomes impossible in practice.'¹⁹ Such an attitude must have prevented him from swallowing the essence of the philosophical idealism around him. Thus he easily gravitated towards the materialist line. In the *Dissertation* (1841), we find him quite at home with the materialism of Democritus and the anti-religion of Epicurus. It was Feuerbach who dispelled for him finally the mists of idealism. Marx in 1844 wrote: 'Feuerbach's great achievement is.....the establishment of *true materialism*.....'²⁰ In 1842 Feuerbach had proclaimed: "Thought arises from being and not being from thought."

It was also easy to link the materialist philosophic approach with the social struggle which was already claiming Marx as its own. A few passages will illuminate this link-up.

1844—"Revolutions need a *passive* basis, a material basis. Theory is realised in a people so far as it fulfills the needs of the people."²¹

1845—"The idea always came to grief, in so far as it was distinct from interest."²² ".....necessarily materialism is connected with communism."²³

1846—"It is the old illusion that changing existing conditions depends only on the good will of people, and that existing conditions consist of ideas. ideologists.....inevitably put the thing upside down and regard their ideology as the creative force and as the aim of all social relations, whereas it is only an expression and symptom of these relations."²⁴

Yet Feuerbach's materialism was static and what Marx needed was a theory of activity. Already, in his *Dissertation*, Marx had criticised Democritus exactly for this lack of an 'energizing principle.' Naturally therefore he now pushed further ahead and invoked the principle of human activity, already familiar to him, to correct the inertness in Feuerbach. This was summed up for the purpose of 'self-clarification' in the *Eleven Theses on Feuerbach* (1845).

The existing materialism conceived reality only 'in the form of the *object* or of *contemplation*', not as '*human sensuous activity, practice*.' (Thesis 1). The materialist doctrine 'forgets that it is men who change circumstances' (Thesis 3). At the same time, 'the human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations.' (Thesis 6). Therefore, 'the abstract individual' 'belongs in reality to a particular form of society.' (Thesis 7). And, finally, the proper task of philosophy is, not interpreting, but changing the world.²⁵ (Thesis 11).

The standpoint in the *Eleven Thesis* is anticipated in 1844: 'Material force can only be overthrown by material force; but theory itself becomes a material force when it has seized the masses.'²⁶ And this philosophy is linked with the class-struggle. 'Just as philosophy finds its *material* weapons in the proletariat, so the proletariat finds its *intellectual* weapons in philosophy.'²⁷

The philosophy of Marx had thus reached a definitive form—dynamic materialism; the recognition of a dialectic activity of struggle within the materialist process; the redirective activity of man on a material reality; the possibility of freedom of action within the framework of material necessity. Therefore, Marx could say: 'Men make their own history, but they do not make it..... under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past.'²⁸

Was this a third philosophy, distinct alike from idealism and materialism? In one passage in 1844, Marx did say: 'Consistent naturalism or humanism distinguishes itself from both idealism and materialism, constituting at the same time the unifying truth of both.'²⁹ But this is overborne by many other statements, for instance: '... the priority of external nature remains unassailed....'³⁰; '... thinking by which the concrete is grasped is by no means, however, the process which itself generates the concrete.'³¹ Garaudy adds pertinently that though the object cannot be known without a subject, it is an absurdity to say that the

former cannot exist without the latter.³² All common sense, including that of the professional philosophers, have to accept this in practice every day. And this is materialism.

What Marx criticised in the 1845 *Theses* is only 'all hitherto existing materialism.' A new materialism was therefore possible, and Marx advanced it. There is thus no difficulty in agreeing with Engels that the 'basic question of all philosophy.....is that concerning the relation of thinking and being.....' and that the answers that philosophers give to this question 'split them into two great camps.'³³ Judged by this standard, Marx with his conviction that nature, matter was primary, not consciousness, was indubitably a materialist, albeit of a new kind.

3

The Question of Alienation

THE formation-process of Marx's philosophy itself would suggest that the individual could not very well have been ignored by him. Materialist (as distinct from supra-human mystic) dialectics, the stress on man's activity and practice, the Promethean vision of liberation of man, the political struggle against operation, the aim of changing the world—all pointed to the role of the individual. But a distinctive note in Marx's thought, even in the early 1840's, was that man is not an abstract isolated being, but is indissolubly bound up with the concrete reality of the socio-economic relations in which he finds himself; the bondage or liberation of the individual cannot therefore be separated from the historic development of the particular society to which he belongs. Marx's entire handling of the problem of alienation lights up this approach.

Alienation was a familiar concept in the philosophic world round young Marx. In Hegelian idealism, the material world is an alienation from the soul. Feuerbach regarded man's projection of his own being beyond himself into a transcendent God as the essence of alienation. Alienation can thus be defined as regarding what was man's own work as a reality exterior to and superior over himself.³⁴ The term may be applied in secular life when a man projects a part of himself into something which passes beyond his control: the state turns into an organ of coercion, administration into a bureaucracy, political associations into authoritarian entities—and yet all of these are human creations.

Marx summed up his general stand on the question of alienation in the following words: '...as long as a cleavage exists between the particular and the common interest, as long therefore as activity is not voluntarily, but naturally divided, man's own act becomes an alien power opposed to him, which enslaves him instead of being controlled by him.'³⁵ The primitive man on the other hand, free of such cleavages, feels in his world 'as much at home as a fish in water.'³⁶ Marx thought that the root of alienation lay not in the nature of man, nor in his ideas, but in the concrete conditions of social life. The corollary follows that by changing social life in an appropriate way, man can overcome alienation.

Following Feuerbach, Marx dealt with the religious form of alienation. The phrase about the 'opium of the people' is oft-quoted and misunderstood; but the whole passage conveys not superior contempt or reproach, but deep understanding and sympathy:

'...This state, this society, produce religion which is an *inverted world consciousness*, because they are an *inverted world*. Religion is the general theory of this world, its encyclopedic compendium, its logic in popular form, its spiritual *point d'honneur*, its enthusiasm, its moral sanction, its solemn complement, its general basis of consolation and justification.... The struggle against religion is, therefore, indirectly a struggle against *that world* whose spiritual *aroma* is religion. *Religious* suffering is at the same time an *expression* of real suffering and a *protest* against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the *opium* of the people. The abolition of religion as the *illusory* happiness of men, is a demand for their *real* happiness.... The criticism of religion is therefore the *embryonic criticism of this vale of tears* of which religion is the *halo*.'

Marx added that the '*task of philosophy*' which is in the service of history, is to unmask human self-alienation in its *secular form*.... Thus the criticism of heaven is transformed into the criticism of earth, the *criticism of religion* into the *criticism of law*, and the *criticism of theology* into the *criticism of politics*.³⁷

As *Capital*, I stated almost a quarter-century later: 'The religious reflection of the real world can, in any case, finally vanish when the practical relations of everyday life offer to man none but perfectly intelligible and reasonable relations to his fellow-men and Nature.'³⁸

Incidentally, it follows that Marx had no great faith in the crusade of atheism as such against religion, neglecting the necessary preliminary struggle for a social revolution. That is like putting the cart before the horse. And this is what Feuerbach missed.

From religious alienation, Marx passed to the political, and then to the economic. Speaking about the State, he said: 'What prevails in the so-called Christian state is not man but alienation.... Political emancipation is at the same time the *dissolution* of the old society, upon which the sovereign power, the alienated political life of the people, rests.... Human emancipation will only be complete when the real, individual man...has recognized and organized his own powers as *social* powers so that he no longer separates this social power from himself as *political* power.'³⁹ This is substantially the same idea as the later concept of the withering away of the State which Marx and Engels held up in their maturity.

But of course, the alienation of the individual which most concerned Marx was the economic alienation, and his most distinctive thinking refers to this. His famous formulation is about alienated or estranged labour which political economy describes without understanding, and which has to be ended to liberate individual man.

The object produced by labour, labour's product, is called by Marx an objectification of labour. When

man produces something for his own self or for his circle, there is human fulfilment, an objectification that is not yet alienation. But when labour is forced labour of some kind imposed from the outside, economic alienation begins. With rigid division of labour and the emergence of class-society when the owners hold down the toilers to extract a surplus by pressure, alienation takes shape. Private property in the means of production is the driving force behind this process of alienation, and this reaches its climax under capitalist commodity production. 'Misery therefore, emerges spontaneously out of the essence of present-day labour.'⁴⁰ Marx is thus linking up the individual man with his social conditions. And he was not exactly indulging in abstract speculation: 'my result have', he said, 'been won by means of a wholly empirical analysis based on a conscientious critical study of political economy.'⁴¹ Indeed, the *Manuscripts* of 1844 which new admirers of Marx extol so much for the humanity were very largely economic studies on class-exploitation.

Marx dwelt upon various aspects of estranged or alienated labour under capitalism after the 'critical study' in the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* of 1844.

Firstly, '...labour's product—confronts it as something alien, as a power independent of the producer,...this realisation of labour appears as loss of reality for the workers; objectification as loss of the object and object-bondage; appropriation as estrangement, as alienation.' Again, '...labour produces for the rich wonderful things...but for the worker it produces privation. It produces palaces...but for the worker, hovels. It produces beauty...but for the worker, deformity...It produces intelligence—but for the worker idiocy, cretinism.'⁴²

Secondly, '...the estrangement is manifested not only in the result but in the act of production—within the producing activity itself.' Thus, '...labour is external to the worker,...in his work, therefore, he does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind....His labour is therefore not voluntary, but coerced; it is forced labour...the worker's activity...belongs to another; it is the loss of his self.'⁴³

'Conscious life-activity directly distinguishes man from animal life-activity....Man produces even when he is free from physical need and only truly produces in freedom therefrom.' Marx called this 'species-being' for man and said: 'It is just in the working-up of the objective world...that man first really proves himself to be a species-being.' The third aspect of estranged labour turns on this 'In tearing away from man the object of his production, therefore, estranged labour tears from him his species-life....'⁴⁴ It may be added that in this way, man is divorced from free conscious purposive activity worthy of man; he loses the sense of belonging to his community; he becomes a prey to pessimism, indifference, and helplessness even in the midst of technical triumphs.

On page 117 of the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*, 1844 Marx summed up the result of the

triple alienation thus: 'A dwelling in the light, which Prometheus in Aeschylus designated as one of the greatest boons, by means of which he made the savage into a human being, ceases to exist for the worker.'

Alienation of the individual from his labour-product, from the labour-process, and from true species-life, has consequences which constitute yet other aspects of the phenomenon. Thus we have 'the estrangement of man from man...of a man's relation to the other man...'⁴⁵ The estrangement from species-life must mean this separation.

Further, the question may be posed: 'If the product of labour is alien to me, ..to whom, then, does it belong? If my own activity does not belong to me,—to whom, then does it belong?'⁴⁶ The answer obviously is '...it belongs to some other man than the worker....Not the gods, not nature but only man himself can be this alien power over man'.⁴⁷ The worker 'begets the dominion of the one who does not produce over production and the product.'⁴⁸ Now, the owner, the exploiter, the capitalist also cannot escape the effect of alienation, and is 'under the sway of inhuman power' which reduces his own self to an 'empty being'.⁴⁹ 'Private property has made us', commented Marx, 'so stupid and one-sided that an object is only ours when we have it'⁵⁰. The result is that we become incapable of enjoying the beauty around us.

Marx also pointed out that the whole system of alienation is connected with the system of money. 'The god of practical need and self-interest is money....Money is the alienated essence of man's work and existence; this essence dominates him and he worships it.'⁵¹

The mature Marx was neck-deep in economic and historical study, in practical political activities. He had little time thus for philosophical argument. But *Capital I* (1867) proves conclusively that at the height of his life's work he had not discarded the early idea of alienation, of estranged labour in class-society. Thus:

'The life-process of society, i.e. the process of material production, will not shed its mystical veil until it becomes the product of freely associated men.'

'To find an analogy, we must have recourse to the nebulous regions of the religious world. In that world the productions of the human brain appear as independent beings endowed with life, and entering into relation both with one another and with the human race. So it is the same in the world of commodities, with the products of men's hands. This I call the fetishism which attaches itself to the products of labour, as soon as they are produced as commodities.'

'Just as in the sphere of religion man is dominated by the creatures of his own brain, so in sphere of capitalist production, he is dominated by the creature of his own hand.'

'The exercise of labour-power, labour, is the worker's own life-activity,.....it is rather the sacrifice of his life.'

Capitalist methods, *Capital I* tells us further, 'mutilate the worker into a fragment of a human

being ... estrange him from the intellectual potentialities of the labour-process.⁵¹

It is also permissible to point out that the depiction in the *Capital* of the inhumanity in capitalism and even in certain pre-capitalist societies is essentially the same as in the treatment by Marx of estranged labour in 1844. In Marx's presentation, the philosophic concept of alienation does indeed lose its abstract nature and comes to life in the concrete social relations of man. Here also Marx puts an old conception right side up, revealing its rational kernel.

In such a context, transcending alienation could no longer be considered as the affair of the solitary philosopher, the pure effort of self-consciousness. Alienation could be overcome, Marx held, only by ending through collective effort the conditions which bred it, that is by social revolution through class-struggle. The task of philosophy is to be taken over by the proletariat. 'The positive abolition of *private property*, as the appropriation of human life, is *this the positive* abolition of all alienation, and thus the return of man from religion, the family, the State, etc. to his *human, i.e. social* life.'⁵²

There arises at this point the pertinent question— is socialism then necessarily the overcoming of all alienations in social life? The passage quoted just above does say that the 'abolition of private property' (in the means of production, of course) is the 'abolition of all alienation,' and recent Soviet writing has inclined to the view that socialist society is, as a matter of course, free from alienation. Yet we have to remember that Marx himself in the *Critique of the Gotha Program* (1875) categorically distinguished an early stage—namely socialism proper—from the later developed stage of genuine communism. It is idle to claim that this second stage has been yet attained by any socialist society in our experience.

Socialist societies which have arisen so far all belong to Marx's first stage; they have abolished private property in the means of production. Now this of course is the first essential step in overcoming alienation. Still, this does not automatically eliminate all alienation. Commodity production, not to mention rigid division of labour, money, the state, administrative bureaucracy, religion—all have been regarded by Marx as alienations, and they still remain in a socialist society as we know it. Apparently, these have to wither away under full-fledged communism visualised as the later stage of development by the *Critique* of 1875, before alienation can be finally overcome. And the process of withering away of such remnants cannot be just automatic, if dialectical development through struggle, an absolute in Marxist philosophy, continues to operate even after the advent of socialism. The self complacency in certain socialist circles, the belief in automatism, is without doubt un-Marxist.

4

MARX'S HUMANISM

HUMANISM in a broad sense is a very long tradition in man's history. But often enough, it has been in-

complete and inconsistent, not covering all men, one part of the ideal contradicting another. Only too often also, it has been a utopian vision. In theory, Marxism claims to be the most complete and the most consistent form of humanism, one that is also realisable in history through the operation of material social forces in evolution, and not dependent solely on individual good will.

Marx pointed out the inadequacy of abstract (spiritual or pure) humanism. '*Real Humanism*,' he said, 'has no more dangerous enemy.....than *spiritualism* or *speculative idealism* which substitutes "*self-consciousness*" or the "*spirit*" for the *real individual man*.....'⁵³ And: 'Individuals have always built on themselves, but naturally on themselves within their given historical conditions and relationships, not on the "pure" individual in the sense of the idealogists.'⁵⁴

'The criticism of religion,' declared Marx, 'ends with the doctrine that *man is the supreme being for man*. It ends, therefore, with the *categorical imperative to overthrow all those conditions* in which man is an abased, enslaved, abandoned, contemptible being.....'⁵⁵

Speaking of his own country, Marx went on in the same essay: '.....once the lightning of thought has penetrated deeply into the virgin soil of the people, the *Germans* will emancipate themselves and become *men*.....The emancipation of Germany is only possible *in practice* if one adopts the point of view of that theory according to which man is the highest being for man.'⁵⁶

Elsewhere, Marx expressed his belief thus: '*Communism* is the positive abolition of *private property*, of *human self-alienation*, and thus the real *appropriation* of *human nature* through and for man. It is, therefore, the return of man himself as a *social, i.e. really human* being, a complete and conscious return which assimilates all the wealth of previous development.'⁵⁷

Also, : 'Human emancipation will only be complete when the real, individual man has absorbed into himself the abstract citizen; when as an individual man, in his everyday life, in his work, and in his relationships, he has become a *species-being*.'⁵⁸

In short, 'Communism.....is humanism,' Marx claimed.⁵⁹

This stress on man, this value for the individual, is denied in modern capitalist society. 'Production' does not only produce man as a commodity.....it produces him as a *mentally* and *physically* dehumanized being.....'⁶⁰ Again, '.....this restricted character of development consists not only in the exclusion of one class from development, but also in the narrow-mindedness of the excluding class, and the "inhuman" is to be found also within the ruling class.'⁶¹

Under capitalist commodity production, individual values are denied, 'for...money.....confounds and exchanges everything, it is the universal *confusion and transposition* of all things, the inverted world.....' But, 'let us assume *man* to be *man*, and his relation to the world a human one. Then love can only be exchanged for love, trust for trust, etc.....Every one of your relations to man and to nature must be

a *specific expression*.....of your *real individual* life.⁶²

Humanism's task today is therefore, according to Marx, to struggle for the end of the iniquities of capitalism through a social revolution for the sake of man himself.

In an article (in the *Vorwärts*, August 10, 1844) he wrote: 'A social revolution.....is a human protest against an inhuman life.....'⁶³ And, in the *German Ideology* he added: 'Both for the production on a mass scale of this communist consciousness, and for the success of the cause itself, the alteration of men on a mass scale is necessary an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a *revolution*.'⁶⁴

A distinctive thought of Marx was of course the idea that the social revolution for the liberation of man must now be led by the proletariat. But in this leading role, he held, the interest of a specific class coincided with the general interest of the people.

On the one hand, '.....the proletarians, if they are to assert themselves as individuals, will have to abolish the very conditions of their existence hitherto.....'.⁶⁵ At the same time, the proletariat is a class 'which is, in short, a *total loss* of humanity, and which can only redeem itself by a *total redemption of humanity*'.⁶⁶ The proletariat again is a class 'cannot abolish the conditions of its own life without abolishing *all* the human conditions of life of society today which are summed up in its own situation.'⁶⁷

The *German Ideology* repeatedly emphasised the close connection between the idea of the proletarian revolution and the vision of individual liberation.

Here are the relevant passages:

'.....by the overthrow of the existing state of society by the communist revolution.....and the abolition of private property.....the liberation of each single individual will be accomplished.....'⁶⁸

'.....in the appropriation by the proletarians, a mass of instruments of production must be made subject to each individual and property to all..... Only at this stage does self-activity coincide with material life, which corresponds to the development of individuals into complete individuals.....'⁶⁹

'.....private property can be abolished only on condition of an all-round development of individuals.....and only individuals that are developing an all-round fashion can appropriate them..... Within communist society, the only society in which the original and free development of individuals ceases to be a mere phrase.....this development is determined precisely by.....the universal character of the activity of individuals.....'⁷⁰

'The all-round development of the individual will only cease to be conceived as ideal, as vocation, etc., when the impact of the world which stimulates the real development of the abilities of the individual comes under the control of individuals themselves, as the communists desire.'⁷¹

That the mature Marx did not lose his early vision of man is demonstrated by the *Capital* which talks of 'the self-realisation of the person' and of 'fully developed human beings'⁷² And full thirty years after the *German Ideology*, after a life time of bitter struggle, Marx could still with almost youth-

ful enthusiasm write in the *Critique of the Gotha Program* (1875):

'In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of individuals under division of labour, and therefore also the anti-thesis between mental and physical labour has vanished, after labour has become not only a means of life but life's prime want, after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly—only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be fully left behind and society inscribe on its banners: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.'⁷³

Lenin also persisted in believing that socialism is not merely "the method of adding to the efficiency of production, but the only method of producing fully-developed human beings."⁷⁴

The concept of man in Marx's philosophy is borne out by his dialectical view of human freedom of action within the framework of objective social necessity. Such necessity cannot be transcended, we cannot bring back the 'golden age', or vanished antique or feudal conditions. Yet, freedom of individual action is still a reality.

Freedom cannot mean absolute indeterminism, for that would posit events without any cause. Freedom cannot mean the absence of any objective law of development, for man himself discovers laws or trends in social evolution. But even within an ultimately stronger necessity, freedom of action remains, and this implies individual choice and responsibility, though we thereby only advance or retard the objective development.⁷⁵ Marx wrote to Kugelmann on April 17, 1871: 'World history would indeed be very easy to make, if the struggle were taken up only on condition of infallibly favourable chances. It would, on the other hand, be of a very mystical nature, if "accidents" played no part. These accidents themselves fall naturally into the general course of development.....acceleration and delay are very dependent upon such "accidents".....'⁷⁶

Historical determinism is not something imposed on men from above; it arises out of human actions.⁷⁷ Engels wrote: '*History* does *nothing*,.....it "wages *no* battles". It is *man*, real living man, that does all that....."history" is not a person apart, using man as a means for its own particular aims; history is *nothing but* the activity of man pursuing his aims.'⁷⁸ And Marx remarked: 'Ideas cannot *carry any thing out* at all. In order to carry out ideas men are needed who dispose of a certain practical force.'⁷⁹

5

THE SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVE

THEORY, cynics say, is but word-spinning. It may also be recalled that, unlike his great utopian predecessors, Marx steadfastly refused to draw any detailed picture of the socialist future. Thus it is quite possible to argue that socialist reality will have little room for Marx's vision of liberated man.

Still, Marx's humanism is an integral part of his outlook and cannot be brushed aside without falsifying the richness of his basic approach. And, the perennial attraction of Socialism for conscious men undoubtedly does consist in the idea of a better world for humanity, which, Marx taught us, will arise from concrete objective social conditions at a particular point in the historical evolution, though it will not come automatically but only through human struggle.

Recent history has shown that a socialist society, long considered to be mere day-dreaming, can come about after all. And if the new society has not yet risen up to Marx's humanism, the fact remains that risen his fundamental thought still has the greatest authority with all Socialists, and since in recent times there is a perceptible and insistent return to Marx's own original thinking, the struggle for fulfilment of the entire theory will certainly continue and not fade out of the perspective.

Revolutions develop differently from previous anticipations; reality of course is more complex than originally expected.⁸⁰ Under such circumstances, men are often disillusioned; but people steeled in a theory are not easily disheartened, they persist in struggle. There are others however guiding a movement who turn into pragmatists or realists as they would call themselves, especially after some initial achievement; they rest on their oars, they forget the wisdom of their own theory, they become conservatives.

On November 23, 1871, Marx wrote to Bolte: 'The antiquated makes an attempt to maintain itself within the newly-achieved form.'⁸¹ He was obviously thinking of the possibility of conservatism cropping up within a revolution.

Against such dangers Marx implied the necessity of ceaseless alertness. 'Proletarian revolutions,' he said '.....criticize themselves constantly ...come back to the apparently accomplished in order to begin it afresh.....'⁸²

Proletarian dictatorship was the proclaimed weapon of Marx himself for the purpose of the socialist revolution. Under socialism today, there is however some times a danger of confusing the means (the dictatorship of the proletariat) with the end (a free humane society). For who does not feel tempted to think that it is easier to rule by force rather than by persuasion?⁸³ Antonio Gramsci was one of the farsighted wise Marxists who thought otherwise.⁸⁴

Marx's warning in September 1850, against his critics in the Communist League is still pertinent: 'Just as the Democrats made a sort of holy entity out of the word people, you are doing the same with the word proletariat.'⁸⁵

Lenin repeatedly asserted that the dictatorship of the proletariat must not be reduced to that of the Party or its elite leadership. Trotsky, in his famous theory of "substitutism", stressed the same danger. Stalin in his written word agreed with this stand. Yet the Soviets of the proletariat and the peasantry have perhaps been allowed to recede into the background in the lands of socialism.

Marx, in his protest against 'regimented com-

munist', set his face against bureaucracy: 'Bureaucracy regards itself,' he said, 'as the be-all and the end-all of the state.....The all-pervading universal spirit of bureaucracy is *mytery*, secrecy..... Worship of authority is its *way of thinking*.'⁸⁶ This is no mere juvenile idealism, for we have also the Founders' views of post-revolutionary development, almost a generation later. Thus, Marx said in 1875: 'Freedom consists in converting the state from an organ standing above society into one completely subordinated to it.'⁸⁷ And Engels wrote in 1878: 'State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then withers away of itself.....'⁸⁸ Again, 'In proportion as anarchy in social production vanishes, the political authority of the state dies out. Man, at last the master of his own form of social organisation, becomes at the same time the Lord over nature, his own master-free.'⁸⁹

In view of all this, Lenin wanted to popularise the administrative apparatus, to whittle down the revolutionary bureaucracy. His successors have gone in rather towards tightening it up, without even educating the people about the original stand, about the direction towards which the socialist society must strive to move.

Marx's expectation was that after smashing up the old bourgeois administrative set-up, genuine popular participation in government would go on increasing. The dangers of counter-revolution and external intervention do make this difficult. Still it is arguable that widening and deepening the popular base is a mighty help in stabilising a post-revolutionary regime. Continuous democratisation and more free discussion would be invaluable in this matter, in the interest of the new order itself. Marx stressed the need for criticism even in his last days.⁹⁰ Engels wrote to Bebel on May 2 1891: '.....socialist science is necessary, but it cannot exist without freedom..... So it is necessary to put up with certain amount of unpleasantness....without bristling up.'⁹¹

Socialism's first task is indeed the overthrow of capitalist economic exploitation. Yet it cannot very well stop there. Rising standards of life and technological triumphs are not enough; after all, advanced capitalist countries are not quite incapable of this. An 'increase of wages,' Marx remarked, '.....would not win for the worker or for labour their human status and dignity.'⁹² And he wrote in the *Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung* in 1847: '.....the proletariat.....needs its courage, confidence, pride and independence even more than its daily bread.'⁹³

The Socialist perspective therefore cannot today, even after early historic triumphs, dispense with Marx's vision: 'We have seen the importance, which must be attributed, in a socialist perspective, to the *wealth* of human needs,..... A new manifestation of *human* powers and a new enrichment of the human being.....'⁹⁴

The perspective is clear enough in the *German Ideology*, the first comprehensive presentation of the basic theory: 'In the present epoch, the domination of material conditions over individuals, and the

suppression of individuality by chance, has assumed its sharpest and most universal form, thereby setting existing individuals a very definite task. It has set them the task of replacing the domination of circumstances and chance over individuals by the domination of individuals over chance and circumstances.....it has.....called for liberation from one quite definite mode of development. This task, dictated by present-day conditions, coincides with the task of the communist organisation of society.⁹⁵

We read also in the same work that the socialist stage 'corresponds to the development of individuals into complete individuals.....'⁹⁶ The *German Ideology* speaks of '.....for the communists the creative manifestation of life arising from the free development of all abilities.....'.⁹⁷ And finally: '.....the workers assert in their communist propaganda that the vocation, destiny, task of every person is to achieve all-round development of all his abilities, including for example, the ability to think'.⁹⁸ We are some times in danger of forgetting all this.

Engels confirmed the vision decades later, in the *Anti-Duhring* read and approved by Marx himself. Therein he held up—'The possibility of securing for every member of society, by means of socialized production, an existence not only fully sufficient materially and becoming day by day more full, but an existence guaranteeing to all the free development and exercise of their physical and mental faculties.....'.⁹⁹ No ideal indeed can be clearer as an ideal.

After the first indispensable essential, the transfer of the means of production from owning classes to society as a whole, the Socialist perspective thus must consciously aim at man's all-round development. This cannot come automatically as a matter of course in God's good time. Such a belief is rank heresy from Marx's point of view. It has to be achieved through the dialectical struggle of man himself within the economic frame work of Socialist society itself. If this perspective fails us, Marx's teachings will have to be folded up, and forgotten.

NOTES

1. The abbreviations stand for the following writings of Marx and Engels:

A.D. for *Anti-Duhring*, 1878 (Moscow edition, 1962).

C.G.P. for *Critique of the Gotha Program*, 1875 (in H.W.).

C.H.D. for *Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic*, 1844 (in E.P.M.).

C.H.R. for *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right—Introduction*, 1844 (translated in *Karl Marx: Early Writings* by T.B. Bottomore, 1963).

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2. CPE (S.W., p. 302).

3. SW, pp. 97-98.

4. Engels to Schmidt, 5 August 1890 (S.W., p. 320).

5. Even in the CPE, Marx hinted at the relative autonomy of at least certain parts of the superstructure like art. Engels pursued the subject in his famous letters on Historical Materialism: to Schmidt, 5 August 1890; to Bloch, 21 September 1890; to Schmidt; 27 October 1890; to Mehring, 14 July 1893; to Starkenburg, 25 January 1894 (in S.W., pp. 320-332). The possibility of a timelag in the adjustment of the superstructure is indicated in *Capital*, IV (Garaudy, p. 77).

6. The revolutionary tactics of 1848-49 went into the background in 1850-51 (at the time of the split in the Communist League) when bourgeois economy revealed unexpected powers of survival and even expansion for the time being. In contrast with the idea of a violent revolution in the *Manifesto*, the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism was admitted by Marx in the Hague Speech of 1872, and by Engels in his comments on the Erfurt Program in 1891. (Lewis, p. 266).

7. Lewis, p. 37.

8. Garaudy, p. 19.

9. Lewis, pp. 36-37.

10. S.W., p. 22.

11. Garaudy, p. 33.

12. See Garaudy and Lewis in particular.

13. Mehring, ch. II, secs. 3 and 4.

14. Garaudy, p. 23.

15. Mehring, p.31.
16. Garaudy, pp. 15-18.
17. Garaudy, p.36.
18. Lewis, pp.34-35.
19. EPM—Bottomore's translation in *Early Writings*, p.167.
20. CHD (p. 145 of EPM).
21. CHR—in Bottomore : *Early Writings*, p.53.
22. HF—quoted in Mehring, p.99.
23. HF, p.176.
24. GI, pp.414, 461.
25. TF (pp.651-653, in the Addenda to GI).
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26. CHR—in Bottomore : *Early Writings*, p.52.
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28. *Eighteenth Brumaire* (1852) in HW, p.293.
29. EPM, quoted in Garaudy, p.80.
30. GI, quoted in Garaudy, p.84.
31. CPE, quoted in Garaudy, p.82.
32. Garaudy, p.81.
33. LF, pp., 24-25.
34. Garaudy, p.26.
35. GI, quoted in Bottomore : *Selected Writings in Sociology*, p.110.
36. EPM, p.125.
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39. JQ in Bottomore : *Early Writings*, pp.19, 27-28,31.
40. EPM in Bottomore's translation, *Early Writings*, p.76.
41. EPM, p.15.
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49. EPM, p.126.
50. EPM, p.106.
51. JQ in Bottomore : *Early Writings*, p.37.
52. EPM, Bottomore's translation in *Selected Writings in Sociology*, p.250.
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66. CHR, in Bottomore : *Early Writings*, p.58.
67. HF, p.52.
68. GI, p.49.
69. GI, p.84.
70. GI, p.483.
71. GI, pp.315-316.
72. Lewis, p.56.
73. CGP, in H.W., pp.512-513.
74. Lewis, p.56, footnote 1.
75. Schaff, ch.7.
76. *Letters to Kugelmann* (Lawrence and Wishart edition, 1941), p.125.
77. Schaff, p.71
78. H.F., p.125.
79. H.F., p.160.
80. Schaff, p.94.
81. Quoted in Garaudy, p.191.
82. *Eighteenth Brumaire* (1852), in H.W., p.296.
83. Schaff, p.118.
84. See my *Thought of Gramsci* (Mainstream, November 2, 1968)
85. Quoted in Mehring, p.206.
86. CHR, quoted in Karyakin's articles in the *World Marxist Review*, May 1963.
87. CGP, quoted in Garaudy, p.190.
88. AD, p.385
89. AD, p.391.
90. Lewis, p.269.
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Academic Colonialism : Native Style

DEV DUTT

A considerable amount of controversy exists in India about the attempts made by certain foreign interests to influence Indian intellectuals and scholars and teachers in Indian universities and research organizations. This aspect of neo-colonialism, namely of academics within the developing areas is indeed a serious problem. But it is also important to consider another aspect of academic colonialism, namely, as it prevails within the educational organizations in the country.

The situation in several institutes of higher learning and research is serious. The ways of workings of the educational bureaucracy in these citadels of so-called learning in India should be understood comprehensively and dealt with effectively. The Report of Public Accounts Committee of Parliament on a research institute in north India, the recent despatches in *Times of India* from one of its correspondents on the affairs of Allahabad and Lucknow Universities and the report of the committee set up to go into the affairs of Banaras Hindu University a few years ago no doubt shed considerable light on the colonialism which has set in the field of educational administration. But this is not enough—the rot is getting worst. The public has to take a continuous and sustained interest in these matters and press the authorities to deal with the indigenous version of academic colonialism.

Take for instance the recruitment policy and other aspects of personnel policy of some of the educational empire-builders.

For the selection of staff and research fellows, experts are included invariably in the selection committees. In principle, this is a right policy ; but over a period of time there has emerged a “class” of people for whom “being an expert” has become a profession and hence a vested interest. They are anxious to remain as “experts” on as many selection boards as possible. Since it is the option of the educational super-bosses to select them, these “experts” become subservient to the heads of the institutions and the departmental heads. The institutions prefer these convenient “experts” who can be managed to sign on the dotted line. Like professional mourners in the West, there are experts who are ever willing to please the authorities. Thus very often same experts are brought in for selection of candidates for all sorts of posts. A leading research institute calls the same experts for selecting various candidates, be they are for filling vacancies in West Asia Department or in International Politics Department, or Soviet Studies Department, Nepalese Studies and South Asian Studies and Chinese.

There have also been cases when experts whose decisions in one university have been challenged and found incorrect and biased, but they continue to serve as experts in other institutes. For instance, the Visitor of a leading University in UP annulled the decisions of certain selection committee in respect of appointment of two Readers and two Lecturers in a department. The Visitor has also ordered that the experts who served on this committee be changed. But these very experts continue to function on the expert panels of other Universities and research bodies, even those in the Capital.

The visiting professors from abroad in the research bodies are used either to regularize the appointments already made or to enable the heads of the institution to select their own favourite candidates. A number of professors

in the research institute in north India, it has been alleged, are creatures of these visiting professors who, though some of them are men of integrity, allow themselves unwittingly to be used by the clever educational bureaucrats.

Thus it is evident that a link-up has been established between the experts and the educational authorities and this works to the detriment of the academic standards. It is essential to ensure that the integrity of the experts is of the right standards. There should be a ‘black list’ of those who have been found wanting.

The criteria of qualification for recruitment of candidates are so adjusted by the authorities in advance as to make sure that even the most impartial selection committees select the very candidates whom the authorities wish to prop up and reject those which they do not wish to have. Sometimes the advertisements are purposely kept ambiguous. Sometimes different qualifications are stipulated for similar posts depending on the candidates to be taken. It has been seen that in one case a candidate who has a publication to his credit is rejected on the plea that these do not really reflect the eligibility of a candidate ; in other cases, the criteria of publications is so rigidly applied to the extent that even a petty article in some popular or non-descript journal is considered for the appointment. In this context, one would like to recall the case of a contender to the post of a professorship in Lucknow who presented to the selection board composed metal of the publication claimed to be under print and bagged the job. The book never saw the light of the day.

In a leading research institute in north India a scholar who had no doctorate was appointed as the head of a department. At the time of this appointment he had no teaching experience and even no experience of guiding research or a major publication on the subject. This gentleman is the head of a research institution. He rose to this eminent position because of the patronage of some of the “great men” at the decision-

making levels in the institute.

The academics in high places have a vast source of patronage in terms of job, fellowships, scholarships etc. Right from the first year in MA, they start rearing up their disciples and augmenting their ranks. Durbars are held in these departments and the prospective climbers cluster around the "chiefs." There is interlocking within the Departments also.

There is a very interesting aspect of local "colonization"—namely, how the educational administrators manipulate the various organs of decision-making to their advantage and for their purpose. In every research institution there is an academic council, consisting of well-known public figures and scholars and educationists. This body is the supreme authority over matters academic. Then there is the Executive Committee of the Academic Council, the function of which is to see that the decisions of the Council are implemented. The basis of relationship of these organs is clearly laid down by convention and by the Kothari Commission as follows:

"It is recognized that the representation of lay elements on the various governing bodies of the university is necessary and justified in view of the nature of relationship between the university and the society. It would, however, be contrary to the principle of university autonomy if the bodies assume a dominating and controlling position. Conventions should be developed which would largely shift the centre of gravity of authority to the academic wing of the university's government. In particular, care should be taken to see that the Academic Council is vested with the final authority in all academic matters. The function of the non-academic element should be mainly to present to the academics the wider interests of the society as a whole, but not impose them; it should also serve to represent the views and interests of the academics to the wider society and thus make the smooth functioning of the university more easily possible."

"It is necessary to ensure that universities do not become administration or administrator dominated and to keep vigilant in this regard. The dominance, if one is to use that word, at all, must be of the academic element, and the principal function of the administration is to serve the academic interests of the university."

But these conventions are violated by the academic colonizers.

The recommendations of the Academic Council were not approved of by the Executive Committee of the institute. This development raises certain fundamental questions about the propriety of the Executive Committee questioning the decisions of the Academic Council. This is not conducive either to the promotion of research or to the growth of an academic institution.

The conditions in the denominational schools and academies are no better. How some of the headmasters and senior teachers in schools manage to have their books approved as textbooks, how they appropriate public funds for private benefits, how junior teachers are made to slog without remuneration for the members of the managing committees and trustees is a sorry tale of meanness and heartless exploitation.

There are some educational institutions in Delhi which are managed and owned by individuals, who by no standards can be considered as educationists. As they do not accept aid from the government, they manage to

be immune from the rules and regulations of the Department of Education. One of the gentlemen has a complex of montessori schools—and a higher secondary school. The montessori schools are so managed that they serve as "feeders" to his higher secondary school. Once a child is admitted into this complex, it is difficult for the parents to get the child admitted anywhere else.

An invisible empire has come into being in the field of education, right from the schools to the institutes of higher learning and research. A new class of high-powered managers of education—the patrons, members of managing committees, principals and a host of other functionaries of denominational educational organizations not unoften consisting of a big complex of interlocked institutions (such as regional educational trusts and bodies and *Sanatan Dharam*, *Arya Samaj* and missionary schools and colleges)—have come into existence. Their ways—subtle, dubious, nefarious and even unscrupulous—are in no way different from those of the colonizers from abroad. This new power-elite, these merchants of ignorance have no other claim to occupy the seats of power in the field of education except that they command financial, administrative and other sources of power in the country. How to deal with this racketeering and cartelization is equally an urgent task to which the leadership must devote its attention.

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Gandhian

Thought

in Cuba

MYTHILI SHIVARAMAN

It was around 6.30 in the morning. As we were driving out of Havana, we saw long lines of people, men and women, young and old, dressed informally and apparently waiting for a bus. A little later, we came across lorries carrying these people to the fields surrounding the city.

I was intrigued by the sight and wondered if half of Havana was having a picnic on a working day! I was soon to learn however, that they were going to work in the 'Green belt of Havana', the coffee field around Havana, where an intensive effort to establish Cuba as a major coffee exporter began in 1967. These fields were cultivated by the residents of Havana regardless of their profession. For instance, each ministry of the Government had a plot of land which was cultivated exclusively by its employees. The target set for the entire area was a production of 100,000 tons of coffee by 1970. All this to be cultivated by people whose main occupation was not agriculture!

This phenomenon was not only confined to Havana but to all the cities, towns and hamlets of Cuba. Agricultural labour was an integral part of the life of all citizens. Every Cuban put in about a month to 45 days of work in the fields. In the Cuban Foreign Office, when I went to see the Counsellor of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations, I was told that he was away in the fields working! At a museum

I visited, I learnt that it had just reopened after the harvest season. In April, the month of sugar harvest, all offices and institutions remained closed. University vacations were geared to coincide with the harvesting season to enable students to do farm labour. School children in rural as well as urban areas had to work in the fields too, which formed a regular part of the teachers' work load.

Although manpower shortage was one of the important reasons for the mobilization of the entire population for agriculture, an equally significant factor seemed to be to involve the people personally in the great national agricultural endeavour, the success or failure of which was crucial to the revolution. It served to keep the intellectuals, professionals, students and artists—the elite of society, in close touch with the soil that sustained them. It created appreciation of and empathy for the peasants and helped build a rapport between manual labourers and professionals and intellectuals. It was a great son of Cuba, Jose Marti, who had said, 'To separate man from the land is a monstrous crime.' Socialist Cuba had given the widest possible interpretation to Marti's dictum, in making agriculture an integral part of life.

Apart from agricultural labour, other kinds of physical labour was also shared by the people. To mention but one, there was the case of a new ambassador who was received by the Cuban Chief of Protocol on his arrival. The next day when the ambassador drove into the External Affairs Ministry to meet the Chief of Protocol and other officials, he was stunned to see the uniformed guard at the entrance to the Ministry—it was none other than the Chief of Protocol! All the officials of the ministries performed the task of guarding their buildings by rotation—no one was spared. It seemed an eminently sensible and humane system for it must be terribly tedious for a guard to do this job 365 days a year. An excellent idea to share the boredom! The dignity of manual labour which has no place in the Latin culture, is being consciously cultivated in

Cuba as an integral part of moulding the socialist consciousness.

All this seemed terribly novel and almost incredible to me coming from a country which was matchless in its system of rigidly stratified functional categories of people. Which other country would have thought of making the scavenger's job a hereditary one? When I mentioned once to a politician (who seemed to worship Gandhiji) that the conditions of our scavengers were appalling since they still had to clean dry latrines, the official chided me proudly that their living conditions had greatly improved—the Government had even built them brick houses!

Such thoughts about one country are always depressing but they are unbearable in the Gandhi Centenary year. Gandhism is not a spent force, we are told, because the United Kingdom, our erstwhile colonial master, had built a statue to honour the Mahatma and that even a socialist country like Poland which has rejected his basic faith in non-violence has named a school after him! Self-deception would be much simpler and mankind happier if all of us could be so gullible.

Gandhiji had written prolifically and spoken forcefully on the dignity of manual labour, to the point of insisting that it was this which lent dignity to human beings. He protested against making the many menial and unpleasant tasks (such as refuse collection) the exclusive burden of a certain caste or community. Reacting to the revulsion of his compatriots to any job which dirtied their hands (unfortunately this revulsion does not extend to dirtying their surroundings), Gandhiji glorified manual labour and even sanctified it. Talking of the concept of 'bread labour', he said, "God created man to work for his food and those who ate without work were thieves." (Nirmal Kumar Bose, *Selections from Gandhi*, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, p 50)

"In the sweat of thy brow thou shall eat thy bread", was his favourite Biblical saying. But to earn a livelihood was not the sole reason for manual labour.

There was an imminent nobility in it. "I cannot imagine anything nobler or more national than that, for, say, one hour in the day, we should all do the labour that the poor must do, and thus identify ourselves with them and through them with all mankind." (*ibid*) He would not even spare a Tagore or a C.V. Raman from the demands of physical labour. In a country that was supremely contemptuous of manual labour, this was indeed a revolutionary concept. But the Indian genius which has historically deified all its great men thereby depriving their lives and beliefs of any human relevance once again played its familiar trick—the image of Gandhiji found a place in almost every house by the side of a multitude of Hindu Gods but his values and aspirations have remained homeless in this vast nation.

Looking at manual labour without the spiritual halo that Gandhiji gave it, we could still find tremendous practical utility in it. It might even teach the status-ridden Indian bureaucracy (especially its upper echelons) whose members today need peons to carry their briefcases, to use their limbs. Proper emphasis on manual labour is a must in schools and colleges if they are not to turn out warped personalities who believe it is their divine right to command the services of others. There can of course be no analogy between little Cuba with its eight million people and a country with 520 million people. But even this analogy is not so far stretched when one remembers China which continues to place tremendous importance on its urban population developing the correct socialist attitude to physical and especially agricultural labour. If we want to come out of the feudal era and join the twentieth century, we must learn to shed our inhibitions about physical labour and to respect all socially useful labour.

It might offend the sentiments of many a 'non-violent' Gandhian that I should have found revolutionary Cuba, where Gandhiji is certainly not revered as a saint, much less as a revolutionary, a more hospitable and receptive

home for some Gandhian concepts, than his own homeland where he has long been divinized. And yet, the very wholesome attitude to physical labour that I

encountered in Cuba is of great relevance to our nation which is now celebrating the Gandhi Centenary year in the most inane, insipid and un-Gandhian manner.

Ghalib Against Centenary

Backdrop

ANWER AZEEM

THIS year spring descended upon Delhi right in winter. There was a lot of music and song, dance and drama, seminars and discussions. Maybe there were other things too which, alas, went unnoticed. It was all Ghalib's doing.

A hundred years ago one of the greatest poets of all times had silently passed away in misery and pain. A whole army of champions, admirers and pretenders emerged on the scene. In fairness to all it should be admitted that everyone did his best. The treat we were offered fully proved it. Now that the spring has receded and the torrent of words and music has abated, it is possible to look back (not in anger, of course!) and assess.

Scholars came to the seminar on Ghalib from distant countries, from USSR, Britain, Czechoslovakia, Italy and USA. Curiously, except for Iran and Pakistan, Asia was conspicuous by its absence. The foreign participants showed they knew what they had come for, their papers proved their seriousness of enquiry and effort to understand Ghalib and his age. Their interpretative quality presented a picturesque intellectual landscape. But their sincerity of purpose

was mocked at by school-masterly "discourses" by men of letters like Yusuf Husain Khan. The story was repeated when they tried to recreate the image of Ghalib on the stage. It was again the Yusuf Husain Khans, who dominated the scene. Bombay IPTA, stirring out of its long slumber, could not stride beyond *Tamsili Mushaira*, a decades-old calendar. Other efforts were mere pageants, comprising most obvious features, time-worn anecdotes and tales, so arranged as to provide an easy pretext to sing Ghalib's *ghazals*.

Looking for drama in such presentation was like going after a mirage. But the purpose of such producers was well-served. They performed to packed houses and won easy applause. They could not have asked for more. Well and good, but what about Ghalib? Whose concern was he?

On Stage

The only one who made a serious effort to answer this question was Habib Tanvir, and he paid for it. His script made it obvious that the writer had grappled with a mass of historical facts, made a lot of research

work, and with the help of his hero's verses, more so with the help of his letters and other sources, had tried to know and reach the man and discover his genius. Committed to a hazardous undertaking, the producer of *Meray Baad* had opted for the risks involved.

The first performance of the play at the AIFACS Hall could not be more bizarre. Ill-rehearsed and clumsily prepared, the performance was a great disappointment. I did not leave the hall but some did before the final curtain fell. But will Habib Tanvir blame them? They had come to hear Ghalib's ghazals sung in lilting tunes. What did they get? Just one ghazal. Every play-goer wants his money's worth. When he does not get it, he leaves the hall. And thank God, he just leaves the hall. Maybe those who left were, in the words of Harold Hobson, "both fashionable and stupid," though that evening they may have rightly thought the shoe was on the other foot.

What happened that evening would have broken the back of any Hercules. But Habib just refused to flinch. Considerably shaken, and, in the eyes of some, looking quite dazed, he came back, and came back with a bang.

The return performance put in focus what the script-writer had tried to achieve and failed. Habib's Ghalib is not a prophet, nor is he a saint. Ghalib's genius is the genius of a man in constant touch and conflict with contemporary reality. Habib sees in his genius the richness of wisdom and experience of his times. He deals with the totality of one of the most complex characters of a bygone age. His approach is not analytical, but impressionistic. His idiom is realism without an overtone. Habib does not see Ghalib, the man, with Aristotle's eyes, and hence he does not find him to be a little more than a political animal, though at times his constant pre-occupation with his pension makes him appear to be nothing but an economic animal. If so, it is no more than a passing delusion.

Tanvir's Anti-Hero

From Habib's play Ghalib emerges as a tragic character, towering yet subdued, agonisingly aware of the ugly pettiness around, full of scorn for it, yet involved in it, with a penetrating intellect of a dreamer yet submerged in the commonplace, gushing with love and passion yet dejected and resigned. His detachment and involvement turn him into a raging sea torn between two opposing storms. It is this dynamism that makes the dramatic structure a soaring experience.

Ghalib is multi-dimensional in his relationships. His sour dealings with his wife, his smouldering love for a prostitute, his loyalty to his friends, his inner protest against the "darbar," his contempt for his deriders who do not understand him—in all his attitudes and relations, he is at war with himself. He seems to negate and assert his ego in the same breath. He rebuts his attackers then, in agony, cries out and offers his flesh to the "vultures and ravens." He reaches the height of his negation when he adds, "of course if they (vultures and ravens) would care to eat it (his flesh)." But when he negates himself, does he negate his aesthetic experiences and achievements too? Or is it a cry of protest? His alienation is complete. He becomes a spiritual self-immolator.

Though thematically tenacious and imaginatively conceived, the production seems to miss a beat or two in some of the scenes. The producer has not fully exploited the opportunities the script offers. In the scene where Ghalib's mad brother is killed while trying to quench his thirst, I am at a loss to understand why full use is not made of sound effects to emphasise the turmoil and bloody happenings taking place outside the shell in which Ghalib has taken refuge.

This scene, though beautifully conceived, lacks in vigorous execution. The jail scene shows directorial maturity. One would wish every other scene had the same stamp. After his return from Rampur, for the first time,

Habib succeeds in establishing the image of Ghalib. From thence onward the play begins to soar unhindered by pitfalls.

Four Letter-words :

The last scene, the court scene, in which Ghalib is a silent listener while the lawyers cross-examine the evidence, which in part develops into a scaring impeachment is not for prudes, specially not for those who proclaim themselves to be the poet's descendants.

They would not like to hear that Ghalib would have anything to do with an argument "on the male organ of sexual intercourse." Such outrageous expressions and Ghalib? Unthinkable! But Habib, the playwright and producer, has set himself the task of seeing beyond his nose. When he did this he invited trouble. Though prudes are aware that everyone of them carries his own nakedness hidden under the deceptive attire, he would not like to talk about it, much less on the stage. But, is an artist obliged to conform to the morality of hypocrisy? It takes a little more than a showman's courage to turn away from a compelling temptation. Select a few good voices pick up voluptuous girls with caressing voices, make them swing and sing a few ghazals and the audience will applaud. That would have been far easier and a sure way to "success." But Habib turned away from this path.

The script-writer has made a very uncanny use of Ghalib's own words in the dialogues. Robert Bolt, in his play, *A Man For All Seasons* has used the device with great profit by putting More's actual words in the mouth of his character. In Ghalib's case it is potentially more effective for his style of letter-writing is exquisitely conversational.

It is hoped that with a little more trimming and rehearsing, future presentations of *Meray Baad* will be above reproach and slick, and the bold producer in Habib will get his due from the discerning and the enlightened. His script has all the promise.

Economic Profile of Western U.P.

KRIPA SHANKAR

THE western UP comprises of the eighteen districts of Meerut, Agra and Rohilkhand Divisions of the State including Farukkhabad and Etawa districts of Allahabad Division but excluding Dehra Dun district of Meerut Division.

These eighteen districts account for 28 per cent of the area and 35 per cent of the population of the State. The total present estimated population of these districts is three crores and is increasing at an annual rate of two per cent. The density of population of this region is 373 persons per square kilometre as against 395 in the eastern regions of the State. The density of population for the State as a whole is 300 persons per square kilometers.

The economy of western UP is predominantly agricultural as is the case with the UP's economy. Rural populations forms 81 per cent of the total population in Meerut Division. The corresponding figures for Agra and Rohilkhand Divisions are 81 per cent and 83 per cent respectively. Workers employed in agriculture account for 51 per cent of the total working force in Meerut Division, 63 per cent in Agra Division and 71 per cent in Rohilkhand Division. For the State as a whole 87 per cent of the population is rural and 75 per cent of the working force is engaged in agriculture.

Western UP has a fairly developed irrigation system. Roughly 44 per cent of the net sown area in this region is irrigated as compared to 37 per cent in eastern UP, 25 per cent in central UP, 17 per cent in Bundelkhand region and 11 per cent in the Hill districts. For UP as a whole, 34 per cent of

the net area sown is irrigated. Canals are the biggest source of irrigation and they account for 45 per cent of the total irrigated area. Private wells account for another 30 per cent of the irrigated area. Government tube wells account for 17 per cent and private tube wells account for another six per cent of the irrigated area. Reservoirs and other sources account for one per cent each.

Western UP with slightly better irrigation sources has relatively a better agricultural economy. Although the percentage of double cropped area in this region is not significantly higher as compared to the State average, yet the yield of some of the crops per acre is higher. For example the yield of wheat is 14 maunds per acre in Agra Division as compared to nine maunds in other regions. Likewise the yield of rice is 11 maunds per acre in Meerut Division as compared to the State average of six maunds per acre.

In spite of a slightly better agricultural economy, absence of industries has made the economy of the region as unbalanced as anywhere else in the State. Sugar industry is a fairly developed industry of this region and there are other industrial units at few centres but by and large the region is industrially backward. There are only 631 registered factories in western UP and the average daily employment is hardly 75,000. Less than one per cent of the working force is employed in organised factories in this region.

This has resulted not only in vast unemployment but there is a great under-employment in

agriculture. People who fail to find any employment outside agriculture continue to stick to it although their marginal productivity is almost zero. Added to the existing backlog of unemployment and under-employment is the problem of the new addition to the labour force. At least three lakh new jobs will have to be created outside agriculture every year in western UP if we wish that the employment situation should not go from bad to worse. But the gravity of the situation can be realised from the fact that in the whole of UP not more than 50,000 placements are made through the Employment Exchanges annually. The total of those seeking employment on the live register of Employment Exchanges of UP is 5.3 lakhs. The total employment in the private sector units employing 25 or more persons increased from 3.5 lakhs in 1961 to 4.6 lakhs in 1967. In other words, the employment in private sector units employing more than 25 persons is increasing roughly at an annual rate of 16,000. Employment in the public sector, according to official estimates, is increasing at an annual rate of 25 thousand. The employment in small-scale industries is increasing very slowly. The employment in small-scale industries in the State was 1.0 lakhs in 1963; the same rose to 1.07 lakhs in 1966. The overall factory employment in the State is also nearly stagnant. The same stood at 1.95 lakhs in 1961 but declined to 1.91 lakhs in the next year.

It is obvious that in the background of this employment situation, it is well nigh impossible to create three lakh jobs in western UP. The State requires at least nine lakh new jobs every year to prevent the unemployment situation from further deterioration when not even one lakh jobs are being thrown up. The problem is bound to assume serious proportions as time passes unless we do something to quicken the pace of industrialisation of the State.

The problem of industrialisation of a State or region is also very much connected with the question of purchasing power in the hands of the masses. In

rural areas of UP the per-capita per month consumption according to official data is Rs. 21 out of which the consumption on all non-food items is Rs. 6 only. The per capita consumption on cloth is Rs. 2 and the remaining balance of Rs. 4 is spent on all items of consumption including education, recreation etc., excepting food items.

Poverty and Purchasing Power

The general poverty and lack of purchasing power has acted as a deterrent to the process of industrialisation. It is well known that in our country although industrial development has not taken place to the desired level yet vast idle capacities are lying in almost all the industries. Even the traditional industries like cotton textiles are facing recession and at present 83 cotton textile mills are lying closed. This is in a country which has a population of 52 crores and where the same is increasing at the rate of 1.5 crores annually.

This goes to prove that it is not so much the lack of capital that is retarding the progress of industrial development as is the lack of purchasing power with the vast masses. It is not our argument that there is no problem of capital but the point is that equal attention will have to be paid to the problem of raising the purchasing power in the hands of the people.

This raises the question of holding the price line so that the real purchasing power of the currency may not fall down as also a more equitable distribution of wealth is ensured. But the essential problem of raising the purchasing power of the rural masses cannot be solved without raising agricultural productivity. Failure on the agricultural front has also created distortions in the price level, for a rise in the prices of foodgrains leads to general price rise.

Hence, paradoxical as it may seem, the industrial revolution in the country will come via the agricultural revolution. Various agro-based industries will be

developed in the wake of agricultural revolution and a general rise in the purchasing power of the people will lay the foundations for rapid industrial development of the country.

This leads us to the strategy to be followed on the agrarian front so that the agricultural development may have a steady advance.

It is well known that after going through the programme of agrarian reforms, the most important factor in agricultural growth is the factor of supply of inputs to the cultivators with a view to raise the output. And among the inputs, the supply of irrigation water is the most important. Fertilizers also can be applied only when irrigation facilities are available. Double and multiple cropping is not possible in the absence of water. Irrigation should get top priority in any programme of agricultural development.

But what do we find in the country. Even twenty years after freedom the extent of area irrigated is hardly 20 per cent of the cultivated area. Though the situation in western UP is significantly better in the sense that nearly 45 per cent of the cultivated area is irrigated yet one cannot be complacent about the matter. Still 55 per cent of the area is unirrigated and if the same can be irrigated, production on agricultural front will be still greater leading to allround prosperity. What is desirable in this connection is that interest free loans should be given to the cultivators so that they may dig their own wells, get pumps installed and have their own tube wells wherever possible. This requires a change in the irrigation policy hitherto pursued, namely that of relying on big irrigation projects under the aegis of the State, this policy incidentally has proved very costly and the maintenance charges are so high as to eat up the entire revenue.

It is a matter of regret that the modest plan of Rs. 1,400 crores formulated by the UP Government for the Fourth Plan period has not found favour with the Planning Commission and the Plan outlay has now been reduced

to a bare Rs. 950 crores leading to a drastic cut in the various development expenditures. It is only hoped that the State Government, realising the importance of irrigation for the growth of the economy of the State, will strive its utmost to keep intact the original planned expenditure on irrigation items by making economy in non-plan expenditure and cutting down non-essential items.

A Word of Caution

A word of caution may also be uttered about the development of small scale industries. It is assumed that both large scale and small scale production in the same branch of industry can have a coexistence for all times and both will be complementary to each other. The formulation was not sound theoretically and in practice also it has been seen that the two cannot coexist for long in the same branch of industry. It is obvious that large-scale production has certain inherent advantages and small-scale units cannot survive in the long run in the face of competition of large-scale organised units. Our attempt to develop small-scale and cottage industries and at the same time allowing large-scale production to compete in the same field has come to grief because of the inherent contradiction. We want the weaver and the cobbler to exist but allow large industrial units to compete with them. Although it is true that we cannot ban large-scale production, yet it is imperative that with a view to give greater employment, production in the largescale units in some of the consumer goods industries should be restricted so that small and cottage units may have an assured and ready market in respect of those industries.

Developing irrigation on a war footing and giving a new life to small scale and cottage industries by reserving certain branches of production of consumer goods exclusively to them, will provide a new opening to the economy of the State including its western regions,

FILM : BREAKING THE SHACKLES

KARUNA Banerjee's musings on film, 'Breaking the Shackles' (*Mainstream*, February, 15, 1969) raises some seriously controversial points which should not be allowed to pass without criticism.

She has taken up cudgels on behalf of pure and art film and has snapped fingers at Sangrakshan Samity which has been fighting hard against the exploitation of cine-technicians and new film-makers. The collaboration among producers, cinema hall-owners and big capitalists is not unknown to conscious section of the people. It is that vicious circle which has always acted as a hindrance to united move whatsoever. The prolonged and stubborn strike by the cinema-house employees under the BMPEU, although yielded nothing, necessitated the formation of Sangrakshan Samity which emphasised the need of basic amenities to cine-technicians and of arrangement for release of all the films in chronological order. Satyajit Ray, Uttamkumar, Tapan Sinha etc. were at first in tune with them but later withdrew. So, fundamentally, every conscious cine-goer should support it. It is also true that the Sangrakshan Samity won victory in the first round of their struggle. For instance, chain system of release and half of the cine-technicians' demands have been met.

The first one is very important as it has put an end to a stagnation. The exploiting tendency of producer-hall-owner clique can no more resist new film directors' debut. One may snap fingers at equalization of promising new or known directors and directors without having anything like talent. But this attitude is wholly bourgeoisie. The mixture of good and bad cannot be avoided. Within that fold, the talents are

bound to make headway if, and only if, we endeavour in creating introspective audience. This might be difficult if not a hoax of theoretical verbiage, obstructing a practical approach. But the audience has significantly progressed. At least in West Bengal, this certainly is a fact. The overwhelming success of *Balika Badhu* and *Chhuti* and partial success of star-bedecked films like *Grihadaha* and *Chhotisi Mulakat* in West Bengal would support such inference. All these points prove that the talented directors, photographers, music-directors etc. are wanted by the audience. Even they have been awaiting new faces.

So, why should we be afraid of increasing flux of below-the-mark movie-makers by the chain system of release? Is the previous system of monopolization at all good? Do people still like distorted romanticism or motivated motif? In order to fetch as huge amount as possible from the people the movie-monopolists even go to the extent of inciting sex and crime instincts. It is time to combat those socially harmful business magnates.

On the other hand, the new system calls for open competition and will encourage the promising movie-men to come up to the surface once again. Again it will give scope to persons of mediocrity to survive. It cannot ultimately suppress the talents.

Karuna Banerjee will certainly agree that geniuses need not strave in the long run. She seems to have failed to understand the logic behind the setting up of Sangrakshan Samity. She says: "It is a concerted, deliberate effort on the part of the producers and film organizations like Sangrakshan Samity in Calcutta to thwart all attempts at making good

artistic films. They are on the warpath against film-makers like Satyajit Ray, Mrinal Sen and Ritwik Ghatak, for they are socially aware film-makers. No wonder the opposition of the vested interests is endowed with political overtones. For a socially aware film-maker can successfully convey a message to the masses through this powerful audio-visual medium, and that is exactly what the vested interests do not want."

The whole approach is distorted and undigested. About Sangrakshan Samity I have already stated the points on its behalf. Furthermore, its timely formation made up for the failure of prolonged strike of BMPEU due in the main to the inactivity and passive support of the Government for the cinema-hall owners and producers. It had the support of Satyajit Ray, Tapan Sinha, Uttam Kumar and others at first and inspired numerous cine-lovers, cine-technicians and others to start once again from the scratch.

Karuna Banerjee has been unfair in saying that they thwart all good attempts at making good, artistic films. What does she mean by artistic films? Let me quote from Herbert Read: 'Art... must therefore not only be understandable to everyman—it must also solicit and arouse everyman's interest. In order to do this it must deal with these local and urgent everyday issues—everyday issues for everyman's taste.' But Karuna Banerjee probably means that isolation and perfection in art are correlated to each other. In other words, it is better to be an Emperor Nero while common people are burnt to death. Art is certainly for the people.

Nevertheless, I should appreciate her contention that in the name of satisfying people one must not produce opium for the masses. But she has taken an extremist path analogous to that of big capitalists and monopolists. She has distorted the fact by saying that the Samity is on the warpath against some directors. At least, Ritwik Ghatak has never been its victim even in the worst phase of their antagonism. They have not decried anyone until Satyajit Ray, Uttam Kumar,

Tapan Sinha and others severed their links with the Samity. Should I say that as their personal interests were hampered, namely in not being able to maintain semi-monopolization, they went against it? Should I say, they had betrayed the cause and exposed themselves?

Secondly, Satyajit Ray and Mrinal Sen cannot be bracketted with Ritwik Ghatak as 'socially aware film-makers'. Satyajit Ray is undoubtedly a great director but any attribute like 'socially aware' is inappropriate in his case. Although a bit of social consciousness is instilled in *Kanchanjengha*, *Mahanagar* and *Jalsaghar* inasmuch they have carried the process of the break-up of aristocratic society through fission of superstitions and worn-out beliefs, none of these have shown the link between the one and the other. Besides, he cannot claim to have possessed any consistent attitude to the world around him. Rather he is erratic and unsystematic in that respect. It is difficult to realise how a conscious director can even think of a film like *Chidiakhana*. He has failed utterly in filming *Nayak* showing that his social consciousness is yet to be matured and convincing.

On the other hand, Ritwik Ghatak is a complete socially conscious movie-maker. Since *Meghe Dhaka Tara* he has been able to make a film like *Subarnarekha*, perhaps the second transitional film after *Pather Panchali*. Mrinal Sen may be regarded as a socially aware film-maker in part. *Punascha* is certainly a film like that. But he lacks the analytical impact and is able to indulge in Flaherty-fashioned documentary realism contrary to the principles laid down by Eisenstein. In this context, I should like to refer to a particular polemic, namely, between Ray and Sen on *Akash-kusum* in *The Statesman*. They had interesting exchanges on contemporaneity and topicality for more than a fortnight. Some other letter-writers also took part. But the most interesting part of the episode is that the correspondence was published so long as the film had been on show and

was stopped as soon as the film was withdrawn from the halls. I shall not make any comment presuming the readers will be able to draw their own conclusion from it.

Furthermore, Karuna Banerjee's headache for pure and artistic films should be properly examined. None of the directors mentioned by her have so far been able to make art-films. Her concept of art-film is also hazy to us. Does she plead for art-for-art's-sake? Let me remind her that Baudelaire, a foremost exponent of the theory in the first part of his life, described art for art's sake as puerile in 1852. Even Sudhindranath Dutta, one of the chief theoreticians of modernism, described art-for-art's-sake without commitment as absurd.

Thirdly, we have empirically seen that art-for-art's sake ultimately reduces to art-for-money's sake. I do not know if Karuna Banerjee has already attained that transition but one may certainly be suspicious when one finds herself attacking the struggling movie-men for being in 'opposition of the vested interests' and 'endowed with political overtones'. I must not teach her that in this age of uncertainty, political strings are not only inevitable but also necessary for the sake of very existence. Still it is not

known why she has uttered these words.

I must support her point that mass-audience cannot be kept satisfied with the sugar-coated formula and that movie-makers should take note of it. The taste of spectators has also undergone some change, although its magnitude is far from the mark. She had said:...'the directors who can meet the demand are themselves victims of the mercenary producer-distributor-exhibitor chain'. Even Satyajit Ray is also one of them. We have not forgotten his grievances against the 'Star-system' quite a few years ago and his subsequent betrayal by silently being subservient to that anti-progressive system when he selected Uttamkumar for *Nayak*. He had pleaded then by saying that he believed in the theory of role for the actor. But this logic is bogus and deserves to be rejected. Otherwise, all murderers should also be rewarded instead of being convicted for they help in reducing population increase.

Karuna Banerjee has rightly remarked: 'The only answer to this stalemate is to break the chain of vested interests'. But she has failed to detect the vested interests and played into the hands of the vicious circle.

Calcutta

Sankar Ray

KARUNA BANERJEE'S REPLY

SANKAR Ray seems to have misunderstood me and drawn unwarranted conclusions from some of my statements either deliberately or unwittingly. But let me first take up the points raised by him in defence of the Sangrakshan Samity.

Sankar Ray says that the Sangrakshan Samity "has been fighting hard against the exploitation on cine-technicians and new film-makers." It is rather difficult to digest such a statement from an organisation that, I understand, is dominated by Producers and Distributors such as Asit Chowdhury, Ajit Bose and others, who

are members of EIMPA (Eastern India Motion Pictures Association), an organisation of the employers or should I say exploiters? Here is an example of how the Sangrakshan Samity looked after the interest of the Cinema House workers and technicians, when they were on strike, as far as I am aware.

When the Exhibitors planned to meet the cinema-house workers' demand by raising the price of tickets, Cine Technician Workers' Union and Abhinetry Sangha sent a memorandum to the Home Department, protesting against the proposed rise in the price of tickets. As a result, this game

of the exhibitors was stalled. But the Sangrakshan Samity took exception to this memorandum, as it was sent without their prior permission, and the Cinema House owners blacklisted those who had signed the memo. In spite of the fact that this group had acknowledged its association with the Sangrakshan Samity in the memo, the Sangrakshan Samity refused to take up the case of the six persons involved. They could not also take up the cause of the Cinema House employees as the Samity included people who - also belonged to the EIMPA. These members, I am told, refused to resign from the organisation of employers.

Secondly, how is the Sangrakshan Samity helping the new filmmakers? Actually, film making in West Bengal has almost come to a halt, because of the disruption and chaos created by the Sangrakshan Samity. New producers and directors are not coming forward for they do not know which artistes they could safely employ and which directors and technicians and laboratories, whether the film will be released at all, unless Sangrakshan Samity approves etc. In the circumstances, film makers are naturally unwilling to launch a new project. So the question of finding new talents sounds a bit funny.

Sankar Ray says "Sangrakshan Samity won victory in the first round of their struggle. For instance, chain system of release and half of the cine-technicians' demand have been met." What demands could have been possibly met, I wonder, when the absence of any new film means unemployment for the cine-technicians? As for the chain system, Sankar Ray says "it has put an end to stagnation", as the films are being released chronologically. Then why I wonder *Arogya Niketan* was not released, though it was censored much earlier so far as I know, and *Jeeban Sangeet* was released though censored much later?

Filmfare of March 14, 1969, writes in its Calcutta news letter:

"The Indian Film Laboratories, a stronghold of the Sang-

rakshan Samity, has refused to process films made by the anti-Sangrakshan Samity and the first victim of this decision is Satyajit Ray's *Goopi Gayen Bagha Bayen* scheduled for release after *Apan Jan*. The members of the anti-Sangrakshan Samity are seriously thinking of having their own laboratory."

Goopi Gayen Bagha Bayen is now being printed in Bombay.

Asit Chowdhury (Producer and Distributor) I am told, is a director of India Film Laboratory. It seems that in the name of fighting "the exploiting tendency of producer-hall-owner clique", the Exhibitors' monopoly is being replaced by another monopoly control—that of a group of Producers-cum-Distributors. In whose interests are they fighting? The technicians, many of whom they are using as their tools? The cinema hall workers? Or, in search of new talents? While all the time I was under the impression that Producers, Distributors and Exhibitors all equally fall under the category of exploiters.

"What does she mean by 'artistic films'?" asks Sankar Ray. "...Does she plead for art-for-art's-sake?" etc. etc. I think I have made myself quite clear in my exposition of the 'art film' when I said, "By experimental films I do not mean films similar to the underground films of America, but experiments in artistic and purposeful films."

By the sentence "No wonder the opposition of the vested interests is endowed with political overtones" I mean exactly what I have said. I have identified the vested interests with Producers and film organisations like Sangrakshan Samity. And vested interest is always backed by political intriguers. I have no intention to attack the struggling moviemens as made out by Sankar Ray and that particular sentence has nothing to do with them.

I am quite amused at the statement that "Satyajit Ray and Mrinal Sen cannot be bracketed with Ritwick Ghatak as socially aware film-makers," and that "none of the directors mentioned by her has so far been able to make art films." (I mentioned

Ritwick Ghatak as well). If Satyajit Ray is a 'great director' according to Sri Ray, then he can not but be socially aware. What makes a director great? Not simply technical perfection and formalism, but also the content, which again has to be rooted to the soil, to be recognised as universal, to have acceptance in societies even unlike ours. True he has also made a film like *Chidiakhana*; but does that disprove all his social consciousness? According to Sankar Ray "He has failed utterly in filming *Nayak* showing that his social consciousness is yet to be matured and convincing." I feel *Nayak* mirrors the hollowness not only in the life of a film hero, but also in the life of those heroes who belong to the upper class, the business magnate, the advertising executive, the religious preacher. It is a procession of greed as against the simplicity of the common man reflected in the couple sitting in the chair car. The journalist is a bridge between the two extremes. If *Nayak* is not understood as the reflection of social realism by one who is apparently so class-conscious, it indicates a lack of understanding of the film language and unwillingness to go deeper beyond the obvious.

With reference to the polemics between Ray and Sen on *Aakash-kusum* in *The Statesman*, my observation is that it is unfortunate that it gave a handle to the interested parties. Later Ray pointed out to a group of journalists that he did not dispute the validity of Mrinal's experiment with style, with reference to the use of freezes. This of course was conveniently suppressed in the Press reports.

Regarding Sankar Ray's accusation against Satyajit Ray for selecting Uttamkumar for *Nayak*, it should be noted that Ray had already become an established director and acclaimed as an artistic film-maker when he made *Nayak*. If he chose Uttamkumar, it was not for his star value to boost the box office appeal of *Nayak*. Ray never said anything, however, against using stars as a matter of principle. It is also a fact that the character of the

matinee idol in *Nayak* was conceived with Uttamkumar in mind.

Sankar Ray says that "Mrinal Sen may be called a socially aware film-maker in part." I fail to understand this. A film-maker is either socially conscious or not. In fact Mrinal Sen has touched upon controversial social subjects in his *Pratinidhi* and *Akashkumum*, in his own quiet yet daring manner. He is enamoured of the conflicts and contradictions in the everyday

relationship and searches for new values from the debris of the outdated ones. One may feel outraged at his unconventional approach to life, but one cannot possibly deny his social awareness.

Sankar Ray seems to agree with my formulations about Ritwick Ghatak as a film-maker, however. Fortunately or unfortunately, he has not made any film since the Sangrakshan Samity was born.

I think I can in all fairness

come to the conclusion that I have rightly detected the vested interests in the Sangrakshan Samity, whose interest lies in crushing those who strike out to new horizons. Yes, I agree with Sankar Ray that geniuses need not starve in the long run. The Sangrakshan Samity may succeed in driving out of Calcutta some of the best Bengali directors, but, what will happen to the technicians who are facing starvation?

Bombay

Karuna Banerjee

BIHAR IN THE CESSPOOL OF INSTABILITY (Continued from page 12)

cooperation. It should be borne in mind that the Raja with 13 MLAs in his pocket is conscious of his strategic position. No Ministry can work in Bihar without his support. In true feudal landlord tradition he did not come with a begging bowl before the Congress, it is the Congress leaders who have bowed before him. No thought was given to the strictures passed by the Calcutta High Court in its 92-page judgement, that the Raja had misused his post as Minister. The Bihar Congress leaders true to their tradition did not bother about principles and ethics. The Congress High Command was completely ignored on this issue.

Attempts were then directed at getting the support of the BKD. The BKD Chief Sri Mahamaya Prasad Sinha was non-committal. It was reported that he wanted a suitable place himself. At one stage the post of Speaker was to be offered to him. But when the efforts to persuade Sri Sinha to join the coalition failed, attempts were made to get four of the MLAs headed by Sri Khaderan Singh, a former Chairman of the Patna District Board, defected from the BKD. A crisis was created in the BKD and expulsions and counter-expulsions took place. Later when neither Sri Khaderan Singh nor his friends were included in the Ministry, the defectors went back to the BKD. The name of the BKD defectors were submitted by Sardar Harihar Singh in his list to the Governor;

later, neither the Governor nor the Chief Minister bothered at their going back to the BKD.

The Congress President gave the green signal to Sardar Harihar Singh. He was influenced in his decision by Dr. Ram Subhag Singh and Sri Chavan.

In spite of all the efforts no full-fledged Ministry could be formed till March 7. The swearing in ceremony was postponed time and again. Only the Chief Minister was sworn in on February 22. The first batch of 12 Ministers took the oath on March 7. Eight of them belong to the Congress, two come from the Janata Party and one each from the Shoshit Dal and the Jharkhand Party.

As soon as the Ministry was formed, a grave crisis arose. The crisis which still continues is due to two things; firstly, over the inclusion of the Raja of Ramgarh, and secondly over the inadequate representation of the dissidents. The Central Congress leadership all of a sudden woke up from its slumber and the ethical principle started worrying them. A drama was enacted by some of them and the Congress President who earlier favoured "free hand" to the Chief Minister pressurised him to get rid of the Raja. It is clear that the Central Congress leadership has no objection to the coalition with the Janata Party; only it does not want the Raja in the Government. It has been suggested that the Raja should quit or be made to quit and his son should be included in his place. Nobody in Bihar thinks this will bring

about any change. The Raja will then rule indirectly.

It has been made known by the Raja that he will not agree to any such change and he knows when to use his trump card.

Till now, the portfolios of the Ministers have not been allocated nor has the Ministry been completed. One of the Ministers Sri Daroga Rai has not taken oath till now.

Sri Rai belongs to the Ahir community and hails from Saran. Till now the leadership of the community has been in the hands of Sri Ram Lakhan Singh Yadav. Sri Rai has tried time and again to wrest the leadership from his hands. He entered politics during the forties. He has never been known for his firm stand. When the United Front Government was in power he was friendly to it. According to reports, he at times negotiated with some of the Front leaders about his leaving the Congress and joining them. He was with Sri B.N. Jha then but did not quit the Congress when Sri Jha left. On the contrary, he engaged himself in mud-throwing and hurling abuse at Sri Jha. But in spite of this, he could not win the confidence of Sri K.B. Sahay. In the BPCC Presidential election, he sided with the dissidents. He was entrusted with the job of preparing the list of the Congress nominees on behalf of the dissidents. He disregarded the merits of the candidates and showed preference for his own caste people and the people belonging to the backward castes.

He wants one-third representation in the ministry. Some of the young people with him neither have any care for socialism nor for any programme. They want to get ministerships. They have never distinguished themselves for any rightful cause. Even now those who get office will leave Sri Rai.

Sardar Harihar Singh and his mentors will go on listening to the advice of the Central Congress leadership without acting on it. Neither is the ministry likely to be expanded nor is the controversy relating to the Raja of Ramgarh to be solved so long as the Vidhan Sabha is in session. So long as these two issues are not touched, the Ministry is safe. The defections from the Congress will take place only when the MLAs know that there is no chance for them to get ministership.

The Congress-led coalition scored its first victory with the election of its nominee Sri Ram Narayan Mandal to the post of Speaker. Sri Mandal who is an MLA from Purnea defeated Sri Dhanik Lal Mandal of the SSP. Sri Ram Narayan Mandal secured only 155 votes. The victory was possible because of the absence of the Hui Jharkhand. This party has been playing a dual role. On the one hand, it has been sitting with the Opposition and speaking against the Ministry but on two occasions when the fate of the Ministry was to be decided, it absented itself. It is said the party is facing an internal crisis because three of its members are pro-ministry.

Sardar Harihar Singh's Government has in its first few weeks of existence tried to give relief to the landlords and rich peasants. It has ordered the reduction of the paddy levy and has given remission in interest charges to those who have taken loans from the Government. A large number of the Congressmen have taken Rs. 5000 to Rs. 7000 as loans.

The SSP thought with the absolute majority round the corner there was no need to have any truck with the Communists; and the Czech issue was found a

handy excuse. It refused to declare itself against any association with the Janata Party and the Jan Sangh. To quote Sri Kishen Patnayak of the SSP "We had no strategy, we had no electoral policy. Till the very end people of Bihar did not know where the SSP stood. In spite of the Central Parliamentary Board's warning the SSP formed a triple alliance.....The Party Chairman gave out during the elections that the alliance would be able to capture power.....Against the all-India Political Resolution of the Party, the Bihar Party Chief made a categorical announcement that the SSP would in no circumstance form a government with Jan Sangh.....

Just after the election, the SSP made it clear that it would take the initiative in forming the Government only after the Congress failed. But soon it forgot its declaration and became frantic about forming a ministry.

There is an internal crisis in the SSP. There are two groups

headed by Sri Karpuri Thakur and Sri Dhanik Lal Mandal. The leadership contest witnessed mudslinging and bitterness. The resistance by the SSP to the acceptance of Sri Paswan as leader of the Opposition was due to internal division.

There is no prospect in Bihar for any stable government to be formed by the Opposition parties on the basis of any meaningful programme.

The attempts are being made to bring about a merger of the LTD and the Congress. The LTD leaders have now realized that they cannot survive outside the Congress if the mid-term election results are any indication.

It is high time for the left and democratic parties to iron out their differences and form a united front on the basis of a meaningful programme and face the next election in 1972 unitedly and there by usher in the prospect of a stable alternative government in the State.

MORARJI DESAI'S BIG BUSINESS-ORIENTED BUDGET (Continued from Page 10)

Income Tax Burdens A Comparative Study

1949-50		1969-70 (Proposed)	Percentage increase over 1949
Rs. 10,000	Rs. 492 (Earned)	Rs. 561	+14%
Rs. 15,000	Rs. 1,148 (Earned)	Rs. 1,496	+30%
Rs. 3,00,000	Rs. 2,09,148 (Earned)	Rs. 2,09,011	-0.1%
	Rs. 2,36,336 (Unearned)		-11.6%
Rs. 5,00,000	Rs. 3,82,586 (Earned)	Rs. 3,74,011	-2.3%
	Rs. 4,23,886 (Unearned)		-11.5%
Rs. 10,00,000	Rs. 8,20,086 (Earned)	Rs. 7,86,236	-5.0%
	Rs. 8,92,586 (Unearned)		-12.0%

Sri Desai has not taxed horse breeding for races or commercial type of poultry "farming" by treating them as non-agricultural income.

It is a pity that Sri Desai has not done anything to end our pathetic dependence on PL 480 imports. This should have been the top objective of the Fourth Plan and the Government's budgetary policy. This has not only made our country a client State of America but has also made the

State Governments more dependent on the Central Congress Government. If the country becomes self-sufficient, there will be no need for State Governments to go with begging bowls to the Centre. But evidently the Central Government does not want to give up this potent weapon of influencing the States nor to give up the cash which the sales of PL 480 foodgrains gives the Finance Minister to finance Governmental expenditure.

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(Recognised by the Union Government)

TOTAL EXPORT FOR 1968

OVER

Rs. 10,00,00,000.00

(Rupees Ten Crores)

Our Export Record

Years 1959 and 1960	21.98 Million Rupees
Years 1961 and 1962	46.71 "
Years 1963 and 1964	78.58 "
Years 1965 and 1966	135.81 "
Years 1967 and 1968	183.11 "

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PAKISTAN
View From New Delhi

Mainstream

SATURDAY,

APRIL 5, 1968

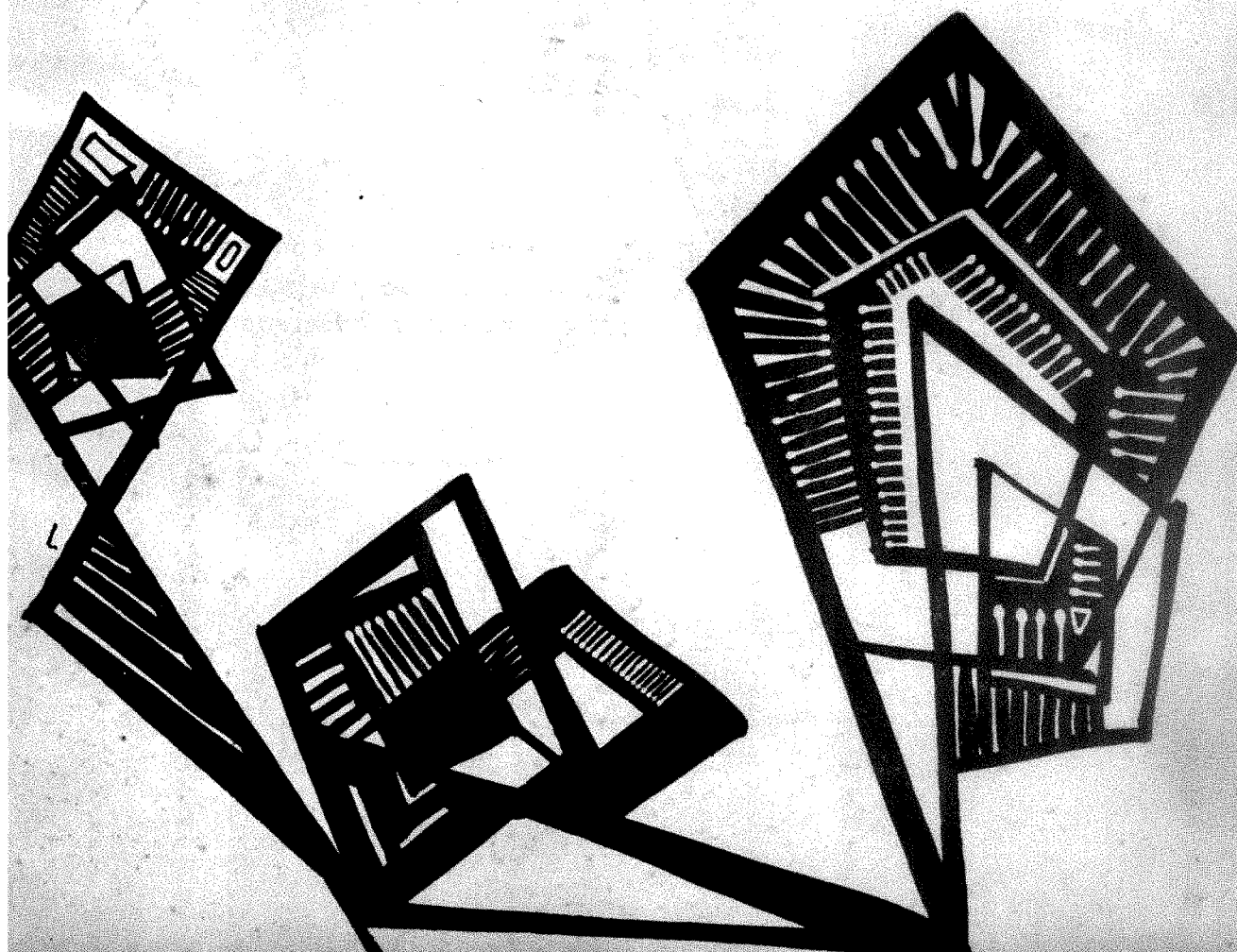
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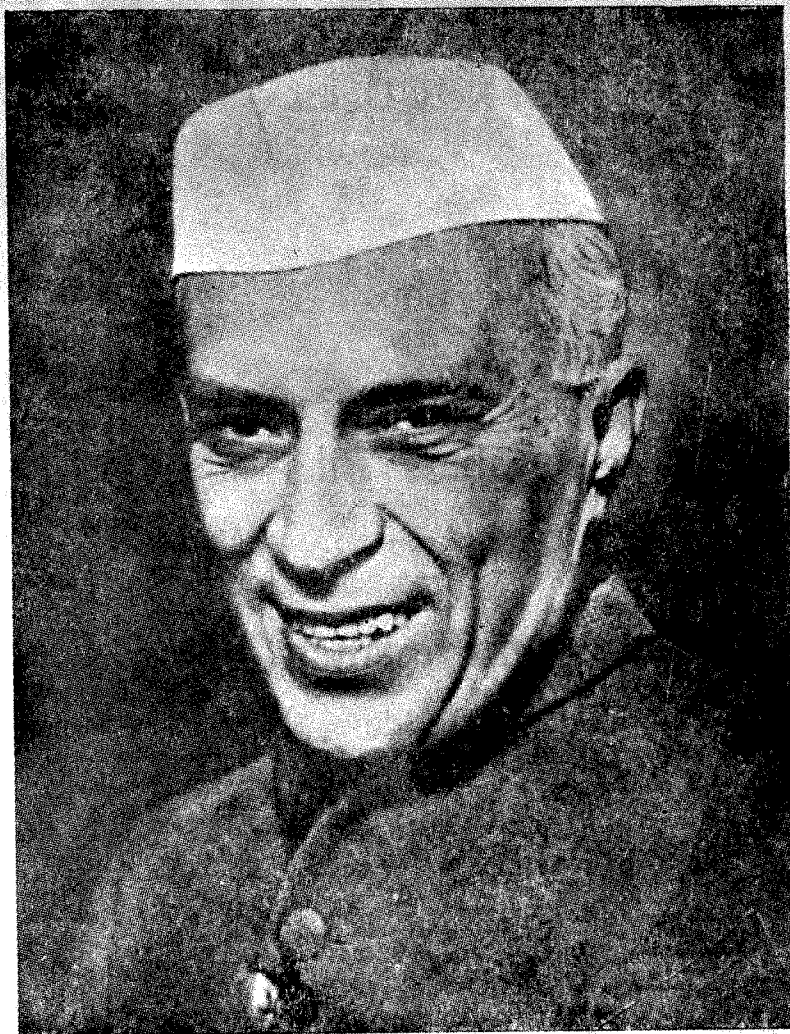
MADHU LIMAYE
Private Members' Bills

Marx and Marcuse
Lenin and Anarchism

Pressures on Pressmen
U. P. Experience

Discussion
Extremism and Left





No government can afford to ignore the urges of the common people. After all, democracy has its basis on those very urges and if any government flouts them, it is pushed aside and other governments take it over.

Jawaharlal Nehru

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NORTHERN RAILWAY

NOTICE

There will be general revision of time table from April 1, 1969 and the important changes will be as under :

Trains Accelerated

(i) Mail & Express

(i) 11 Up between Mughalsarai and Delhi by 43 mts ; (ii) 208 Dn (MG) between Jodhpur & Phulera by 25 mts ; (iii) 82 Dn between Delhi and Mughalsarai by 15 mts ; (iv) 207 Up (MG) between Phulera & Jodhpur by 10 mts ; (v) 60 Dn between Pathankot and New Delhi by 5 mts ; (vi) 59 Up between New Delhi & Pathankot by 5 mts.

(ii) Passenger

(i) 1 JDP/(MG) between Degana and Phulera by 82 mts ; (ii) 2 JDP (MG) between Phulera & Degana by 55 mts ; (iii) 372 Dn between Delhi & Hardwar by 45 mts ; (iv) 209 Up (MG) between Phulera & Marwar by 30 mts ; (v) 2 UN between Ambala Cantt & Nabha by 20 mts ; (vi) 210 Dn (MG) between Marwar & Phulera by 20 mts ; (vii) 2 ALF between Amritsar & Firozpur via Ludhiana by 15 mts ; (viii) 349 Up between Dehra Dun and Amritsar by 7 mts.

Important Changes in Train Timings

(i) 11 Up Howrah Delhi Express will arrive Delhi at 5/35 hrs. as against 6/5 hrs. ; (ii) 84 Dn Lucknow Express will arrive Lucknow at 7/50 hrs. as against 7/25 hrs ; (iii) 44 Up Jhansi Mail will leave Lucknow at 7/5 hrs. as against 7/30 hrs ; (iv) 106 Lucknow Jhansi Fast passenger will leave Lucknow at 15/40 hrs. as against 15/15 hrs ; (v) 372 Dn Hardwar Delhi passenger will arrive Delhi at 16/20 hrs. as against 17/5 hrs ; (vi) 3 LC Passenger will leave Lucknow at 10/45 hrs. as against 10/- hrs ; (vii) 6 AF

passenger will leave Faizabad at 17/15 hrs. instead of 16/45 hrs ; (viii) 2 ML passenger will leave Faizabad at 16/40 hrs. instead of 16/20 hrs ; (ix) In addition to the bi-weekly Janata Expresses running between Howrah and Bombay V.T., the frequency of Janata Express running twice a week between Allahabad and Bombay will be increased to four times a week. It will leave Allahabad on Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday and from Bombay V.T. on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. Trains running between Allahabad and Bombay will be numbered as 41 Dn/42 Up.

Combination

207 Up/95 Up and 208 Dn/96 Dn will run as combined train on Merta Road end Jodhpur section.

Trains Cancelled due to Lack of Traffic

(i) 1 MSN/2 MSN between Ambala Cantt & Nangaldam ; (ii) 1 AA/2 AA between Amritsar & Atari (Seasonal trains running during summer months only) ; (iii) 1 HH/2 HH between Hathras Jn and Hathras Qillah ; (iv) 1 JPB/2 JPB between Pipar Road and Bilara ; (v) 1 JMM/4 JMM between Merta Road & Merta City ; (vi) 1 JBP/2 JBP between Balotra and Pachpadra Salt Depot.

NOTE : a) Train No. 1 NJP will originate from Delhi instead of New Delhi and renumbered as 1 DJP (b) 2 NSB will terminate at Delhi instead of New Delhi and renumbered as 2 DSB.

New Station Opened

Ramania Halt on Samdari-Bhildi section, Mian Ka Bara on Luni-Barmer section, Pathrala Halt on Hanumangarh-Bhatinda section.

Diversion

(i) 59 Up/60 Dn Srinagar/Expresses running between New Delhi and Pathankot via Jullundur City, Mukerian will run to the diverted route via Jullundur Cantt Chord bypassing Jullundur City ; (ii) 82 Dn A.C. Express leaving New Delhi on Friday will be numbered as 104 Dn and will run to Howrah via Mughalsarai-Patna. Similarly 81 Up A.C. Exp. leaving Howrah on Sunday will run to New Delhi as 103 Up via Patna-Mughalsarai.

New Stoppage Provided

331 Up/4 DSU, 1 NM/2 NM at Duhai Halt ; 15 Dn, 25 Dn at Hazrat Nizamuddin ; 4 ABP at Chhina ; 1 PB at Paror ; 4 CM at Gumthal ; 2 BDB at Jataula Jauri Sampka ; 93 Up at Pataudi Road ; 47 Up/48 Dn at Parsipur ; 106 Up at Magarwan ; 2 LC at Magarwan, and Jaitipur.

Stoppages Eliminated

51 Up/52 Dn at Goshainganj and Reedganj ; 14 Dn at Parsipur ; 52 Dn at Dafei Nagar ; 2 ALF at Tangra, Suranusi & Chiheru ; 91 Up at Pataudi Road ; 107 Dn at Magarwara, Jaitipur & Amausi.

Due to poor occupation I & II class accommodation will be withdrawn from some unimportant branch line trains of the broad gauge divisions with effect from 1-4-1969.

For detailed information regarding train timings, introduction and cancellation of through/sectional carriage adjustments in classification of accommodation in trains etc reference should be made to April, 1969 Time Table available for sale at Railway Booking/Reservation/Enquiry offices and Book stalls at important stations.

Chief Operating Superintendent

TAKE IT TO THE PEOPLE

WHILE different sections of the two Houses of Parliament are repeatedly expressing concern over the growth of big business and monopoly and the phenomenal increase in corruption in the administration arising therefrom, important elements in the ruling party at the Centre are engaged in hushing up charges involving not only the most notorious of big business houses but also some key figures in the Central Government and the bureaucracy.

For two years now the Birla firms have figured in discussions in the Houses of Parliament. Recently Sri Chandra Sekhar, Congress member of the Rajya Sabha, submitted a whole series of allegations against these firms and demanded a full judicial probe into them. The Union Government has been trying to pretend that it has been doing all that is possible and evading the central issue of a full-fledged inquiry into malpractices by companies and misuse of power for their benefit by those in authority.

Those who have followed these developments closely are convinced that the Central Government is afraid of an inquiry and its consequences. It is also very clear that a powerful Birla lobby is at work within the Congress Party, and this lobby is moving heaven and earth to prevent too close a look into the

affairs of the Birla firms.

The demand for a proper and satisfactory investigation is being side-tracked by raising irrelevant and misleading questions like party discipline. A matter of the greatest public importance—namely, the collusion of the administrative apparatus with the biggest business and industrial house in the country to the detriment of the national interest—is sought to be made a subject of secret discussions and negotiations within the party instead of being allowed to become the subject of public debate and exposure.

The fact is that those in power are shielding themselves or their colleagues as well as the business house concerned, unmindful of the consequences of such conduct for the healthy development of the national economy and the country's political climate.

The question that should concern the public, and especially the parties which have a mass base and reflect popular aspirations is this: How is it that the Birlas and other monopoly houses have vociferous defenders in the ruling party as well as in some of the other parties? How is it that such effective lobbies of vested interests have grown up in Parliament and the Legislatures?

It is no secret that the Congress more than any other party has over the years depended for its funds on vested interests, particularly the companies controlled by a handful of industrial and business houses. To the latter, favours done to particular factions in the Congress have been a highly profitable investment, the yield being the uninhibited growth of business and industrial empires and a hold on the political apparatus.

The kind of bureaucracy which the Congress Party took over from the British and the incapacity of the political leadership to assert itself and keep the bureaucrats in control, made things easy for the empire-builders in the private sector. The corrupt official and the corrupt politician between them made it the easiest thing in the world for the Birlas and others to corner licences, start more and more industries in profitable areas, keep politicians and officials on their pay-rolls and ensure that their transactions are never looked into or questioned by anyone who matters.

Even Jawaharlal Nehru, despite the best will in the world, could not put an end to these goings-on; after him big business and its lobbies have become even more emboldened. Everyone knows that before the Fourth General Election the big boss of a big

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business house openly boasted that he would have 100 of his stooges in Parliament.

It has to be remembered that even though the Congress managed to get a nominal majority in Parliament, the people of India as a whole recorded their unmistakable dissatisfaction with the party and deprived it of its power in a large number of States. The mid-term poll confirmed the mass verdict. This means in effect that the people are sick and tired of a party tied to the apron-strings of big business and rural vested interests and want radical changes in the national economy. The people have indeed thrown a challenge to the parties of the Left: it is a challenge to live up to their ideal of establishing a society based on equality and social justice. The challenge implies the overthrow of monopolies and other vested interests as also their stooges. The democratic system in India has to be rid not only of the corrupt politician who subvert accepted national policies but of the corrupt bureaucrat who has made it his business to carry out the behests of private sector sharks to thwart and nullify all attempts to give a progressive direction to the growth of the economy.

It must be clear to the parties of the Left as well as to progressive elements in other parties including the Congress that the time has come when the battle against monopoly and big business has to be prevented from being a matter for the Congress Parliamentary Party and the 'discipline'-conscious anti-people elements in it. If "discipline" requires the total suppression of conscience and acquiescence in corrupt practices and misuse of power, that

'discipline' deserves to be broken again and again by more and more persons to whom the public interest is supreme and far above any petty considerations of party or factional loyalties.

The Congressmen who feel angry over the Birla episode and the shabby treatment being meted out to Sri Chandra Sekhar should not suppress their anger due to false ideas of party loyalty: they should defy the leadership and fight openly for the interests of the people and against the shielding of tycoons for the advancement of the personal interests of a few. There should not be the least hesitation in demanding the ouster of persons like Sri Morarji Desai who have made it their business to subvert the public interest by means of activities that power makes possible.

But the progressive parties and individuals outside the Congress have no responsibility: the battle against the Birlas, Tatas, Jains and the rest is not the sole concern of Chandra Sekhars within the Congress. It is the battle of masses against the privileged and pampered minority, and has to be treated as such. Thus these parties and groups have the duty of organizing a nationwide campaign and mobilizing the masses in support of the demand for wiping out monopoly and big business lock, stock and barrel. The popular governments of West Bengal and Kerala have a special responsibility. The new movement has to begin in these two States and spread all over the country. The economy has to be snatched back from the clutches of a handful of capitalists and handed to those under whom it should legitimately be: the people of India.

New Delhi Skyline

PAKISTAN : VIEW FROM THE CAPITAL

AFTER the initial shock at the dramatic denouement in Pakistan climaxed by General Yahya Khan's seizure of power, New Delhi is now in a position to sort out the implications of these unprecedented developments across the border.

In any consideration of Indo-Pak issue, Kashmir inevitably holds the pride of place. During the four months of upheaval, ominous voices were heard particularly in West Pakistan of some

Army officers and politicians, including Bhutto and Akbar Khan, sabre-rattling against Kashmir. However, the turn of events in Pakistan has led to a situation in which the army seizing power is now pinned down to the task of suppressing internal unrest, with little scope for any external adventurism. In other words, General Yahya Khan would be so busy putting his own house in order that it will be the height of folly on his part to think of any

armed confrontation with this country. It is significant in this context that the Pakistan Ambassador turned up along with his Chinese counterpart in the official receptions in Rangoon during Smt Gandhi's recent visit to Burma.

A noteworthy feature of the entire political churning up in the last few months has been the conspicuous absence of any frenzy against India. While this has become the normal characteristic

of all mass movements in East Pakistan during the last two decades, what is significant is that this time even in West Pakistan there have been hardly any anti-Indian tirade; whatever anti-Indian outbursts could be heard were rare exceptions rather than the rule. From available indications it is clear that there has been no military concentration on the Pakistan side of the Kashmir border.

Secondly, the ignominious collapse of the Ayub regime and its desperate last-ditch struggle against democratic forces, as evidenced by the handing over of power to the Army Chief, had its political repercussions on the Kashmiris, including those belonging to Sheikh Abdullah's camp. The contrast between normal functioning of stable democratic order in India with the mess in which the military dictatorship has landed Pakistan could not possibly be missed by the average Kashmiri, however disgruntled he may be with the present set-up in his State. It is also significant that the victory of the United Front in West Bengal and the setback suffered by the Jana Sangh in the mid-term elections have been noted very carefully in Kashmir; in fact, this brings to the average Kashmiri a sense of security that the Hindu communalist forces have not been able to get the upper hand in political life and the staunchly secular anti-communal Left, as demonstrated by the West Bengal United Front, has begun to show the possible alternative to the present order in New Delhi.

As against this, the exploding of the myth of stability and prosperity in Pakistan under Ayub cannot but have its impact on the Kashmir public opinion. The very organ of Pakistani propaganda on Kashmir, namely, the Pak Radio, has inevitably become the vehicle of all the news of the turmoil prevailing in that State. The engine of repression trying to crush democratic forces in Pakistan did not leave the Azad Kashmir untouched; there too some of the Kashmir leaders had to face police repression in the general attack on civil liberties during the last days of the

Ayub regime.

It is in this background that one has to notice the change in temper and attitude of even the recalcitrant Plebiscite Front: the decision of the Front to contest the by-elections this summer is regarded as very significant because this is the first time that Sheikh Abdullah's followers would be entering a trial of strength in a battle for the ballot, instead of going in for endless rounds of angry denunciation of Kashmir's accession to India, along with the demand that Pakistan should be made a party to the settlement of the Kashmir affairs. Despite the unfortunate wrangles in the ruling circles in Srinagar, as evident from Syed Mir Qasim's threatened withdrawal from active politics, one cannot help feeling that the overall situation in Kashmir is fast reaching a healthy turning-point. The shambles in which Pakistani politics has reduced itself has considerably weakened its attraction for even the most truculent Kashmiri.

**

MORE important than the impact on Kashmir is perhaps the repercussions of Pakistani developments in the East. New Delhi observers concede that Rawalpindi is facing the biggest crisis in its career in East Pakistan. There have been many mass upheavals in East Pakistan in the last twenty years; at one stage in 1954, when the Muslim League was swept out of existence in the only full-fledged general election in Pakistan, the forces of Bengali nationalism asserted itself to a point which struck terror in the hearts of Pakistan's rulers. Soon after, on the plea of certain unbalanced utterances of Fazlul Haq and by engineering a spate of riots, the Central Government clamped down Martial Law on East Pakistan fifteen years ago.

Since then, there have been many more demonstrations, some even a few years ago, in which the demand for autonomy was universally voiced, and in the crest of the popular upsurge could be seen Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and leaders of the

Awami League. It was out of fear of that mass upsurge that the Ayub Government trumped up a conspiracy case against Mujibur Rahman and his associates charging them with plot to take East Bengal out of Pakistan.

In fact, the talk of independent East Pakistan has been loosely used both by Pakistani politicians and foreign commentators in the last decade. The persistent East Bengali bitterness at the denial of a place in the Pakistani sun has been accompanied by the growing imbalance between the two wings in the developing economy of the country; even West Pakistani observers have not been able to minimise the strength of the East Pakistani complaint that their province has been treated as a sort of semi-colony, whose wealth has been exploited for the benefit of capital accumulation for the West Pakistani big business.

In such a situation the rulers in Rawalpindi could never whip up a large-scale anti-India frenzy in East Pakistan as a diversionary move to stifle popular discontent with the growing economic hardships and political disabilities. Even during the 1965 war, there was no evidence of any anti-India frenzy anywhere in East Pakistan—a development which was considerably helped by the statesman-like attitude of New Delhi as embodied in Shastri's declaration at the height of the conflict that India had no quarrel with the people of East Pakistan.

In recent times the Ayub regime tried to whip up anti-India sentiment in East Pakistan not only by staging a mock conspiracy trial against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and others but raising the bogey that East Bengal's agrarian economy would be in ruins if the Farakka Barrage is constructed by India. But even this proved to be a propaganda damp squib. Whatever the genuine points of discussion and clarification that Pakistan should have over the question of the Farakka Barrage, there is little evidence to show that with all the official propaganda emanating from Rawalpindi the common mass in East Pakistan could be

poisoned against India through this campaign.

During the current upheaval in East Pakistan, one could not miss the very healthy attitude of the anti-Ayub mass demonstrations in regard to India. Although little news has been allowed to trickle across the frontier, observers in this country have not failed to notice the unequivocal East Pakistani approach of friendship towards this country. This has been very clearly underlined with special emphasis in most of the pronouncements of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in particular. A shining example of Hindu-Muslim fraternisation came from Mymensingh where at the height of the mass upsurge, the authorities opened the prison gates for the Muslim prisoners who however refused to budge until the Hindu prisoners were also released along with them. Throughout the disturbances in East Pakistan, the

minority question has never figured at all. Despite lurid stories of lawlessness, there was not a single report of any attack on Hindu minorities or any whipping up of anti-India feelings.

It is in this context that New Delhi has been wondering almost with bated breath how things are going to shape in East Pakistan. The advent of the military regime can only exasperate the East Bengalis, for the Army itself is known to be overwhelmingly dominated by West Pakistan with East Bengalis having no voice at all. General Yahya Khan's battalions in Dacca will face a situation ten times worse than U.S. on Vietnam if it really comes to a show-down with the Bengali peasantry spread all over the riverine districts.

In this situation there is therefore an uneasy feeling in New Delhi about the final outcome

of the political developments in East Pakistan. Could the Bengalis across the border be possibly trying to carve out a Pakistani Biafra? The only difference with the Nigerian parallel is that the Central authorities in Pakistan can never launch a full-scale military attack on a people in revolt nearly two thousand miles away from the centre of power with no direct line of communication in between. The very logistics of any large-scale military operations in East Pakistan should scare Rawalpindi away from such a suicidal venture. At the same time, the loss of East Pakistan would mean to a very large measure the ruin of Pakistani big business as it has developed in the last twenty years. Whether General Yahya Khan would be able to retain East Pakistan for his money-bag patrons in the West is anybody's guess today. What is of relevance to New Delhi is that such a situation

FROM DACCA : CLARION CALL FOR UNITY

".....If the peasant does not get the just price for the harvest ; if the landless tiller does not get land to cultivate ; if there is no lessening of the burden of land revenue on the peasant ; if the worker and employee do not get a living wage ; if the intelligentsia is bereft of jobs ; if the prices of food and daily necessities are beyond the reach of the purchasing power of the common people ; if the nation's millions, men and women, are not assured of a future ; if there is no permanent provision for food and clothing for all ; and if through revolutionary change in industry and agriculture the road to social justice and socialism itself is not laid—then all the political activities will end up in frustration and lifelessness."

"Keeping this in view, it will be necessary to integrate our struggle for the realisation of unrealised political demands with the struggle of the masses for economic emancipation. For this purpose, the mobilisation of the toiling masses that has taken place for the struggle for democracy, has to be properly organised. This way as the unresolved political issues will be settled so will the real path of salvation from poverty will be widened for our countrymen. We want to lay special emphasis on

the importance of the efforts for this wider unity because the ruling coterie may have thought that they would be able to create disruption in different regions by putting off the question of settling the regional problem. Such attempts at disruption by the ruling coterie have to be nipped in the bud. From this angle, the situation is in our favour. The awareness of the importance of militant unity that the National Awami Party and the Awami League have already demonstrated both at the round table conference and outside for the realisation of the hopes and aspirations of the people of East Pakistan—for that matter the people of the whole of Pakistan—through the demand for full-fledged democracy, adult suffrage, cancellation of the one-unit system and full regional autonomy for East Bengal, that consciousness of militant unity has to be spread wider and made enduring in the days to come. This militant unity among the democratic parties is the only means for realising the rights and demands of the masses, pushing back the forces of reaction."

*Editorial in SANGBAD Bengali daily
from Dacca, March 15, 1969.*

might land it in a very uncomfortable predicament.

On the one hand there is a considerable volume of sympathy and goodwill for East Pakistan's democratic movement in this country. This was reflected in the very welcome statements made by United Front leaders in West Bengal soon after their installation in office, the statements which were sought to be exploited without any degree of success by professional commentators who earn their living by anti-communism. The West Bengal United Front leaders said that the cultural and trade barriers between the two Bengals should be lowered, if not altogether eliminated. Actually nothing more was said and nothing more was expected.

However, with the dramatic unfolding of events in East Pakistan, a new stage is almost reached when the question is posed, what should be the role of India in the event of an independent state coming to birth in East Pakistan. This is a question which New Delhi has always been fighting shy of facing openly. Rather, there has been a perceptible cooling off in official circles at the prospect of an independent East Pakistan.

Theoretically India is opposed to any politics of secession. This, it is claimed, is in keeping with the traditions of India's national movement which resisted though unsuccessfully the very idea of partitioning the country. In contemporary times, a new dimension has been added to India's staunch allergy to the politics of secession whether it is raised in Kashmir in the north, Nagaland in extreme east or in Tamilnad in extreme south. The danger of secession of any territory from the parent state has always been emphasised by New Delhi and is consistent with this stand, it is not likely to express appreciation or sympathy that may be construed as encouraging secessionist trends in Pakistan.

In terms of internal political alignments, it is said that communal forces like the Jana Sangh with their unadulterated hostility towards Pakistan, might try to politically exploit the situation,

claiming that Pakistan as a state is about to be destroyed. Despite all this official resistance, there will be genuine spate of sympathy and an eagerness to extend the hand of friendship to the democratic struggle in East Pakistan on the part of the people of eastern region, particularly in West Bengal.

There is also another aspect to the problem which worries New Delhi. A new state perched on the strategic cross-roads of eastern India may pose problems of foreign policy and defence. Because, there is every danger that a new born independent state entity in East Pakistan might fall under the spell if not the domination, of one of the Big Powers, particularly China (with Maulana Bhasani's admirations

for it) or America which after its debacle on the banks of the Mekong might try to fish in the troubled waters of the Padma.

The developments in Pakistan are therefore being watched in New Delhi with mixed feelings of great expectations and intense anxiety. The old simplified logic that a setback for Pakistan is a gain for India hardly holds good in the present situation. The realities of the present-day power-politics are too complex to offer simplified solutions. In any event the developments in Pakistan pose a formidable challenge to India's statesmanship and diplomacy in which not only the Congress leadership but others particularly those of the Left have to prove their mettle.

April 1

N.C.

Mainstream

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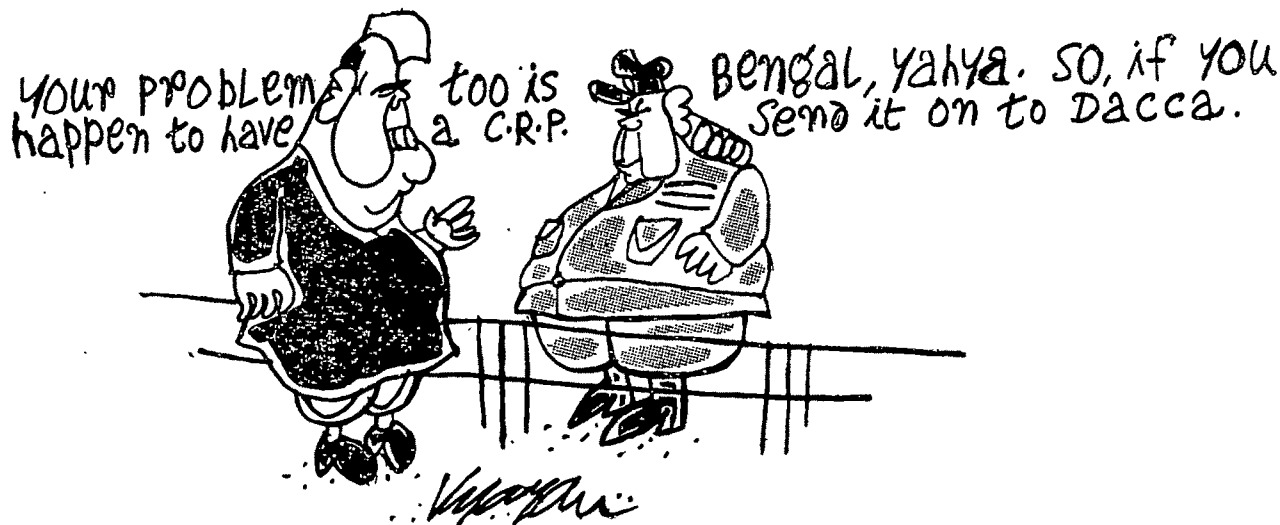
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Confrontation in Pakistan

ANIRUDHA GUPTA

By abdicating and handing over power to the army, Field-Marshal Ayub Khan has bowed to the inevitable. For over four months he struggled hard to enliven personal dictatorship with a modicum of economic and political reforms. He declared outright pay increases for striking workers and government employees; exhorted students to emulate the teachings of *Quaid-e-Azam* Jinnah; renounced any intention he had to stay in politics, and finally held a round table conference with the Opposition leaders in Rawalpindi.

For sometime it even appeared that he would succeed. The RTC worked out a compromise formula to introduce parliamentary democracy through direct elections based on adult franchise. While this satisfied most of the leading politicians in West Pakistan, it

created serious misunderstandings in the East. Shiekh Mujibur Rahman, whom the youth call '*Bangla Bandhu*' (Friend of Bengal), reiterated the demand for East Pakistan's autonomy and greater say at the Centre. Maulana Bhasani, the 86 year old peasant leader, refused even to join the talks. Meanwhile, the fanatic followers of *Jamaat-e-Islami* clashed in the streets with the radical student groups and socialists. As the crescendo of rioting and bloodshed gripped the country, leaders of the eight-party National Action Committee moved closer to the regime.

All these were encouraging signs, yet finally Ayub acknowledged defeat. Why? Was it because—as many now say with a glee—he was a moral coward despite his soldierly exterior? Or,

was it because the army and the powers behind Ayub found him unfit to continue? Or, was it because there was no alternative between anarchy and army rule once a personal dictatorship had started giving in to popular pressure?

To answer all these questions, it is necessary to distinguish the following factors that have, for some time, become active in Pakistani politics: first, the agitation among urban elements in West Pakistan; second, the demand for autonomy among the people of East Pakistan, which has taken the shape of a movement for self-determination; and third, the emergence of a new force, which may be called *Islamic secularism*, against the domination of obscurantist, theocratic

Islamic conservatism. Had these three factors worked in isolation or singly, it would not have been difficult for Ayub to come down on them, one by one, with his style of functioning—alternating concessions with force. What he failed to foresee, however, was that they could erupt simultaneously and produce, in the process, a truly revolutionary situation.

An analysis of the revolt in West Pakistan shows that it has on the whole remained largely urban-based. In essence, it reflects the dissatisfaction among urban communities—students, workers, and the intelligentsia—with a system which has, on one hand, narrowed the perimeter of their activities and, on the other, generally favoured landlords, rich farmers and big industrialists. As such the demand for economic and political change in the cities has sprung from various sectional or class interests and, to that extent, it has also lacked organizational solidarity. But the impact of the struggle of townspeople has been felt in other areas: the Sindhis, the Pathans and the Pakhtoons raised their voice against the domination of the 'hated Panjabis'. Hence the demand for dissolving the one-unit system of West Pakistan.

In the East, unrest has sprung from quite different causes. Exhibiting the signs of inversion of an oppressed nationality, the Bengalis have been able to transcend any internal divisions they have over the issue of autonomy. Moreover, the predominantly agricultural economy of the East (55.5 per cent of the gross provincial product as against 42.9 per cent in the West in 1964-65) has not allowed diversification of the population into organized rural and urban sectors as in the West. The average Bengali townsman is far more close to his people in the villages than his counterpart in West Pakistani cities. Besides, the presence of 'aliens' in their midst, especially in top jobs and private industries, has accentuated ethno-centricity among all Bengalis. At the same time, the absence of an entrenched landowning class has deprived the rulers in Rawalpindi of grass-roots support in the countryside. Hence

the flight of Basic Democrats at the first sign of revolt among the peasantry.

Paradoxically, it is the phenomenal growth of a modern industrial sector in West Pakistan which has continuously impoverished the peasants of East Pakistan. Supported by the rural aristocracy and protected by fiscal and tariff policy of the Government, the manufacturing entrepreneurs in the West found a sellers' market in the East. The terms of trade between the two wings generally favoured the manufacturing sector so that it received about Rs. 7.00 for manufacturing goods worth one US dollar, while it paid Rs. 5.25 for agricultural goods of the same value in mid-1960s. Thus, in the inter-wing trade that developed, "East Pakistan became a net importer from West Pakistan, and the deficit was largely in terms of manufactured consumer goods, particularly cotton textiles."

Secondly, the bulk of foreign exchange earned by the export of East Pakistan's raw jute, which constituted 40 per cent of Pakistan's total export, was utilized as a feed-back for the expansion of West Pakistani industries.

Thirdly, the competition of large-scale manufacturing entrepreneurs in their traditional fields ruined small producers and cottage industries in East Pakistan. This aggravated the problem of rural unemployment and accounted for the widening gap in *Per capita* income in the two wings. Thus, the level of *per capita* income was over 30 per cent higher in West than in East Pakistan in 1964-65, though it had been only 10 per cent higher in 1949-50.

The prosperity of one wing and the stratification of a social structure based on great economic inequalities, accelerated the process of concentration of wealth in a few hands. An analysis of income trends over the last ten years shows that the small gains in *per capita* income were received only by those who had already high incomes. Hence it is no wonder that Ayub's regime fostered the growth of a 'robber-baron variety of capitalism' in which 20 families own 66 per cent industrial assets, 79 per cent of insurance and 80 per cent of

banking.

Curiously, then, if the Bengalis want autonomy they must also fight against this unjust socioeconomic system. On the other hand, in order to survive the ruling circles in West Pakistan must not allow the loosening of their firm hold on East Pakistan. This is why their confrontation with the East has taken such a fearful shape. Fortunately for the latter, students and workers strikes in the West have created a diversion and a new bond of unity which has unnerved the rulers. With West Pakistani cities in the grip of mass unrest, it was not possible for Ayub to send troops to the East. For a while therefore, he tried to win over the opposition elements in the West through limited political liberties. The Right-wing and the fanatic Muslims of the *Jamaat* were encouraged, on the other hand, to drive a wedge in the newly-found bond of unity of the two wings through the cry of Islam in danger. The most significant event in Pakistan is not that Ayub has surrendered power (it is of little relevance at the moment to speculate whether he did so voluntarily or not); but that, in the final reckoning, the ruling elite in Pakistan has resorted to the crudest and most barbaric means it has in hand, the army rule.

What happens next is anybody's guess. The army may, with the help of the *Jamaat-e-Islami*, start a witch-hunt of democratic, secular and radical elements. At the same time, it is possible that political reforms in the Western wing may continue so long as men like Ashgar Khan, Bhutto, and leaders of the NAC show their willingness to co-operate. The East would surely turn into an armed camp where a sullen people would await their opportunity to convert their demand for autonomy into one of secession. To prevent it, the army may organize anti-India hysteria through border clashes and sensational trials such as the Agartala conspiracy case. Ayub's version of constitutionalism may thus pave the path for another counter-revolution, only this time it would be neither bloodless nor permanent. *March 28, 1969.*

Pressures on Pressmen

S. C. KALA

SEVERAL vested interests in the State do their best, or their worst, to please and cajole newspapermen so that they are not exposed and the public may remain in the dark about their activities. When flattery does not yield dividends, threats and intimidation are resorted to in order to pressurise or coerce newspapermen into behaving "properly" in the interests of the vested interests.

In UP, as elsewhere, there are three major vested interests, capitalists, the State Government and powerful individuals, including politicians, who operate sometimes openly and sometimes in a subterranean manner, in order to induce journalists to toe their line.

The UP Government's Information Department is the biggest and most powerful agency in the State which has perfected the art of handling journalists. It has succeeded, to an alarming extent, in corrupting editor-proprietors of dailies, weeklies and fortnightlies published in mofussil towns and districts. These papers, which have poor financial resources depend mainly, if not exclusively on advertisements doled out by the State Information Department.

The Information Department ensures that only such vernacular papers in the districts are given advertisements as support the Government of the day. Papers, which have the audacity to criticise wrong policies of the Government or wrong decisions of individual Ministers are black-listed and are

starved of funds. The fear of losing Government advertisement is like the Damocles' Sword hanging over the heads of proprietor-editors of vernacular newspapers published in the districts.

Whenever advertisements are issued to small newspapers, an unwritten understanding is reached between the Information Department and the recipients of advertisements that they would publish the publicity material issued by the Information Department from time to time.

It is a tragedy that some of the national dailies published in Delhi, who do not suffer from shortage of resources, also become a party to the Information Department's efforts to project an image of the State that has no relation to reality. Not unoften, the Information Department succeeds in persuading the advertisement department of Delhi newspapers to bring "UP Supplements" on the "phenomenal progress" achieved by the State in various fields of life. Almost always the UP supplements consist of advertisements issued by the UP Government and hand-outs written by officials like heads of departments and secretaries to departments about the so-called "leap forward" in UP.

Thanks to a "happy" understanding between the UP Government and the advertisement departments of some Delhi newspapers, the public gets a distorted and one-sided idea of the State's progress or the lack of progress. The reader is cheated by the newspapers which, tempted by the lure of making easy money, allow their columns to be misused for blatant official propaganda.

A few so-called special correspondents or special representatives

of Delhi papers do not mind approaching the UP Government's Information Department for getting advertisements for their papers. The Information Department, which looks for opportunities to oblige these "Special Correspondents", does not mind doling out a few ads. In return for its generosity, it expects the special correspondents to smuggle into their newspapers "inspired" news items.

The special correspondents, who stoop to conquer their proprietors by acting as advertisement agents, rarely fail to oblige the State Government. The three parties to the "happy" arrangement, the special correspondent, the UP Government's Information Department and the newspaper in Delhi, are most happy with one another. It is the reader who is misled when he reads inspired news items published in newspapers. Few readers can ever see the invisible strings pulled by the Information Department.

The Information Department tries bribery on a large scale. It invites such journalists as are amenable to its influence to write or translate pamphlets for it to contribute articles to magazines published by the State Government. The payment for these articles is extravagantly generous. The journalists who thus make easy money at the cost of the public exchequer, are ever ready to be used as tools by the State Government's Information Department.

The UP Government's Information Department attempts to use some struggling news agencies, which are neither financially viable nor professionally competent, to put across its point of view. It buys hand delivery services provided by the *Samachar Bharati* and the *Hindustan Samachar* even though these services are of no use to the UP Government which gets up-to-date news items received on the teleprinter from the UNI.

In the districts, the district magistrates and the superintendents of police corrupt newspapermen by giving them permits for scarce

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The author who is a well-known journalist presented this paper at a seminar on "Who ails the Indian Press?" conducted by the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference in New Delhi last week.

On Private Members' Bills in Parliament

MADHU LIMAYE

I am afraid private Members are generally not fully exploiting the opportunities private legislation provides to them for discharging their duties. At the end of the winter session of the Lok Sabha, there were 190 outstanding Bills out of which 19 or 10 per cent stood in my name. That shows that this provision was not being used by Members effectively.

The role of a Private Member depends upon : (a) the quality of the legislation he sponsors ; and (b) the issues that he seeks to project through his Bills.

If they are important enough, then two results will follow :

(i) They will stimulate discussion and controversy and educate public opinion.

(ii) If sufficient support can be generated within and without the House you can force the Government to support the Bill or at least adopt the principles of the Bill. Instances that can be mentioned in this connection are : The abolition of the Managing Agency and the Company donations bills and restricting the size of the Council of Ministers.

The time of two-and-half hours allotted on alternate Fridays during the session is not sufficient. But there is so much pressure of official work that I do not think the Government will agree to increase this time. But if certain work load is taken off the House and transferred to permanent Standing Committees, much time can be saved, and part of it can be made available for the discussion and disposal of Private Members' Bills, and in that case, probably,

one whole day can be devoted to it.

At present we have a general discussion at the first reading of Bills. If Bills are processed by standing Committees, time will be saved on the first stage of the Bill.

Similarly, Standing Committees will exercise a measure of control over departments and this will save part of the time spent on discussion of grants etc.

The second alternative is for Parliament to sit for longer periods. Especially, if winter months, when Delhi climate enables Members to work longer hours, are fully used, more time will become available for Private legislation.

To enable Private Members to play a more effective role all Bills, private or government, should first be brought before the standing Departmental Committees mentioned above and processed there. Then Private Members can choose the subjects in which they may be interested and get themselves elected or nominated to these Committees.

Assistance with regard to research and drafting of Bills should be provided to Members. Unlike American Senators, we, Members of Parliament, do not have any adequate facilities. There should, therefore, be competent draftsmen and research assistants to help us. They should help not only in drafting Private Members' Bills but also any amendments that Members may want to move to Government or Private Members' Bill.

The present system of balloting of Bills is much better

than balloting names. It is wrong to put a Private Member who takes the labour and trouble of introducing of, say, 15-20 Bills on the same footing as a Member who submits only one or two Bills.

The objection about important Bills being shunted off is met by the provision in the Rules with regard to categorisation. The Committee on Private Members' Bill does not refuse to put an important Bill which deals with a burning subject and fulfils a deeply felt need in 'A' category in order to accord it priority.

If the suggestions about the Standing Committees and longer sessions are accepted, then large number of Bills (a) will be processed in the Committees and ; (b) many more will be discussed and disposed of in the House. Besides, as stated above, Bills which are really important can be brought forward even under the existing system.

There is another suggestion which I would like to make.

At present the normal time allotted to a Private Bill is upto two hours but can be extended to four hours. To extend it beyond four hours is unjust. That is the reason why I opposed further extension of time given to Mr. Nath Pai's Bill. It took nearly 14 hours and 20 minutes.

If a Bill is very important and a large number of Members want it to be discussed, then the Government should find the necessary time for it from Government quota, no matter whether Government's attitude to the Bill is (a) hostile (b) neutral or (c) one of sympathy and support. The strength of this argument was conceded by the whole House when Lok Sabha adopted unanimously my amendment to the 43rd Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions, 4th Lok Sabha, on February 21, 1969, and agreed that any extra time for the Bill should be found by the Government from the official quota. A similar practice is in vogue in England. Government time was found for Private Bills on Divorce, Capital Punishment, etc.

It is true that the Government has delayed implementing or has in effect refused to implement the promises made at the time requests for the withdrawal of Bills were made in the past to Private Members by the Government that they would introduce a Bill based on the agreed principle themselves and that they would get it passed. Something should be done about this.

There should be a Rule or at least a convention that the Bill be introduced and passed within a period of at least two years from the date of such promise. If for any reason, the Minister is unable to find time, he should apply to the House for extension of time. In case he is unable to fulfil the assurance because of strong opposition from inside his own party or outside it, the Minister making the promise should honourably quit and apologise to the House.

My Billion Company Donations was supported by all sections of the House. The Industrial Development and Company Affairs Minister had taken over the baby from me and had promised to look after it. But after the Cabinet decision to take over the Bill, the measure encountered strong opposition from Congress leaders and an attempt is being made to sidetrack it. The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs renewed his promise orally and in writing to put the Bill on the agenda in the monsoon and winter sessions last year. But to no avail. It is a pity that the ruling party should give more importance to the interest of its party coffers than to its solemn promise and plighted word! In the last six years, significantly enough out of Rs. 41 lakhs contributed by the Birla Companies, Rs. 38 lakhs were contributed to the ruling Congress party.

Take, again, the issue of the current student unrest all over the world. The need for University Reform and Students' participation in all university bodies is being conceded by all thinking men and women. That is why the Committee on its own agreed to put my Bill on the subject in 'A' category and have it discussed in the House. But getting it

passed is a different proposition!

It is obvious that it is not enough to introduce and discuss Bills in Parliament. Unless public opinion is actively mobilised by parties and citizen groups, basic changes cannot be brought about.

Since private legislation is a potent weapon of public education and enlightenment the present restriction of four Bills per session should be removed. Members who are really active and have wide interests should not be prevented from making a constructive contribution to the formation of public opinion in this country by

moving more bills.

It would be useful to devise machinery for public discussion on Private Members Bills through seminars etc. I am glad that an institution called Women's Council of Maharashtra has been writing to us from time to time about the Bills that we have introduced in the House. All Bills should be sent to certain institutions like Bar Associations, Universities, Research bodies etc. by Parliament Secretariat on its own, although no motion about circulation has been formally passed by the Parliament.

Trudeau's Problem

K.M.P.

MR Trudeau is young and handsome; he was seen by some one when he assumed the office of the Prime Minister as the Canadian Kennedy.

The promise, if there is any, is still unfulfilled. Mr Trudeau remains a man with a future. He has, it is true, asked for a review of Canada's foreign policy and commitments to NATO, the possibility that Ottawa might recognise Peking is still there; Canadian businessmen like businessmen all over the West are casting covetous eyes on the Chinese market. Ottawa has also been doing some rethinking on its role in Latin America and Caribbeans and the trend towards independence— independent of their great neighbour to the North is growing.

Whether Mr Trudeau will be able to take advantage of this current is doubtful, for his image has already been tarnished. In spite of the brave words which he often utters there have been no positive action; his role in the Commonwealth Conference whether on the Rhodesian problem or on the Nigerian Civil War has not increased his stature.

On the contrary, his private life in London during the Conference was subjected to considerable criticism; Mr Trudeau might protest that his private life as a bachelor is his own business but Canadians including parliamentarians are not prepared to accept that.

The major weakness of Mr Trudeau's position is that he lives under the shadows cast by two giants—the United States and General De Gaulle. Canada has become habituated to being treated as the kid brother of the United States but De Gaulle's visit acted as a catalytic agent. Till then Ottawa had treated Quebec nationalism as a minor phenomenon, backward Quebec with its *fleurs de lis* and its romantic attachment to the France of the *ancien regime* could be ignored, but the illusions which they nourished crumbled before the trumpets of the General. French Canadian nationalism could no longer be ignored; France was willing to encourage the aspirations of her eldest daughter. Ottawa's response was furious but Canadian politicians,

atleast some of them-recognised that reality will have to be faced. French Canadian nationalism could be satisfied in a Canada that has cut off its dependence on Washington and was prepared to play an independent role in the world. Canadians could well claim that it is part Latin; the presence of a French Canadian nation allows it to play mediating role between the Anglo-Saxon North America and Latin South America. That Ottawa was allowed to realise the new vistas opened to it diplomatically and politically was mainly due to the fact that it has been accustomed to see the world from Washington's point of view. The need to have a personality separate from that of United States led Ottawa also to review its policy towards Peking and NATO.

Another facet of the new Canadian nationalism was its increasing awareness of French-speaking Africa. Till recently Canada was blissfully unaware of French-speaking Africa, its contacts were limited to the members of the Commonwealth. Canadian aid and technical assistance was primarily directed to English-speaking Africa but the De Gaulle visit and the challenge of French Canadian nationalism changed all that. Quebec's Delegation-General in Paris was treated by the Quai d'Orsay with the consideration and courtesy due to a diplomatic mission from an independent country. True it was concerned with investments in Quebec and culture and education but culture has indefinite frontiers and the French are experts in cultural diplomacy. The exchange of letters between a Quebec mission led by Mr Guy Cardinal and the French Government on research for a communication satellite provoked the anger of Ottawa. The Canadian Government maintained that communication was a federal subject but the Quebec Government argued that education was a provincial subject and the satellite was to be used for educational purposes. French assistance in the cultural and educational field to Quebec cannot be questioned by Ottawa and

it was a field where Quebec could pursue an independent policy. This is exactly what happened at the Francophonie Conference at Libreville. The invitations were issued by Gabon as the host nation and no blame, atleast in the technical sense, can be put on Paris but Ottawa was not exactly pleased that Quebec received a separate invitation. Its protests were ignored and Canada found that countries which till then had not taken note of were willing to treat Quebec as an independent nation. At the second conference at Niamey Canada itself was a participant though Quebec continued to have an independent delegation with its own flag. Ottawa had by now realised that culture too was part of diplomacy; it decided to contribute its share to the spread and maintenance of the French culture in the world. Aid and technical assistance to the French-speaking Africa showed a remarkable increase and it is expected to increase further in the coming years. In the international field Canada is rapidly ceasing to be a primarily Anglo-Saxon country, it has discovered that it cannot afford to neglect its French inheritance. On the other hand, if skillfully exploited the dual inheritance can win it influence and power.

This however can be achieved only if it is able to deal with the problem of binationalism and bilingualism. For it can no longer be denied that two separate nations co-exist within the Canadian State. Premier Trudeau's suggestion, that the linguistic problem should be considered as a matter of individual rights, which was acceptable to English speaking Canadians last year is no longer so. The Minister of Alberta Mr Stroom has said that the rights of the French Canadians will be better respected if it is recognised by the provinces rather than imposed by law. Quebec too, is not interested in individual rights but in the rights of the provinces and more particularly in special position of Quebec, for it pretends to speak in the name of all French-speaking Canadians. Quebec wants in fact more powers for the provinces and a special

position for Quebec and as far more powers are concerned it has the support of provinces other than the maritime provinces. Trudeau challenges the right of Quebec to speak for French Canadians and to the Quebecois thesis opposes a truly bilingual state and promises to binationalise the Federal Government to the maximum. The real difference between Trudeau and the Quebec leaders is that the latter believe that Canada is constituted of two nations, and Quebec has therefore a special position. In any case Trudeau is not in a position to impose his views on the linguistic problem, for the Western provinces are not prepared to accept the federal proposal on official languages and insertion of linguistic rights in a constitutional charter. Thus Trudeau is caught between two fires; Quebec claims that it is a separate nation; the western provinces are opposed to equality of status for the two languages.

Trudeau's real problem is that all provinces are jealous of their autonomy and are suspicious of any move by the Federal Government to extend its power by means of taxation and expenditure on social welfare. Federal intervention in the spheres where the provincial government has the responsibility and power was criticised by all the provincial Prime Ministers; Quebec Chief Bertrand even accused the Federal Government of ruining the federal system by its actions. He wanted, like other premiers, more money for the provinces to carry out their responsibilities. Trudeau was willing to conciliate the provincial chiefs and said that the Government was not opposed to a limitation on federal spending.

The struggle in Canada is primarily between the provinces and the Federal Government. Ottawa, because of its control over taxation is able to spend money on projects which come within the authority of the provinces. There is a genuine fear that in course of time the unlimited power of taxation and the capacity to spend money will

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Education Without Perspective

PROMILA CHADHA

THERE is a tendency in our top policy-makers to regard education as a residual subject, an item from which finances can be conveniently pared or diverted. This is perhaps due to an inherent class orientation which regards education for the masses as a luxury which can wait. However, it needs little imagination to realise that in India where the so-called educated elite forms a mere veneer over the burgeoning millions of ignorant, tradition bound, poverty stricken masses, little can be achieved by way of substantial progress without their active participation. All other plans of progress whether on the agricultural front, industrial development, family planning or social reform, all hinge ultimately and irresistibly on the level of the individual. Change in our static society cannot be imposed from above but is an impulse that must come from the people themselves.

India today is one of the poorest countries in the world but the cause of this lies not merely in the material environments but much more so because centuries of outmoded traditions have paralysed all impulses for change. One of the most important reasons for Indian backwardness is the orientation of not only the masses but also of the classes to unprogressive and tradition-bound attitudes. The upper classes have failed to set good examples of modern and rational attitudes of behaviour. One can lay the blame for this on the defective system of education at all levels.

India has squandered twenty-one years of freedom with very few achievements to her credit. If she is to make up the tremendous leeway of generations she has

only one way and that is to route it through education.

Considering India's vast and rapidly growing population nobody can underestimate the gigantic task of educating the masses. In India more than 70 per cent of the population is unable to even read or write. The report of the Education Commission ruefully records: "India was more illiterate in 1961 than in 1951 with an addition of about 36 million illiterates. In 1966, it has 20 million more illiterates than in 1961. However the percentage of literacy has risen from 16.6 in 1951 to 24 per cent in 1961 and 28.6 per cent in 1966." However, dismal these figures may appear even their validity is probably dubious.

Secondly, the yardstick for literacy has been pegged to the mere ability to read and write. Surely in the present-day context that is not enough. Gunnar Myrdal in his *Asian Drama* observes: "No independent value attached to education is considered to be valid if it conflicts with the value of education as an instrument for development." This is a very valid point since it has been found that in rural areas education in the form it is now being given has not resulted in any material benefit to the so-called educated adult or the society in which he lives.

In most cases, Kusum Nair in *Blossoms of the Dust* (based on her findings in the countrywide survey of rural India) has noted, education has created a parasitical class in the countryside which claims exemption from manual work and "very little education is needed to call forth the status demand for exemption from manual work." Education in

the villages and even among the urban poor has created a parasitical elite which is averse to all manual work and yet expects to be maintained at a higher level than the rest of the community. Their demand for a higher standard however does not deal with improved living conditions, better health or hygiene, more progressive ideas but is only limited to acquisition of consumer articles like watches, radios, cycles and better clothes. The villages despite the leaven of educated adults continue to be by and large as they had always been. In State after State, from the fertile fields of Tanjore, West Bengal, to Uttar Pradesh she encountered among the older generation of peasants a distrust for education because it deprived them of the labour of their sons and yet it did not equip them, enough to secure white-collar jobs to which they felt, they were entitled. Neither has education encouraged modern and progressive ideas which would ultimately change the bad social customs which are biggest bane of the individual. The educated youth except for the trappings of literacy thinks and reacts exactly like his uneducated counterpart.

Education as it is organized today hardly serves useful purpose. It has failed to develop national and progressive attitudes which would ultimately transform our underdeveloped and static society to a modern and dynamic one.

The bureaucracy is quite content with reeling out figures. No doubt educational facilities have been vastly expanded.

But the poor quality of the education given has more or less offset the positive gain that may have resulted from the increase. What is required is not mere quantitative increase of sub-standard education which as it stands today is mere waste of national resources. What we shall aim at is not mere literacy but 'functional literacy.' A properly planned primary education should be the mental take-off point from where the student can study on his own with little guidance. It should aim at fostering rational attitudes in him and make him at home in the complex

work-a-day world of today.

The basic factor on which is dependent the reform in education is the primary school teacher who has been so far ignored by the Government. Without a worthwhile teacher, education especially in the initial stages can make little impact. The salaries of the primary school teacher are in most States same as those of illiterate peons. Can there be any doubt that the clever and talented will not take up this line? Likewise when the teaching is so uninspiring who will take the trouble to trudge to school even if it is only a mile away? Hence the huge problem of stagnation and failures. It has been estimated that out of every hundred pupils admitted to Class I in 1955-56 scarcely 41 were studying in Class IV three years later. The proportion of repeaters in Class I is 40 to 50 per cent, and in Classes II to IV more than 25 per cent. Many of the repeaters eventually drop out, before completing the primary school course, and lapse back into illiteracy. But not before large sums have been wasted from which no benefit has accrued.

Most of the primary school teachers are untrained but since the training itself is inadequate and defective it is in the long run of little use.

And lastly, in the backward countries the curricula and the text-books should be especially planned to fight against obscurantist ideas. A certain amount of indoctrination is necessary if we are to inculcate correct values and attitudes. Gunnar Myrdal has correctly pointed out that "South Eastern countries cannot rely on the slow process of exposing successive generations of school children to new ideas and attitudes but must make a determined effort to educate adults."

However, when the bureaucracy is itself obscurantist there seems little hope. I was told by a teacher of a government school, that sometimes back an urgent circular was sent to teachers of English instructing them to substitute an egg in the lesson on articles by an orange because the egg might outrage the religious susceptibilities of a certain com-

munity! So much for rational attitudes.

It is not that the Government is not aware of the problems or the steps necessary to improve the education system. The Education Commission Report of 1964-66 set up under the chairmanship of Dr. Kóthari has shown a lively awareness of the huge problem that beset the educational structure. However, no adequate action has yet been taken on this

Report on the plea of lack of resources. It is time resources are set apart—even if it means cutting down on other heads—to provide proper education to our people. Without this effort it is difficult to understand how it is hoped that a nation, the majority of whose people continue to live in the milieu of the ages gone by can survive and compete with the nations rushing headlong in the exploration of the universe.

Expenditure on Education under the Plans

(In crores of rupees)

	<i>First Plan</i>	<i>Second Plan</i>	<i>Third Plan outlay</i>	<i>Fourth Plan outlay (proposed)</i>
Elementary education	85	95	209	399
Secondary education	20	51	88	279
University education	14	48	82	132
Other educational Schemes	14	27	29	450
Total	133	221	408	1,260

Achievements in the sphere of Education under the Plans

	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66 (Targets)
Number of pupils in class I to V (in lakhs)	1,92	2,52	3,50	5,15
Percentage thereof to total population of the age group 6-11	42.6	52.9	62.4	78.5
Number of pupils in classes VI to VIII (in lakhs)	31	43	67	1,10

Primary Education

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Schools</i>	<i>Number of Students on rolls</i>	<i>Number of teachers</i>	<i>Direct expenditure (in crores of Rs.)</i>
1950-51	209671	18293967	537918	36.49
1955-56	278135	22919734	691249	53.73
1960-61	330397	26642253	741695	73.44
1961-62 (revised)	351530	29474377	794747	82.67
1962-63	366584	31286982	832155	93.29

Marxism and Marcuse

MOHIT SEN

A great deal of publicity has been given to the so-called new philosophy for the new age propounded by Herbert Marcuse. It has been claimed that this new philosophy mirrors the new reality of advanced industrial societies, which are themselves the future of humanity in the age of the scientific-technical revolution. The publicity, however, is not on account of the seclams to new profundities. It is due, above all, to the fact that the ideas of Marcuse are supposed to be a crushing refutation of Marx. Marcuse is the latest in a long line of claimants to the title "supplanners of Marx". And the Marcusean refutation is said to be all the more crushing as it is said to be done on the basis of dialectics, the very heart and core of the Marxist philosophy.

Who is Herbert Marcuse? He is an old man. Seventy-one years old in fact. He was born in Berlin in 1898, studied at the University of Berlin and received his Ph.D. from the University of Freiburg. After teaching a year at Geneva, he was from 1934 to 1940 at the Institute of Social Research Columbia University in the USA, being one of the earliest intellectual refugees from Hitlerite terror. He spent nearly ten years with the office of Intelligence Research, Department of State, Washington, after which he returned to Columbia as a research fellow in the Russian Institute. He was also associated with the Russian Research Centre at Harvard University and with Paris University, spending most of his time since 1954, however, with the Brandeis University in the USA. There is a recent report that his Professorship has now not been renewed. There are other reports claiming that there is documentary evidence that he is associated with the CIA.

These biographical details, true or false, are irrelevant to a consideration of his ideas. But the totality of his biography is, however, relevant. Marcuse has been only an academic man, as have been so many others. He has not participated to any significant extent in any one of the more powerful social movements which have convulsed our earth, certainly since the 1930s. A strange procedure for a man who is said to be the new Messiah for the resurgent youth of our days. For a man who claims to base his refutation of Marx on the dialectic itself, it is more than odd that he claims to know the world without participating in the transforming of it! A tremendous difference with the life of Marx himself and so very many lesser personalities who either espoused Marxism or who even hoped to refute it by

projecting a new philosophy for revolutionary practice, Sartre for example.

It can be said that the life of Herbert Marcuse can certainly offer little inspiration to the young rebels and revolutionaries of our times, especially in our country at this moment of crisis. A man who confines himself exclusively to academic work may, indeed, produce work and ideas which enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge. He may also provide an example of integrity and intellectual depth which would be of inspiration in our times when rank careerism and dreadful shallowness are all too prevalent. But it is not such a life that can enthuse those who wish to overthrow social tyranny and establish the justice of socialism. Nor is it likely that such a life of largely contemplative activity will produce a new revolutionary credo. As we shall see later on, the life of Marcuse has certainly influenced his attempt to return socialism from a science to speculation, to change the Marxian historical concept of contradiction into Hegelian mystification. If Marx stood Hegel on his feet, Marcuse tries to stand Marx on his head. If revolutionary practice was the central theme of Marx and his thought, rather empty play with notions is the chief activity of Marcuse.

The intellectual evolution of Marcuse goes through two clearly demarcated phases. The earlier phase can be studied in his *Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory*, first published in 1941 as well as in certain essays written in the 1930s and brought together in *Negations* (published in 1968). The next phase begins with the publication of *Soviet Marxism* (first published in 1958) and culminates in the now notorious *One-dimensional Man. The Ideology of Industrial Society* (1968)—the basic theme of this book is repeated in essays published in two symposiums, *Socialist Humanism* and the *Dialectics of Liberation*.

II

MARCUSE is absolutely outstandingly illuminating and perceptive in his study of Hegel. Indeed, it can be said that there is hardly another book on this great philosopher which catches so consummately the daring of his method as well as the tragedy of his system. There is scarcely another work on Hegel which brings out so clearly the revolutionary implications of the dialectic and which proves so conclu-

sively how near Hegel was to Marx and how the latter carried him forward to the new level of actual revolutionising social practice.

Marcuse correctly places the contribution of Hegelian idealism against the historical background of the degeneration of empiricism into positivism. Empiricism had begun as a revolt against the metaphysical dogmatism of mediaeval scholasticism. It correctly stated that one had to begin from reality outside of thought, the image of which had to be received through sensation. But this reality itself was conceived in an absolute and mechanistic manner and soon became a mere worship of the fact as such, soon became an idealisation of appearance. It was against this that Hegel protested, carrying forward the work of Kant. Hegel emphasised that what appears as real is not always so and that the essence of reality being movement, the essence of reality is negation, self-engendered negation. He pointed out that there was no immediate identity between essence and existence and that between the knowing subject and the object there is both opposition as well as unity, the mediation being reason or self-consciousness. Hegel, therefore, stresses that proper abstraction, superficially furthest removed from reality, gives us greater truth about reality than mere sensation, connected as the latter is with appearance alone. But one cannot arrive at the truth of abstraction unless one has a consciousness that is permeated with negativity.

"The dialectic is the true method of philosophy. It shows that the object with which it deals exists in a state of 'negativity', which the object through the pressures of its own existence, throws off in the process of regaining its truth" (*Reason and Revolution*, p. 101). "Dialectic in its entirety is linked to the conception that all forms of being are permeated by an essential negativity, and that this negativity determines their content and movement. The dialectic represents the counterthrust to any form of positivism Everything that is given has to be justified before reason, which is but the totality of nature's and man's capacities" (*Ibid*, p. 27). "Being (for Hegel) must be conceived as becoming.....paradox is the receptacle of the hidden truth.....absurdity" (*Ibid*, pp. 130 and 131). "Reflection is not primarily the process of thinking but the process of being itself. Correspondingly, the transition from being to essence is not primarily a procedure of philosophical cognition, but a process in reality" (*Ibid*, p. 143). "Necessity is the process in which contingent reality attains its adequate form. Hegel calls this process the process of actuality.....Hegel did not declare that reality is rational (or reasonable), but reserved this attribute for a definite form of reality, namely, actuality..... Actuality thus is the title for the final unity of being that is no longer subject to change, because it exercises autonomous power over all change—not simple identity but 'self-identity'. Such self-identity can be obtained only through the medium of self-consciousness and cognition.....True reality presupposes freedom, and freedom presupposes knowledge of the truth. The true reality, therefore, must be understood as the realisation of a knowing subject" (*Ibid*, p. 153-4). "Self-conscious practice becomes part of the

very content of the laws (of development of reality —M.S.), so that the latter operate as laws only in so far as they are taken into the subject's will and influence his acts. The universal law of history is, in Hegel's formulation, not simply progress to freedom, but progress in the self-consciousness of freedom" (*Ibid*, p. 231).

Stretching Hegelianism to the point where Marx starts, Marcuse is well aware of the limitations of the former as well as of the true leap in philosophy made by the latter. He states that "Hegel's system is the last great expression of this cultural idealism, the last great attempt to render thought a refuge for reason and liberty" (*Ibid*, p. 15). "Hegel tends to dissolve the element of historical practice and replace it with the independent reality of thought" (*Ibid*, p. 161). For Marx "the existence of the proletariat contradicts the alleged reality of reasons, for it sets before us an entire class that gives proof of the very negation of reason The existence of the proletariat thus gives living witness to the fact that the truth has not been realised. History and social reality themselves thus 'negate' philosophy. The critique of society cannot be carried through by philosophical doctrine but becomes the task of socio-historical practice" (*Ibid*, p. 261). He criticises Feuerbach because "by omitting the labour process from his philosophy of freedom... ..Feuerbach omitted the decisive factor through which nature might become the medium for freedom" (*Ibid*, p. 272). "Marx's dialectical conception was originally motivated by the same datum as Hegel's, namely, by the negative character of reality" but there is a "decisive difference" between the two. "For Hegel, the totality was the totality of reason, a closed ontological system, finally identical with the rational system of history... Marx, on the other hand, detached dialectics from this ontological base. In his work, the negativity of reality becomes a *historical* condition which cannot be hypostatized as a metaphysical state of affairs.....The dialectical method has thus of its very nature become a historical method" (*Ibid*, pp. 312-14).

It is interesting to note that in the concluding sections of this illuminating study, Marcuse hits out at Bernstein and the revisionists for throwing overboard the dialectical concept of contradiction. He singles out Plekhanov and Lenin for praise as having grasped the central significance of this concept for truly revolutionising practice.. It is gratifying to note that as far as Lenin is concerned, Marcuse makes explicit mention of the former's magnificent elucidation of dialectics in the course of his polemics against Trotsky and Bukharin on the question of trade unions and their role under socialism.

Marcuse not only was able to understand materialist dialectics but apply it as well. In the essay "Concept of Essence" published in *Negations* he says "as long as philosophy does not adopt the idea of a real transformation, the critique of reason stops at the *status quo* and becomes a critique of pure thought" (p. 50). "In the epoch of monopoly capitalism, reason is replaced by the acquiescent acknowledgement of 'essential' givens, in whose verification reason only plays a derivative role, and subsequently

none at all" (*Ibid*, p. 64). "Materialist theory thus transcends the given state of fact and moves towards a different potentiality, proceeding from immediate appearance to the essence that appears in it. But here appearance and essence become members of a real antithesis arising from the particular historical structure of the social process of life.....When orientation toward historical practice replaces orientation toward the absolute certainty and universal validity of knowledge that prevailed in the traditional doctrine of essence, then the concept of essence ceases to be one of pure theory.....The materialist concept of essence is a historical concept. Essence is conceivable only as the essence of a particular 'appearance,' whose factual form is viewed with regard to what it is in itself and what it could be (but is not in fact)" (*Ibid*, p. 74).

In another essay 'Philosophy and Critical Theory' (1937) he states: "There are two basic elements linking materialism to correct social theory: concern with human happiness, and the conviction that it can be attained only through a transformation of the material conditions of existence. The actual course of the transformation and the fundamental measures to be taken in order to arrive at a rational organisation of society are prescribed by analysis of economic and political conditions in the given historical situation.....The materialist protest and materialist critique originated in the struggle of oppressed groups for better living conditions and remain permanently associated with the actual process of this struggle..... If reason means shaping life according to men's free decision on the basis of their knowledge, then the demand for reason henceforth means the creation of a social organisation in which individuals can collectively regulate their lives in accordance with their needs.....the philosophical construction of reason is replaced by the creation of a rational society" (*Ibid*, p. 135 and pp. 141-2).

In *On Hedonism* (1938), Marcuse writes: "the wants of liberated men and the enjoyment of their satisfaction will have a different form from wants and satisfaction in a state of unfreedom, even if they are physiologically the same...The development of the productive forces, the growing domination of nature, the extension and refinement of the production of commodities, money, and universal reification have created, along with new needs, new possibilities of enjoyment. But these given possibilities for enjoyment confront men who objectively due to their economic status, as well as subjectively, due to their education and disciplining are largely incapable of enjoyment.....even enjoyment has a class character" (*Ibid*, pp. 182-3). "In so far as unfreedom is already present in wants and not just in their gratification, they must be the first to be liberated—not through an act of education or of the moral renewal of man but through an economic and political process encompassing the disposal over the means of production by the community, the shortening of the working day, and the active participation of individuals in the administration of the whole" (*Ibid*, p. 193).

In yet another essay "Industrialisation and Capitalism in the Work of Max Weber" (1964-65), Marcuse declares: "In the unfolding of capitalist

rationality, *irrationality* becomes *reason*: reason as frantic development of productivity, conquest of nature, enlargement of the mass of goods and their accessibility for the broad strata of the population; irrational because higher productivity, domination of nature, and social wealth become destructive forces" (*Ibid*, p. 207). "Industrialisation is a phase in the development of man's capacities and needs, a phase in their struggle with nature and themselves. This development can proceed in very different forms and with very different aims; not only the forms of control but also those of technology and hence of needs and their satisfactions are in no way 'fatal', but rather *become* such only when they are socially sanctioned, that is, as the result of material, economic and psychological coercion" (*Ibid*, p. 214). "Technology is always a historical-social *project*: in it is projected what a society and its ruling interests intend to do with men and things...as 'congealed spirit', the machine is *not neutral*; technical reason is the social reason ruling a given society and can be changed in its very structure. As technical reason it can become the technique of liberation" (*Ibid*, p. 225).

Anybody reasonably acquainted with the work of Marx and his followers will find himself in sympathy with these views of Marcuse. Indeed, the only complaint would be their lack of originality and the only query would be: why, then, all this fuss about this man and his ideas? But the whole point is that these are not the views about which all the fuss nor are these the views which Marcuse himself now cares to spread. But in any critical analysis these views should be kept in mind and the question should be raised—which Marcuse?

III

THE "populart" Marcusean system is assembled together in *One Dimensional Man. The Ideology of Industrial Society*. A few minor additions are made to the wearisomely repeated central theme in two essays mentioned at the outset. The reader must be indulgent as quite a few more quotations are in the offing. This procedure seems to be necessary since one cannot always assume actual knowledge of systems which the ruling interests decree should be currently fashionable.

"Our society distinguishes itself by conquering the centrifugal social forces with Technology rather than Terror, on the dual basis of an overwhelming efficiency and an increasing standard of living." (p. 9). "*One Dimensional Man* will vacillate throughout between two contradictory hypotheses: (1) that the advanced industrial society is capable of containing qualitative change for the foreseeable future; that forces and tendencies exist which may break this containment and explode the society. I do not think that a clear answer can be given. Both tendencies are there, side by side—and even one in the other. The first tendency is dominant, and whatever preconditions for a reversal may exist are being used to prevent it. Perhaps an accident may alter the situation, but unless the recognition of what is being done

and what is being prevented subverts the consciousness and behaviour of man, not even a catastrophe will bring about the change" (*Ibid*, p. 13).

"Independence of thought, autonomy and the right to political opposition are being deprived of their critical function in a society which seems increasingly capable of satisfying the needs of individuals through the way in which it is organised, ... Free choice among a wide variety of goods and services does not signify freedom if these goods and services sustain social controls over a life of toil and fear—that is if they sustain alienation...the inner dimension of the mind in which opposition to the status quo can take root is whittled down. The loss of this dimension, in which the power of negative thinking—the critical power of Reason—is at home, is the ideological counterpart to the very material process in which advanced industrial society silences and reconciles the opposition...Thus emerges a pattern of *one dimensional thought and behaviour* in which ideas, aspirations and objectives that, by their content, transcend the established universe of discourse and action are either repelled or reduced to terms of this universe. They are redefined by the rationality of the given system and its quantitative extension" (*Ibid*, pp. 19, 23, 26, 27).

There takes place in such a one-dimensional society the "decisive transformation of the labouring classes", especially since Marcuse holds that "to Marx, the proletariat is primarily the manual labour" (*Ibid*, p. 35). Intolerable impoverishment of the working class is ended, technological change seems to cancel the notion of the organic composition of capital and with it the theory of the creation of surplus value (*Ibid*, p. 38). There is a change in the consciousness of the working class which is now eager to take part in the solution of production problems. On the one side the working class "no longer appears to be the living contradiction to the established society" and on the other side for the capitalists "domination is transfigured into administration". "The slaves of developed industrial civilisation are sublimated slaves" (*Ibid*, p. 41). "The declining proportion of human labour power in the productive process means a decline in political power of the opposition. In view of the increasing weight of the white collar element in this process, political radicalisation would have to be accompanied by the emergence of an independent political consciousness and action among the white-collar group—a rather unlikely development in advanced industrial society" (*Ibid*, p. 48). "Communist Parties are either powerless or where they are powerful they have become variants of social-democracy", condemned to be non-radical (*Ibid*, p. 33). Nor is this of much importance since the transition from capitalism to socialism is a mere quantitative change (*Ibid*, p. 48).

This whole sorry state of affairs where the *status quo* can perpetuate itself, where its negation is by definition excluded, is due to the basic fact that "the liberating force of technology—the instrumentalisation of things—turns into a fetter of liberation, the instrumentalisation of man" (*Ibid*, p. 131). It is the scientific-technical revolution itself that has halted

the social emancipation of man to the exact degree that it has advanced the conquest and control of the forces of nature. It has given to the Establishment—Marcuse makes no distinction between the USA and the USSR—the powers of manipulation, of satisfying the needs of society, of creating needs which it satisfies and into which it diverts attention which might otherwise have turned to thoughts of total change. Even solitude and privacy are finished. Modes of thought flourish which are precise to the point where they extinguish clarity. The conclusion is that "the rational society subverts the idea of Reason" (*Ibid*, p. 136). Marx is out of date since the continuous tempestuous growth of the productive forces no longer conflicts with the established, capitalist relations of production or patterns of ownership. Even materialism is finished since the totality of experience is controlled, explicated and transformed into some sort of sedative. The "real empirical world, today is still that of the gas chambers and concentration camps, of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, of American Cadillacs and German Mercedes, of the Pentagon and the Kremlin, of the nuclear cities and the Chinese communes, of Cuba, of brainwashing and massacres. But the real empirical world is also that in which all these things are taken for granted or forgotten or repressed or unknown, in which people are free. It is a world in which the boom in the corner or the taste of something like pineapple are quite important, in which the daily toil and the daily comforts are perhaps the only items that make up all experience. And this second, restricted empirical universe is part of the first; the powers that rule the first also shape the restricted experience." (*Ibid*, p. 146).

Marcuse comes to the melancholy conclusion that "dialectical theory is not refuted, but it cannot offer the remedy. It cannot be positive.....(it defines the historical possibilities, even necessities; but their realisation can only be in the practice which responds to the theory, and at present, the practice gives no such response". (p. 198). He feels that the impotent but only revolutionary attitude is one of absolute refusal, of absolute cutting off of all contact with the advanced industrial society. The only hope is to raise as utopian demands as possible, to put forward here and now the total vision of a complete communist society as the only programme for immediate action.

But to whom is the appeal to be made since the working class has already become "integrated" with advanced industrial society and lost its revolutionary potential? Marcuse places his hopes on those whom he calls the New Barbarians referring to the Barbarian invasions which broke up the Roman Empire. These New Barbarians are the non-integrated ones: "the substratum of outcasts and outsiders, the exploited and persecuted of other races and other colours, the unemployed and the unemployable their opposition is revolutionary even if their consciousness is not..... the chance is that, in this period, the historical extremes may meet again: the most advanced consciousness of humanity, and its most exploited force. It is nothing but a chance. The critical theory of society possesses no concept

which could bridge the gap between the present, and its future; holding no promise and showing no success, it remains negative. Thus it wants to remain loyal to those who, without hope, have given and give their life to the Great Refusal" (*Ibid*, p. 200-1).

In his essay "Socialist Humanism?" in the symposium *Socialist Humanism*, edited by Eric Fromm, he is even more explicit: "the developed Marxian theory retains an idea of man which now appears as too optimistic and idealistic. Marx underrated the extent of the conquest of nature and of man, of the technological management of freedom and self-realisation. He did not foresee the great achievement of technological society: the assimilation of freedom and necessity, of satisfaction and repression, of the aspirations of politics, business, and the individual" (p. 112). "Socialism appears again as an abstract idea; loyalty to this idea excludes the fostering of illusions. Its new abstractness does not signify falsification. The proletariat which was to validate the equation of socialism and humanism pertained to a past stage in the development of industrial society. Socialist theory, no matter how true, can neither prescribe nor predict the future agents of a historical transformation which is more than ever before the spectre that haunts the established societies. But socialist theory can show that this spectre is the image of a vital need." (*Ibid*, p. 117)

In yet another essay "Liberation from the Affluent Society" published in the symposium *Dialectics of Liberation*, Marcuse adds a new factor to his scheme. He is now of the view that hope must be placed on the intelligentsia. He writes: "We are facing liberation from a society where liberation is apparently without a mass basis... The fact that today we cannot identify any specific class or any specific group as a revolutionary force, this fact is no excuse for not using any and every possibility and method to arrest the engines of repression in the individual. The diffusion of potential opposition among the entire underlying population corresponds precisely to the total character of our advanced capitalist society.... The sensitivity and awareness of the new transcending, antagonistic values—they are there. And they are there, and they are here, precisely among the still non-integrated social groups and among those who, by virtue of their privileged position, can pierce the ideological and material veil of mass communication and indoctrination—namely, the intelligentsia" (pp. 176 and 187). He agrees that the intelligentsia is not a revolutionary class nor is he willing to call it the new working class but he holds that it has "a decisive, preparatory function" (*Ibid*, p. 188).

These are the notorious Marcusean views. The development of the productive forces has produced a new totalitarian society of abundance and manipulation. All are partners in this society, especially the working class has become totally integrated and incapable of revolutionary action. This new society is the reality both in the USA and USSR. There is no real hope now of social transformation in any fundamental sense. But chance and catastrophe may somehow do the trick, aided

by all the lumpen elements in society, enlightened by the intelligentsia. What is revolutionary in all this is hard to discover. One is driven to the conclusion that Marcuse lives on reputation. He will not survive reading. This is also, perhaps, the secret of the unnecessarily involved and recondite style which he maintains.

IV

WHAT are the flaws in the Marcusean scheme? The first and fatal flaw is the postulation of a phenomenon, that is, in this case, the so-called industrial society without internal contradictions. Marcuse is quite as bad here as the final, perfect Hegelian system which was so totally opposed to the dialectical method which also Hegel had formulated in rough outline. According to Hegel the dialectical working of the Absolute Idea had reached finality in the Prussian Junker State. According to Marcuse the dialectical working of the productive forces has reached finality in the establishment of State-monopoly capitalism. Marcuse tries to cover up. He tries to make himself out to be the most radical and revolutionary critic of modern capitalism, more "revolutionary" by far than the Communists who stick to their Marx. But for liberation from his "one-dimensional society" he places reliance on chance, catastrophe and the denizens of the dunghills of that society. For him this society has reconciled and contained all its opposites, it has achieved the feat of transcending its own negation. It has made permanent its own unity of opposites and rendered obsolete the struggle of opposites. Marcuse, the so-called supreme "revolutionary", has made the "revolutionary" discovery of a phenomenon which grows for ever without change, transformation and sublation. Not to speak of Marx, he has betrayed his own study of Hegel. He has joined the company of the revisionists, of that very Bernstein whom he criticised in 1941 for giving up the Hegelian concept of contradiction. This is a real case of a transformation of opposites, of meeting of extremes! The revisionists and reformists are overawed by the "splendour" of state monopoly capitalism and believe and preach that it has solved all the contradictions of capitalism analysed by Marx and, therefore, hold that revolution is not necessary, a little reform would suffice. The Marcusean ultra-"revolutionary" effects to be horrified by the same phenomenon but is equally awed by what he considers is its omnipotence, its capacity to absorb all attempts at change and gives up the prospect of revolution as a futile, lost cause. The revisionists pin their hopes on reforms, the Marcuseans on catastrophe. Both, wittingly or unwittingly, sap the revolutionary urges and will of the new, inexperienced generation.

This fatal flaw of Marcuse is due to his abandonment of the dialectical-materialist method of analysis and to his taking up of the positivist position of mistaking appearance for essence, of making a fetish and a deity of appearance, of so-called unadorned, brute, empirical fact. Here, again,

we find a betrayal. Marcuse had in his earlier writings (noted previously) rightly shown the degeneration of early empiricism into apologetic positivism. The so-called fact was taken at its own face value. Its genesis, its connections and its inherent negation were not looked for and, therefore, not discovered. When capitalism was in its heyday many laughed at Marx who already saw the skull beneath all glossy skin. When imperialism was carrying all before it, many smirked when Lenin termed it as moribund capitalism and the eve of social revolution. Those who laughed and those who smirked pointed to the facts, to the unprecedented progress being achieved and the unimaginable prosperity being realised. The "facts" seemed to be all on their side. But there was the fact behind the facts, the negation within the undoubted progress, the death behind the frenzied movement. It needed the cold eye of a Marx and a Lenin to see the truth behind and within the facts. Within fifty years of the publication of *Das Kapital* and barely a year after the publication of *Imperialism* the knell of capitalist private property was sounded and the expropriators were expropriated over one-sixth of the earth's surface. Positivism was routed by the vindication of dialectical materialism. So will it be again.

It is true that state-monopoly capitalism, relying on the escalating scientific-technical revolution, has no contradictions or that it has somehow acquired the capacity of absorbing and containing its inherent contradictions? What was the basic contradiction of capitalism discovered by Marx? The basic contradiction, it will be recalled, was between the centralisation and socialisation of production and the private appropriation of the result of production. Has this basic contradiction disappeared? Enormous quantities of evidence exist pointing to its existence and accentuation. One has only to bear in mind the sweeping merger movement throughout the capitalist world where now giant corporations merge with other giant corporations giving rise to the new phenomenon of conglomerate mammoths. To cite only one recent despatch appearing in the *Indian Express* (March 18) from its Washington correspondent. Deploring recent trends which have blown up the myth of "people's capitalism", the correspondent cites recent official US findings which disclose that 58.7 per cent of all manufacturing assets in that country are controlled by only 200 multi-billion dollar corporations. The comparative figure in 1955 was 48.6 per cent and in the seventies this figure is expected to rise to 70 per cent. The findings quoted also point out that even now actual control by these corporations is far greater since many so-called independent proprietors, particularly in the retail sale sphere, are completely dependent on them. The ever-closer merger of these enormous combines with the state (giving rise to state-monopoly capitalism) has given rise to the "industrial-military complex" of which even Eisenhower spoke a decade ago.

Is the "advanced industrial society" able to contain this basic contradiction, which Marcuse fails to mention? There are no signs of it having acquired such capacity. The cyclical pattern of capitalist

development has altered its form and tempo but not its content. The 1957-58 downturn and the general recession in 1967-68 are pointers to this fact. So also is the fact noted by Sweezy and Baran with regard to the built-in underutilisation of capacity, the capacity for surplus accumulation to continuously outstrip investment outlets, despite the staggering amount of conscious and systematic waste, for instance, advertisement. Uneven development leading to convulsive competition alongside mergers and alliances continues full blast. Financial crises are the order of the day. Inflation saps the very foundations of what seemed to be thoroughly stable economies. Unemployment of the labour force fluctuates between five to seven per cent and automated unemployment is already discernible on the horizon. The absence of a revolutionary situation at any particular moment does not necessarily denote the absence of objective conditions and contradictions of an antagonistic and basic nature. Indeed, if Marx is wrong now because there is no sign of revolutionary action in the US and the UK, then he must have been all the more wrong in 1867 since for decades since that date there has been no revolutionary action in these two countries. Marcuse cannot have it both ways. He cannot say that there is no evidence to prove Marx right in 1968 and claim that Marx was right in 1867 since similar lack of "evidence" can be charged (with hindsight as well) against him then—and was so charged.

Is it true that the scientific technical revolution has given such powers to the Establishment that it can now do what it likes and eternally perpetuate itself? Quite on the contrary. As with all phenomena the scientific-technical revolution has its connections and inherent contradictions. The scientific-technical revolution did give increased power to the capitalist system to start with. Renewal of fixed capital, a whole new range of durable consumer goods, synthetics, cheapening of the elements of constant capital, enormously extended possibilities of information and control, new mass-media with great power—all this and more became available. But so did this revolution enormously accentuate all the contradictions of capitalism. It led to further concentration and centralisation of capital. It pushed forward inter-monopolistic and inter-state-monopoly competition, giving impetus to the law of uneven development. It further tore apart production-capacity and market-absorption or widened the gap between production potential and effective demand. It increased unemployment and heightened alienation. It made the so-called affluent society into a totally sick society, an insane society. What is more, this revolution was connected with the social revolution—the further strengthening of the socialist states (despite all the rifts), the collapse of colonialism and the retreat of imperialism on a global scale. The days of the scientific-technical revolution are also the days of Viet Nam. When has imperialism ever suffered such defeat and humiliation? And when has such sweeping protest been witnessed in the USA giving rise to the start of a crisis of policy? Johnson slinks into oblivion while Ho Chi-minh continues in resplendent glory. This also is due to the scientific-

technical revolution, its contradiction and connections.

What Marcuse completely overlooks is that the scientific-technical revolution transforms man. In what way? In a capitalist society in a contradictory way. It gives him new dimensions of power, or being itself riddled with unprecedented wants and capacities. It also cripples him and threatens him with annihilation. It heightens the sense of outrage, the gulf between fact and potential, between existence and essence. And all this against the background of the continuing momentum of the social revolution. It is this that gives rise to the veritable earthquake in the sensibilities and aspirations of the younger generation, the "revolt of the youth" as it is called. Alienation also produces revolution against alienation. Alienation carried to the extreme explodes into revolutionary consciousness and action.

In such a situation it is not necessary for those who want revolutionary transformation to devise meaningless utopias. Life itself provides a programme of action which is born out and further develops revolutionary upheavals. Indeed, at such a time prophets of despair and counsellors of absurd gestures can only help the Establishment which is more than willing to give them all the publicity they want, which utilises them also as part of the gigantic effort at manipulation and diversion.

Even if one grants the objective possibility of revolutionary transformation, what about the subjective factor, the agent and leader of the revolutionary process? What, in the final analysis has happened to the working class?

Marcuse does not put forward the postulate that the working class is diminishing in numbers, as some other sorry sociologists do. He claims that the revolutionary possibilities of the working class have not only diminished but been extinguished. He bases his thesis on the further thesis that the working class is now "integrated" with the system. On what is the second thesis based? On the fact that the real wages and living standards of employed workers has risen in the metropolitan capitalist countries during the past two decades. Here, again, we have economism in reverse. If those who uphold economist positions emphasise that economic struggles are the be-all and end-all of everything, the Marcusians and others feel that economic gains destroy the revolutionary potential of the working class.

On what factors did Marx base his thesis that in the next historical step forward, that is, in the socialist revolution, it would be the working class that would be the leading and most consistently revolutionary class? It was certainly not on the basis that the working class was the poorest class or that it was the class which would go on getting poorer with each passing day. One has only to remember Marx's polemic against West on who advocated the iron law of wages and the futility of trade-union action. One has only to recall that Marx formulated his law of absolute impoverishment with specific mention of countervailing forces and that he categorically stated that in the calculation of the value of labour-power, that is, wages certain social and moral factors have their part to play.

Marx based his thesis about the specially revolutionary role of the working class on the fact that it was the inevitable product of capitalism, that its position was bound up with the most developed forms of production, that it was organised by its very productive function, that it owned no means of production and exploited nobody. The working class in its everyday struggle came face-to-face with the capitalists and its emancipation could only be accomplished by the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production. The working class was, according to Marx, to be the gravediggers of capitalism as a result of the combination of all these factors. And, a point fully developed by Lenin, it would be headed in its struggle by its most clear-sighted and internationalist vanguard, the Communist Parties.

Now, if we examine the working class in the developed capitalist countries (leaving aside for the moment the poverty-stricken workers of the Third World) we find that while it may be materially better off than some twenty years ago, it has lost none of the characteristics which Marx felt gave it a specially revolutionary character. And again if the working class of the USA or UK is not yet conscious of its revolutionary calling, it was also not conscious before either, that is, in the days prior to Marcuse's so-called one-dimensional society. Evidently, historical peculiarities play an important role here. How else is one to explain the great difference in consciousness, say, of the French and Italian working class and that of West Germany, let alone the USA, and UK? To attempt to denigrate the working class, to play upon the prejudices and vanity of the intelligentsia and build a wall between the two is precisely to play the game of the monopolists at a time when objective conditions for their unity are brighter than ever. It is also to fall a prey to pessimism since nobody will take seriously the possibility of a revolution led by the "non-integrated", that is, the lumpen elements and some frenzied students.

The developments in the recent decade certainly necessitate the most rapid creative development and application of Marxism. Simply repeating old formulas and stereotyped solutions will only damage the cause of revolution and has damaged it. The revolutionary appeal of Marxism has always to be made contemporary and there have been serious lags in this sphere. New social strata are being drawn into the ranks of revolution and each generation of workers has its own specific characteristics. This means very strenuous intellectual work has to be undertaken by the Marxists and very skilful working out of the strategy and tactics of revolution has to be constantly done afresh.

But for this work Marcuse of the present day, Marcuse of the days of fame and publicity, not only offers no help but proves a positive hindrance. Those who have been fascinated by him will either soon lose this fascination or lose themselves. The power of negative thinking either leads on to revolutionising practice or ends up as sterile intellectual playing with revolutionary phrases. One must choose and acquire the stamina to fulfil one's choice.

Lenin's Struggle Against Anarcho-Syndicalism

S. TITARENKO

I

THE experience of history testifies that the formation of the socialist social system is an immensely complicated task. Unlike the capitalist society, whose main organising force, according to V.I. Lenin's description, was the market spontaneously developing far and wide, socialism appears as a result of organised and purposeful labour of millions of people.

In order to transform society's entire life on socialist principles it is necessary to have the historical creative endeavour of the working people guided and directed by the Communist Party—the Marxist-Leninist vanguard. It is only the Communist Party, Lenin emphasised that is capable of uniting, educating and organising such a vanguard of the proletariat and of all the working masses which is capable of opposing the inevitable petty bourgeois waverings, traditions and relapses, professionalist narrowness and professionalist prejudices among the working people, and of guiding the entire joint activities of the masses.

The very rich experience of the Soviet people, which has built socialism and is now constructing Communism, confirms the truth of this Leninist premise. Our people had to blaze a trail to a new socialist formation. The presence of a hostile capitalist environment, the country's techno-economic and cultural backwardness inherited from the old system, and the primarily petty bourgeois composition of the population—all these created unprecedented difficulties. And in spite of this the working people of the USSR managed to score successes of intrinsic, world-historic importance, and this primarily thanks to the fact that Lenin's Communist Party, steered and welded in struggle and clearly seeing the final goal, came to stand at the head of the cause of socialist construction.

Armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory, the Party found the answers to the questions posed by

life itself, it evolved a scientifically grounded policy, and boldly blazed the trail into the future. In the implementation of its main course it overcame, with the support of the working masses, the desperate resistance of the class enemy, it exposed the "Leftist" and "Rightist" opportunists, panic-mongers and "revolutionaries" of the phrase incapable of a serious struggle against the forces and traditions of the old society.

The great battles for socialism showed very vividly the complete fruitlessness and illusory nature of petty bourgeois pseudo-revolutionary activities, the uselessness of the demagogic overtures to the masses, and the danger of petty bourgeois dissipation for the masses.

Very instructive in this respect is the struggle waged by V.I. Lenin and the Communist Party against the anarcho-syndicalist deviation which took place during 1920 and 1921, when the Soviet country was changing over to peaceful economic construction.

The tasks confronting the Party after the end of the Civil War were to restore and then advance economy, establish correct relations between industry and agriculture, consolidate on a new, economic basis the alliance of the working class and peasantry strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the main task for building socialist society. The solution of these problems called for very fine organisation and cohesion of the proletarian vanguard, of the entire working class, for the establishment of labour discipline, introduction of firm order at factories and plants, in all the links of the Soviet economic and state organism. It was very important in this connection to have a sound organisation of management of industry, and economy in general.

Already in his famous work *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* (1918) VI Lenin pointed out that "the whole difficulty lies in understanding the specific features of the transition from the principal task of convincing the people and of suppressing the exploiters by armed force to the principal task

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of administration." (*Collected Works*, V. 36, pp. 172-173, Russian Edition.)

In order to have successful management, Vladimir Ilyich pointed out, it is necessary to have besides the skill to win and persuade in the civil war, also an ability to practically organise in a new way the most profound economic foundations of the lives of dozens upon dozens of millions of people.

Such an organisation is unthinkable without the enlistment of specialists of diverse branches of economy and without ensuring the strictest possible unity of will guiding the joint work of very many people. Already in those days Lenin provided a profound grounding for the question of the need of centralism in the guidance of production as an indispensable condition for systematic and organised work. He mercilessly exposed the supporters of petty bourgeois dissipation, who came out against good organisation and discipline under the guise of defending

the collegial and democratic principles of the Soviet power.

Subsequently, at the Ninth Party Congress (1920), Lenin gave a rebuff to the anti-party group of the so-called democratic centralists (Sapronov, Osinsky, V. Smirnov and others), who came out against centralised state control, against the one-man management principle and against the enlistment of old specialists for participation in production.

V.I. Lenin severely criticised the arguments of the democratic centralists in support of what they described as incompatibility of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the one-man management principle in production. Lenin explained that the dictatorship of the proletariat and its domination over the bourgeoisie was manifest not in the forms of management used in the national economy, but in the elimination of private, capitalist property, and in creating the conditions leading to the abolition of the classes.

II

THE Democratic Centralists' activity boiled down, in fact, to a rejection of firm Party and state discipline and the leading role of the Party in the Soviets and trade unions. It was not accidental that Lenin said that the Democratic Centralists' arguments were associated with the Makhnovites' views.

The Democratic Centralists' position was close to the position of another anti-Party group, "The Workers' Opposition" (Shlyapnikov, Kollontai, Medvedev, Lutovinov and others), which shaped out fully in the course of the 1920-1921 trade-union discussion. In its most complete form the anarcho-sindicalist platform was expounded in A. Kollontai's booklet, *The Workers' Opposition*, issued before the Tenth Party Congress. The essence of the problem came down to contraposing the trade unions to the Communist Party and the Soviet state, to a rejection of the leading role of the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the basic instrument of socialist construction. "The Workers' Opposition" regarded trade unions as the highest form of the organization of the working class. This is why it proposed that the management of all national economy be transferred to the so-called "All-Russia Congress of Producers," united into trade unions. These unions, the opposition held, should elect the central organ to govern the entire national economy of the Republic. The opposition demanded that all leading bodies of economic management be elected only by trade unions concerned, and that Party or state bodies should not be in a position to reject the trade-union nominees.

That was a complete renunciation of the principles of Communism in favour of anarcho-sindicalism. In his report and the final speech on the political activity of the Central Committee delivered at the Tenth Party Congress, and then in the special *Report on Party Unity and the Anarcho-Sindicalist Deviation* Lenin proved convincingly that the views of the "Workers' Opposition" were a reflection of the petty-bourgeois anarchic element which more than

once showed itself to be the most dangerous enemy of the working people's power. Lenin insisted that there was a connection between the ideas and slogans of that petty-bourgeois, anarchic counter-revolution and those of the "Workers' Opposition."

With the inexorable power of logic Lenin disclosed the anti-Marxist nature of the "Workers' Opposition" platform, pointing out that its principles were diametrically opposed to the Marxist teaching on the leading role of the Communist Party in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the entire activity aimed at the construction of socialist society. Only the Party, Lenin emphasised, being the highest form of political organization, can lead the non-Party masses of the working people, can enlighten, educate and prepare them for an active participation in the management of the state, in the economic and cultural development, in the construction of a new society.

By demanding a transfer of the management of economy, divided into economic branches, to the "producers," united into trade unions, the "Workers' Opposition" rejected the necessity of Party leadership and its lengthy work on the education and organization of the masses, doomed national economy to anarchic disunity.

The concentration of the management of entire national economy in the producers' hands, Lenin pointed out, would be possible only in the Communist society when classes and the state would disappear. "And we know perfectly well from all the works of Marx and Engels that they drew a very clear distinction between the period in which classes still exist and that in which they no longer do. Marx and Engels used to ridicule the idea that classes could disappear before communism, and said that communism alone meant their abolition." (Lenin: *Collected Works*, Russian Edition, Vol. 32, p. 250.)

But so long as classes exist, it is necessary to give a precise definition of the relations among them, bearing in mind that there is no such thing as the

producers in general. As to these relations, they can be fully expressed only by the Communist Party and the socialist state. The transfer of enterprises into the ownership and complete management of productive groups would undermine democratic centralism in the activity of the socialist state. This transfer would actually liquidate the possibility of planned economic development, this main advantage of socialism over capitalism, stemming from the existence of the social ownership of means of production. This would mean a come back to anarchy in its development and to rivalry giving rise to disproportions, crises, unemployment, etc. The conversion of production trade collectives into the subject of ownership would result in undermining the basic economic foundation of socialism—the property of the whole people—in the regeneration of parochial attitude and a predominance of the interests of some regions over the interests of the whole state. All that would undermine the leading role of the Party and the socialist state and would tear away the working-people masses from their natural leader—the Communist Party.

A transfer of economic management to the so-called producers would actually signify a liquidation of the socialist state with all consequences arising therefrom.

Lenin pointed out that the democratism of socialist society lies not in a transfer of enterprises to direct producers but in the fact that the working people themselves, without the exploiters, set up their organs of power—Soviets (both local and central), which carry out, in practice, the will of the popular masses; in the fact that Soviets are united into a power of the entire state which operates on the principles of democratic centralism.

Roundly assailing the anarcho-syndicalists, Lenin wrote :

“Tantamount to complete negation of socialism is all and every, direct or indirect, legalization of ownership by the workers of one or another factory or trade to their particular production, or their right to detract from or hinder the rulings of national state authority” (*Ibid.*, Russian edition Vol. 36, p. 481).

Lenin disclosed the machinery of the operation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This dictatorship is effected via the guiding role of the Communist Party. Meanwhile the Party relies in its work on the Soviets, the trade unions and other organisations of the working people. This situation in no way belittles the role and importance of the trade unions, as the oppositionists claimed. The trade unions are a voluntary mass organisation that up-hold first the economic interests of the working class. However in a socialist state this organisation cannot be placed in opposition to the state organisations of the working people.

As the dominant class, the working class is vitally interested in having all forms of its organisation serve one common aim. The Ninth Party Congress pointed out in its resolution on the question of the trade unions : “As school of communism and link between the more backward masses of the proletariat, who have still not completely rid themselves of the old guild and trade parochialism, and the Communist Party, as vanguard of the proletariat, the trade unions must educate, organise in the cultural, political and administrative senses, and elevate these masses to the level of communism, girding them for the role of makers of the communist system which the Soviet state, as the historically established form of proletarian dictatorship, is creating.”

The trade unions represent the primary school of organisational training and political education for the broadest masses of the working people. For this reason the Tenth Party Congress indicated that the task was one of increasingly winning over to the side of the Soviet state these non-Party mass organisations which freely integrate workers of diverse political views and sentiments, Party and non-Party people, literate and illiterate people, religious and non-religious people, etc.

The trade unions are a school of cohesion and solidarity, a school in which the workers learn to defend their professional interests, a school for management and administration, a school of communism. Such is Lenin's classical definition. Precisely proceeding from the Leninist understanding of the role and essence of the trade unions, our Party has ever attached immense significance to their activity, flatly dismissing every attempt to place them in opposition to the Party and the socialist state.

The resolution *On the Syndicalist and Anarchist Deviation in Our Party*, which Lenin moved and which the Tenth Party Congress adopted, supplied an exhaustive characterization of both the very substance of anarcho-syndicalism and its cause. The causes of anarcho-syndicalist trends and sentiments stem from the impact on the proletariat of spontaneous petty-bourgeois factors which inevitably induce vacillation towards anarchism, especially in times of serious difficulty. Of exceptional importance is the following point that the Resolution makes :

“Misinterpretation of the Communist Party's role in its attitude to the non-Party working masses, on the one hand, and an identical misinterpretation of the working class's role in its attitude to the entire mass of the working people, on the other hand, represent a radical theoretical retreat from Communism and a deviation towards syndicalism and anarchism.” (*The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions*, Part I, p. 531.)

III

THE lessons of Lenin's and the Party's struggle against anarcho-syndicalism remain topical in our days too. The influence of petty bourgeois views,

traditions and prejudices on the working class is felt not only in capitalist states but also in countries which have stepped on to the socialist road.

often hear utterances and witness practical actions which do not essentially differ from syndicalism and anarchism. These utterances and actions are made under the influence of anti-communist propaganda disseminated from the imperialist camp or difficulties arising in the course of socialist construction, or under the pressure of anti-socialist, Right-wing forces. Right-wing opportunists have of late stepped up attempts to revise the Marxist-Leninist teaching of the leading role of the Communist Party and the decisive significance of its unity for successful building up of socialism. The line of abolishing the Communist Party as the genuine vanguard of the working class has been persistently pursued by the Mao group. The "Cultural Revolution" launched by this group revealed the pretty bourgeois, pseudo-revolutionary nature of the Peking adventurists who had betrayed Marxism-Leninism.

To undermine the influence of Communist Parties and remove them from the guidance of society—such is the aim of the enemies of socialism who understand that the socialist system would have inevitably collapsed without the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties. Hence the Communists must uphold and carry into life with greater energy the Marxist-Leninist principles of the working-class party's role in the struggle for socialism.

Today, in some countries there are also anarcho-syndicalist sentiments in relation to trade unions. Statements that trade unions must be made "independent" of the Party are nothing but a direct reproduction of views of the "workers' opposition." In exactly the same way the slogans of this opposition echo in the demands that trade unions should become the full and the only masters of mills and factories, that the state should not intervene in the economy and so on. The counterposing of trade unions to the Communist Party and the socialist state characterise anarcho-syndicalism as a system of petty bourgeois views and petty bourgeois policy.

The demand of transferring enterprises to the

complete ownership and control of the personnel is particularly dangerous. It runs counter to the objective tendencies of development of the present-day economy with its ever increasing socialisation. In conditions of the rapid scientific and technical revolution, realisation of this demand could only put a brake on technological progress and retard the rate of economic growth of socialist countries and weaken their positions in the economic competition with capitalist states. The turning of the market into the chief regulator of the economy—with the operation of private business insistently sought by some representatives of the Right-wing forces—would revive the element of spontaneity, competition, etc.

It should not be forgotten that even in capitalist countries the state increasingly tries to regulate and plan the growth of the economy. The transfer of enterprises to scattered groups of producers in socialist countries would be a step backward even in comparison with the economy of monopoly capital which has socialised production to a tremendous extent. This would naturally lead to the revival of private-ownership psychology and morale. Anarcho-syndicalism is a step towards corporatism and fragmentation, the revival of capitalist elements in the socialist economy.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of socialist countries, eliminating the unnecessary bureaucratic patronage over enterprises and encouraging local initiative in every way, simultaneously resist with vigour the anarcho-syndicalist tendencies in economic management. Only the undeviating fulfilment of Marxist-Leninist principles on the relationship, place and role of the Party, the working-class and the people in the socialist state, only the strict observation of democratic centralism in the guidance of the economy and all other spheres of human endeavour guarantee success in the building of socialism and communism. The Communist Party is consistently guided by these Leninist principles in directing the titanic constructive labour of the Soviet people in the construction of Communist society.

TRUDEAU'S PROBLEM *(Continued from page 14)*

make Canada into a unitary state. That Quebec is totally opposed to the growth of federal power is easily understood; it is not like any other province—the French Canadians constitute a separate nation within Canada. Quebec, therefore, claims a special position within the federation. It is not satisfied with bilingualism and binationalism; it wants to maintain its separate identity.

Trudeau's plans will only satisfy Quebec if he is prepared

to vastly increase the powers of the provinces and allow them to enter into agreements with foreign states on matters within their competence and limit the expenditure of the Federal Government only to the subjects which come under its competence. It is a fear shared by all the eastern provinces notably Ontario. The challenge that Trudeau faces is not French Canadian nationalism but the refusal of the provinces to envisage a Canada which will

slowly but steadily move towards a unitary form a government. The significance of Quebec is that because of French Canadian nationalism it provides the provincialists a bastion which no government in Ottawa can ignore. An independent and sovereign Quebec may be a dream of the ultras but the reality of French Canadian nationalism and its capacity to influence Canadian policies cannot be denied by anyone.

Extremism And Left Movement

C. SURENDRAN

MUCH has been said about the Naxalite raids on police stations in Kerala, most of it condemning the action by the hard core of Kerala extremists. While the Marxist Communists described it as premature, CPI leaders snubbed the raiders as misguided revolutionaries. Though many would recognise the heroic self-denial of the raiders, they disowned them primarily on the ground that revolution without mass support would inevitably prove to be a flop.

However, all these Leftist parties and groups have not answered the most crucial question: Why were these men and women, whose sincerity, devotion to the cause and revolutionary selflessness had not yet been questioned, forced to resort to such actions which outwardly look tragically futile as well as premature? Why, despite the existence of all these Communist and extremist factions did these men and women, fired with death-defying courage born out of idealism, prefer to fight a losing battle against the all-powerful Establishment? Why did the Left parties fail to accommodate them within their fold?

For all practical purposes, these questions remain to be answered. The Left movement in the country can keep silent to these vital queries only at its own peril.

But those among the Leftists who are not guided by blind likes and dislikes and who had always showed willingness for merciless self-examination have

come forward to hail the courage and devotion of the extremists and to pinpoint the shortcomings which had of late chronically affected our Left movement.

As *Mainstream* boldly put it once, it would be foolish to dismiss the ultras as of no value. In one of its polical commentaries the weekly rightly pointed out that the extremists, who are of the stuff of which genuine revolutionaries are made, resorted to violence only because they were impatient with the slow pace of change and they wanted to put an end to the ruthless that had been going on in the name of parliamentary democracy. It is an important point for the Left parties to ponder over that the extremist terrorist activities took place only in the two States where Communist-led Governments were in power—in Kerala and West Bengal. It is hoped that the Left parties in India—especially the two wings of the Communist movement—will give serious thought to this explosive aspect of the problem and subject themselves to rigorous self-examination in order to save for the revolutionary movement the militants who are getting impatient. The United Front victory in West Bengal should not lead them to rest on their oars. The two years' of the UF rule in Kerala, that has yet to solve people's burning problems due to a variety of reasons some of which might have been beyond its control, should be an eye-opener to all who wish to strengthen the progressive movement of the country by beating the reactionary forces back. It cannot be denied that the UF rule has left the rank and file of all Left parties in the ruling coalition in a state of subdued enthusiasm, while the only non-Left party in the amalgam—Muslim League—has relatively strengthened itself at the cost of others. The present system of parliamentary democracy has yet to prove its mettle in this respect. The old generation is slowly dying out along with its outmoded ideas; in its place there emerges the turbulent younger generation with all its complex problems. It has been

calculated that the vast majority of members of the two Communist Parties in India is composed of those who are past 45-50 age bracket. Is this the reason of their inability to stir the heart and soul of the younger generation?

It is but an open secret that large sections among the rank and file of the two Communist Parties in Kerala are silently in support of the extremist terrorist activities. In private talk they hail the terrorists, though they are not sure whether the time was ripe for such activities. Many are of the opinion that the Communist Parties should stand by the ultras, not necessarily ideologically. It was not without meaning that the two wings of the Communist movement in Kerala did not take an openly-hostile attitude towards the Naxalite raids, despite many reservations. Left-oriented students throughout the State are full of praise for the 'heroic young leaders' of the Naxalite attacks.

To those who are not blinded by dogma and political superstition, these are clear writings on the wall. They are pointers of things to come. It is foolish that since we are not able to bring the rebellious youth into our fold we despise and condemn them. Evidently, the fault is ours. What is needed is merciless self-analysis. If we are not prepared to correct ourselves the fault will be entirely ours.

At the same time, it has to be pointed out that this tumultuous era has not yet given its final expression, despite indications and incidents that bear the stamp of a distant awakening. The ultimate word is yet to be uttered. My only anxiety is that our Left movement should not hesitate and fight shy when revolutionary changes are taking place in the consciousness of our people. While analysing the developments that are taking place with breath-taking rapidity, the Left movement has to bear in mind that its own inadequacy in keeping pace with a changing situation may result in its own isolation.

Palestinian Resistance :

The Ideological Perspective

CLOVIS MAKSDUD

WHILE consultations between the four Big Powers are taking place to explore the possibilities of finding a formula to bring about a peaceful settlement in the Arab-Israeli conflict, a new revolutionary situation is developing in the Arab nation. The issue is whether this revolutionary situation will vitiate as some think, the prospects of a four Power agreement. The answer, in our view, is that the new dimensions of the Arab revolution will act, besides everything else, as a leverage for a basic settlement and will disallow a settlement that will have the characteristics of allowing the State of Israel to perpetuate its structure and to sustain its Zionist and its inevitably expansionist objectives.

What is the nature of this new Arab revolutionary situation? It is the consequence of the release of revolutionary forces detonated by the emergence of the Palestinian resistance movement. Palestinian resistance has achieved in the last year and a half since the six-day war in June, 1967 a coherence and clarity of purpose that has provided the overall Arab revolutionary situation a clearer sense of direction and a more authentic and potentially a more unified involvement on the part of the Arab progressive forces.

For a long time, the Arab revolution found itself groping for a direction and was caught in the whirlwind of the factional and sectarian organisations and parties that projected themselves as the vanguard of the Arab revolution. The Arab masses gravitated inevitably to those leaderships and parties that promised expeditious achievement of the national and social objectives, uppermost among them was the liberation of Palestine. However, promises outstripped performances and a crisis of confidence and a sense of disillusionment pervaded the Arab people after the military set-back in June, 1967. What was clearly revealed was that the progressive content of Arab nationalism was badly served by the institutions and machineries at its disposal. The overhaul of these institutions became an urgent problem. Because what made the dichotomy between promise and performance was the institutional lacuna in the Arab body politic. This had to be rectified but before the process of rectification could take place, it was necessary that the Arab States should be enabled to withstand

militarily and economically the threat that Israel posed and remove the consequences of aggression that it has achieved. In this respect the Soviet Union discerned the need for improving the Arab economy and helped to re-equip the defence forces in the Arab countries and particularly in the UAR. This aid provided instantly an opportunity for the Arabs to regain their confidence after the suffocating experience of the military set-back.

While the overhauling of the defence establishments and the economy was undertaken the Arab nation discovered the need to give concrete expression to its elemental solidarity in bringing about a further contribution to the Arab capacity to strengthen itself, *vis-a-vis* the Zionist imperialist threat. To this end, the oil producing Arab States with their substantial revenues in terms of foreign exchange undertook to compensate regularly the financial losses incurred in the wake of Israeli occupation of the eastern bank of the Suez, western bank of Jordan and the Golan Heights in Syria. This led to the alleviation of the economic pressures and made it possible for the Arab States to take a diplomatic posture more in tune with the people's urges and aspirations. During the Khartoum summit conference, the Arab States re-affirmed the national will that there would be no direct negotiations, or peace treaty or recognition of the Zionist enclave in Palestine.

Then the United Nations Security Council in November 22, 1967, adopted its famous resolution whereby it sought to restore the status quo as it existed before June 5, 1967. Although this resolution did not correspond to what the Arab people considered and deemed to be a sufficiently just formulation, yet the Arab States acquiesced to it on the assumption that this constituted a form of an international consensus. The delaying tactics that the Israeli diplomacy utilised, and the conditions that it kept putting forward to agree to this international consensus in addition to its blatant defiance to the United Nations resolution on Jerusalem and the savagely oppressive tactics which it applied against the Arab population and the occupied territories, all tended to corroborate the Arab's suspicion that Israel had no intention but to perpetuate its defiance of the international will and to achieve territorial expansion and consolidate its

grip as a prelude towards realising its objective of Eretz Israel. In this defiant position, Israel was aided and abetted by the United States Government, particularly under President Johnson's Administration. At no instance, did Israel show any proclivity to accommodate international consensus and to help implement the Security Council Resolution.

Although the Arab people were allowing the diplomatic manoeuvres that came in the wake of the Security Council resolution, Israel treated this accommodating attitude on as a disposition on the part of the Arab people to accept the grievances that Israel inflicted upon them. Like every colonising and racist state, Israel misread the Arab mind and continued its provocative policy and thus fortified the Arab will to disallow not only the Israeli occupation of Arab territories but also the original Zion conquest in Palestine. It is here that the Palestinian resistance movement entered the arena of the Arab situation not only as a natural legitimate reaction to occupation but as the key to reopen the Palestine question from the beginning, giving clear evidence that the evicted people of Palestine do not consider that the history of Palestine starts in 1967 or even 1947-48, but with the illegal agreement between the British mandatory authorities and the Zionist organisation.

So while Israel considered its military success in June, 1967 as an opportunity to close the subject of Palestine, as if Palestine had no past and therefore can have no future, the Arab Resistance movement was determined to reopen the issue of Palestine and to reverse the trend which the imperialist-Zionist axis has introduced into the area. Hence the options were clear that the alternative to Israel was no longer a 'modified' Israel or a 'restrained' Israel or a 'contented' Israel, but the alternative to Israel was a new Palestine.

This was necessary not only to restore the Arab rights in Palestine but also to salvage a system of values.

Therefore the alternative to theocratic Israel was a secular Palestine, to a closed Jewish State of Israel an open democratic pluralistic Arab Palestine. This revolutionary development has revolutionised the overall Arab position and clarified the perspectives before the Arabs; because if we conceded Zionist thesis on any level then we concede the validity and the plausibility of institutionalising of racism and political theocracies. Thus the Arab revolutionary alternative was a *re-structuring of Palestine* whereby a sense of belonging to Palestine was the criterion of nationality and not religious or racist affiliations. In this respect the Palestinian resistance and the Arab revolutionary potential cleared the way for the ultimate, rational and humanist settlement which would restore to the meaning of nationalism its liberationist functions and its progressive content and not what the Zionist and other racists have been seeking, namely the affirmation of nationalism as an egocentric exclusive means of self-expression through alienation. In other words, the anti-imperialist character of Arab nationalism as well as of African and Asian national-

isms was that it deemed its function to remove the imperial obstacles that prevented their authentic identification with mankind on an equal basis, while the Zionists conception of nationalism deemed its ideal the artificial introduction of a polarity between the Jew and man and hence the mystification of his alienation and its finality.

This is why the fundamental objective of the Palestinian resistance as well as that of the Arab people to Israel and to Zionism is that any territorial shrinking of Israel which validates the Zionist thesis does not constitute a 'settlement' to the problem but it is only the re-structuring of Palestine and the affirmation of its democratic character that will provide the elements of a permanent and justified settlement. This development is a crucial test of the basic Arab commitment to a peaceful settlement whereby the meaning of peacefulness implies an infra-structure of its permanency and not a peacefulness that is intermittent and interrupted by the recrudescence of irrationality that co-existence with irrationalism implies. It is in this context that peace with justice achieves its real meaning as there is no peace without justice. Herein lies a crucial and significant ideological dimension whereby the Palestine resistance affirming its commitment to struggle against Israel with all the intensity of a genuine revolution, it reaffirms with an equal intensity its eagerness for a dialogue with the world Jewish communities in order that the Arab revolution with its Palestinian expression sets in motion the rational correctives in all directions. Correcting the imbalance that racism constitutes in Palestine, correcting the grievances that Zionism constitutes against the Jews and correcting the disunity which imperialism has succeeded to inflict on the Arab nation. While Israel today is seeking to detonate the forces of disintegration, revivalism fissiparous communalism, so that these forces of reaction validate its basic Zionist premise, the Palestinian resistance is detonating throughout the Arab nation as well as in the world Jewish communities the forces of human integration, the supremacy of man over group autonomy, the healthy secularism and the gravitation towards developmental politics and purposes. The Arab nation today is faced with a modern technology in the service of a primitive ideology. This has been the case of all the anti-imperialist nationalist movements when they were fighting the European colonisers and racist settlers. Unless the four powers look upon this issue from this angle, every solution will be temporary and will only freeze the situation to a point whereby the warmth of the Arab revolution will defreeze it again. In the Third World, no co-existence can be achieved on the institutionalisation of grievance. The Arabs' rejection of any form of co-existence with Israel is matched only by their eagerness to fight the roots of anti-Semitism and to co-exist—and perhaps more than that—with the Jew as man. While we fight the Jew the Zionist, we put our hand in a mutual discovery of new vistas for peace with the Jew as man. This is the Arab commitment and this is the meaning of the Palestinian resistance.

Remembering Gandhiji

BARUN DAS GUPTA

It was April, 1939. Gandhiji had come to our Ashram, the Khadi Pratishthan, at Sodepur. Congress President Subhas Babu and Pandit Nehru had also come to Sodepur for discussions with Gandhiji.

This was a momentous occasion. The Tripuri Congress had been held some time back. Subhas Babu had been elected President of the Congress, defeating Gandhiji's nominee Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Subhas Babu had contested against the express wish of Gandhiji and Gandhiji was hurt at Subhas Babu's winning. "Pattabhi's defeat is my defeat," he had said.

As was the convention then, Subhas Babu went to Gandhiji and sought his advice on the nomination of the members of the new Working Committee. According to the Congress Constitution at that time, the elected President nominated the members of the Working Committee, but the convention was that the new President would seek Gandhiji's advice and form the new Working Committee in consultation with him.

Gandhiji, however, refused to advise Subhas Babu. The President was free to choose his own team, he told Subhas Babu. Subhas Babu announced the names of the new Working Committee members which included all the veteran leaders of the Congress. Shortly after the names were announced, most of Gandhiji's lieutenants resigned from the Working Committee. For all practical purposes, the Working Committee ceased to exist.

Subhas Babu knew it was the price he was paying for disobey-

ing Gandhiji, contesting the Presidential election and defeating Gandhiji's nominee. He had two alternatives before him: to step down and bow out of the Congress leadership, or, to persist in his course, in defiance of Gandhiji.

The whole atmosphere was surcharged. Much bitterness and tension had been engendered. The relations between Gandhiji and Subhas Babu were anything but happy. It was in this background that Subhas Babu had come to Sodepur with Pandit Nehru to confer with Gandhiji.

It was late in the morning. In the room next to Gandhiji's, sat Subhas Babu and Panditji, facing each other and engrossed in an animated conversation. Panditji sat facing the door opening on the corridor, while Subhas Babu sat facing him, with his back to the door.

Gandhiji came out of his room, passed along the corridor, by the side of the room the two leaders were talking in, and went into the bathroom. He looked into the room, saw the two leaders talking, but did not stop to talk to them.

When coming back, however, he stopped at the door. On seeing him standing at the door, Panditji stopped halfway in the conversation and looked at him. Following his gaze, Subhas Babu also turned his head towards the door, to find Gandhiji there.

Gandhiji said: "You my old enemies, follow me everywhere!" and smiled—the enchanting toothless smile. The other two also smiled. There was a childlike simplicity in their smile—an expression of the deep love they had for one another.

The memory of this episode remains fresh in my mind. Even in the midst of the heat and bitterness generated by a raging political controversy, that ultimately led to a parting of the ways, their personal relationship was totally free from bitterness. Nothing could detract from their regard for and appreciation of one another. It is something inconceivable today, when political differences invariably degenerate into personal vilification and mud-slinging.

Just in front of Gandhiji's room was a *Madhabi* tree. The blooming season for *Madhabi* is spring. But in December, 1945, when Gandhiji came to Sodepur, a strange thing happened. A day before Gandhiji arrived, the tree suddenly burst into bloom in the cold December winter.

When Gandhiji was told about it, he smiled and said: "This seems to be on my account." Whether it was a coincidence or a caprice of Nature, the fact remains that this *Madhabi* tree had never bloomed in winter, before or after, this strange event.

GANDHiji came to Sodepur on December 1, 1945 and left for Madras on January 19, 1946. Sometime before he left I had an attack of measles. Gandhiji's morning and evening strolls took him by the side of our cottage. One evening, quite unexpectedly, we were told that he was coming in to see me.

My parents were rather unprepared for this. The floor was littered with torn papers. The afternoon sweeping had yet to be done. Gandhiji's insistence on cleanliness was all too known. Particularly, the slightest uncleanness in a sick-room was enough to annoy him. So, in haste, my cousin sister Shrimati Taralika Sen (daughter of Sri Satish Chandra Das Gupta), tidied up the room.

No sooner had she finished than Gandhiji appeared. He inquired how I felt and affectionately passed his hand over my face which was covered with

measles' spores. As he was going out, my sister requested him to wash his hands. With a mischievous twinkle in his eyes, he passed his hands on my sister's face and quipped: "May you get it too." But none got "it", neither he, nor my sister.

On the January 19, 1946, he left in the afternoon. A special train was waiting at the Sodepur station. All the members of his entourage had already left for the station. Shortly after 4.0' clock, he also started for the station, accompanied by a worker. He had already gone half the way, when suddenly he stopped and turned round. Mentioning me by the nickname, he told the worker that he must take leave of me before going away.

The worker protested. "You'll be late, Bapu," he said.

"But I can't go away without seeing him," Gandhiji said firmly and started back. What a surprise it was for me to see him come when I thought he had already left, and that, too, solely for my sake. It gave me a sense of importance that any boy in those circumstances would have felt.

With his characteristic smile, he said: "Main ab bhag jata hun" (I am flying away now). Then, turning to my father: "I know, he is a very naughty boy." Even today, I am proud of the epithet he gave me.

GANDHIJI had iron control over his mind. It was something to be seen to be believed. On many an occasion I found him dictating letters to his stenographer, Parasuram, after his midday meal. Halfway through a sentence, he would say: "Let me have five minutes' sleep." Immediately he would close his eyes and within seconds begin snoring. He would wake up almost exactly after five minutes—and without once asking Parasuram where he had left off, begin dictating from the next word.

GANDHIJI came back to Sodepur again on October 29, 1946, after

news had reached him of the communal carnage in Noakhali. He wanted to go to Noakhali. But Mr. Hasan Shaheed Suhrawardy, the then Premier of (undivided) Bengal, was most unwilling to let Gandhiji visit Noakhali.

Every evening he used to come all the way from Calcutta to persuade Gandhiji to give up this idea. "Persuasion" is a euphemism, in fact he used to come to abuse, bully and insult Gandhiji.

I distinctly remember him, sprawling and rolling on the *faras*, resting his elbow on a fat bolster, his legs thrust forward towards Gandhiji in a most insulting fashion. Often I found him talking and gesticulating in a way that made me wonder whether he was drunk.

He would keep talking and fulminating for long hours. It was impossible for Gandhiji to do any work. This continued for quite some days until Suhrawardy relented before Gandhiji's firm resolve. Throughout this period Gandhiji tolerated this gross misbehaviour and insult with his characteristic forbearance.

EVERYONE knows that Gandhiji started learning the Bengali language during the last phase of his life. It will be news to many that he started his lessons with my books. I remember my father, Sri Kshitish Chandra Das Gupta, waking me up early one morning to say that Gandhiji wanted to learn Bengali from that very day and that he wanted some books

right away, because early morning was his time for reading and writing. My father was at a loss where to find the "first books" at that hour. Then he thought of my books. I gave him the books. As far as I remember, they were Anath Nath Basu's *Chhotoder Para*, and *Baroder Para*, an alphabet book and perhaps one or two others.

With his usual devotion and tenacity, he kept up the study of Bengali till the last day of his life. He was 79 at that time. To start learning a new language at that age was a venture that he alone could make.

FOR full nine months during 1947-48, I was completely bedridden due to a severe attack of rheumatic fever. Throughout this period, Gandhiji continued to inquire about me in his letters, even in his telegrams. In a telegram that he sent to my uncle Sri Satish Chandra Das Gupta from Kashmir, he added a line about me. When my uncle last met him in Delhi shortly before his death—I was still ailing—he inquired how I was getting on. There was nothing special in this. The greatness of the Mahatma lay in his natural humaneness and intense love for all alike. Even in the midst of his preoccupations, pressing problems and the acute mental strain he was passing through, he could and did find time to think about a small boy, suffering in his sickbed.

That was Bapu—father—as we affectionately called him.

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Last week the nation paid homage to the martyrdom of Bhagat Singh, who mounted the gallows on March 23, 1931 in the British prison in Lahore.

Bhagat Singh : Yesterday and Today

P.C. JOSHI

As I worked through the files on the national movement in search of material on the birth, growth and role of the Indian Communist movement, the thought began brewing in my mind that just as Mahatma Gandhi became the symbol of the first non-cooperation movement in the early twenties embodying the demand for *Swaraj*, so did Bhagat Singh become the symbol of the national movement as the thirties began, with the slogan *Inquilab Zindabad*.

And this thought got confirmed when, by accident I came across and read through one huge file in which "objectionable" or "revolutionary" literature was put together, against whose authors legal action

had already been taken or was proposed to be taken and further draconian extra-judicial measures demanded by the then Home Department of the British Viceroy and Governor-General in Council.

Below are a bunch of poems written on the eve of or immediately after Bhagat Singh's execution. Not one of the authors is from the category of the 'recognised' poets, but the type that versifies with ease for publication in current newspapers and journals, just to reach out to the readers, the common people. They are simple and spontaneous, and convey the spirit of the times, even in the translations (as best as I could improve them) made by Intelligence reporters.

*

Let me begin with Bhagat Singh's own mother tongue, Punjabi. Below are two verses from a Gurmukhi pamphlet entitled *Virlap*.

Dialogue between Mother India and Bhagat Singh

Mother India :
When my 'Moon' disappears, darkness
will spread all over the world, O people !

Bhagat Singh :
O Mother ! This 'Moon' of yours
will illumine the whole world.
We will swing on the gallows, as people do
in swings during the rainy season.

Mother India :
O Son ! Your sacrifice will
cut asunder my bonds

Bhagat Singh :
O Mother ! Let me sleep in peace.
Don't keep me awake now.

Mother India :
O son ! Your execution will break
the chains of India.

Bhagat Singh :
I will be reborn over and over again
for the liberation of India.

Mother India :
O People, I bred and brought up the lion but
I win put him in a cage,

Bhagat Singh :

O Mother ! when your lion roars
the whole of England will shake.
Let one lion die, lakhs of lions
shall be born in his place.

*Earth and sky shook when Bhagat Singh mounted
the gallows,*

*He took Sukhdev and Rajguru with him and began
the end to the sufferings of Mother India.*

Dialogue between Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Dutt

Dutt :
How are you doing Bhagat Singh ?

Bhagat Singh :
My blood increased by a seer
when I heard of my impending execution.

Dutt :
O Brother, your separation has wounded my
heart.

Bhagat Singh :
O beloved Dutt ! Don't weep
I shall send for you soon.

Dutt :
O Bhagat Singh ! I will die weeping, for
you soon.

Bhagat Singh :

O my dear Dutt ! Accept my last salutation !

*

LET us now go to the extreme South of our vast motherland. Here is a poem in Tamil from a booklet *Bhagat Singh or the Heroic War of the Gallows*.

Bhagat Singh

The 23rd March, 1931
The wretched day
On which goddess Bharati's eyes
were suffused with tears

The inauspicious day
Which was responsible
for all the Indians' weeping aloud.

(That) day is an important
landmark in the history
of the future War of Independence.

India realised her helpless
condition on that day,
On account of the domination
by six crores of Englishmen
over thirty crores of India,
Keeping the latter under subjection
and ruling over them with arrogance.

That cruel day
on which were sacrificed
the lives of three selfless persons
Can never be forgotten
in any manner, by anyone.

*

HERE is the same echo, from the extreme West of then undivided India, Karachi. It was printed in the newspaper *Mauji* :

The Duty of the True in India

O ye Indians, rise against slavery,
O youth, Mother is shedding tears
and calls you to the field.
The Firangis have spread out
a big snare of ignorance
Destroyed the fertile garden of Bharat.
Hearing the lamentations of the starving brethren
the stony heart melts.
Defame not the name of India like cowards,
give life like Bhagat Singh, Raj, Sukhdev.
(They) taught the lesson of heroism to everyone
and then went to the execution-ground.
How the innocent are suffering in jail
The award of patriotism is gallows
If you have true love, O ye Indian
strike at slavery, pull out its very root.

THE spirit that moved Bhagat Singh himself and which he successfully transmitted to his generation is best reflected in the following fiery Urdu poem, one from a pamphlet edited and published by Pandit Shivalal "Bismil," a journalist of Lyallpur, the part of Bhagat Singh's homeland now in Pakistan :

Insaf ka Khoon (Murder of Justice)

Long live Revolution
Long live Revolution
Unparalleled Revolution
Unparalleled Revolution
Revolution ! Revolution !
On this side heads for the sacrifice
and enthusiasm to add,
From that side tyranny.
On this side silence,
Revolution in silence
Long live Revolution
Revolution ! Revolution !
On that side baton practice
On this side indifference,
On that side mischief-making
(and) excessive bragging
On this side melting of hearts
On that side acts of high-handedness
It is their doings that will
bring about Revolution
Revolution ! Revolution !
On that side acts of oppression
On this side starvation
Source of aspirations,
Are these revolutionaries ?
Who put up with rigours
Revolution demands rigours
Revolution ! Revolution !
When Bhagat, Sukhdev and Guru have
sacrificed themselves for the nation
Many a man will come to ascend the gallows
without fear and anxiety.
O Mother India ! do not weep for
your illustrious sons.
You are yet destined to be afflicted
with many a sorrow.
We want a Revolution
but fight shy of rigours,
Revolution of the Youth
glorious Revolution.
The Russian Revolution
Asia's Revolution
This Revolution of India,
Is the Revolution of the world.
That too was a Revolution
This too is a Revolution
Revolution from every side
Behold the Revolution
Revolution is coming,
Long live Revolution !
Revolution ! Revolution !
Long Live Revolution !

The Indian Revolution for which Bhagat Singh gave his life is only half way through with the

achievement of national independence but the remaining task of the same National Democratic Revolution, building up an economically independent, progressive and prosperous India, remains yet to be done and in fact constitutes the bedevilling problem of our time.

Bhagat Singh is considered the emblem of death-defying national determination to be free but that was common to the best of his generation. I was deeply impressed and respect him the most for his undying thirst for knowledge.

Among the terrorist-revolutionaries of his day Chandra Shekhar Azad was the link with the past but Bhagat Singh was their link with the future—the cause and the principles of socialism, which moved them to self-critically examine their own past and its limitations and patiently study the principles of scientific socialism in search for the most effective way forward.

In my youth, I did not know Bhagat Singh as Bhagat Singh but as Ajoy Ghosh's friend and knowing Ajoy's terrorist associations I asked no questions. Ajoy Ghosh used to live in the Hindu Hostel and I in the Holland Hall of the Allahabad University campus. By 1928 I had already become known as a Communist among the political-minded students of the University.

One day Ajoy brought his friend along with the request that I start lending him Marxist-Leninist classics plus the latest bunch of the Comintern and British Communist journals I had received from abroad (at my cover addresses of course). This is how it began and lasted whenever Ajoy's friend came to Allahabad. When in Allahabad he would turn up, an amazingly charming fellow and with the child's innocent and sweet smile that came to him with natural ease.

He would have his pick and we would walk back, walking through the vast and green lush lawns of the University campus as long as our 'discussions' lasted and we reached the dead-end or it got too late for dinner. I used to leave him at the gates of the Hindu Hostel and walk back.

That was in 1928 and now it is 1969, forty-one long years have passed by. I have not yet come across a political worker or leader who was or is more open-minded or with a greater desire for knowledge. In my own experience I place Jawaharlal Nehru as a second. This is how Bhagat Singh stands in my memory.

I remembered him again during 1967 autumn as I sat in the Library of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow, reading through the very last speech of Lenin in the Fourth Congress of the Communist International calling upon his comrades to *learn and learn* and that we all knew too little to understand the changing nature of the problems facing us and fulfill the tasks that followed.

The future of India obviously depends on the Left, its wisdom and strength. It is not enough to make eulogistic speeches on Bhagat Singh Day this week but the Left spokesmen needs to also ask themselves: Do we have the knowledge enough and the selfless courage to carry forward Bhagat Singh's legacy which is our common and best? Bhagat Singh earned immortality in our national annals primarily because he realised that he did not know enough and never got tired of studying more himself plus learning more from others, with whom he and his party differed but without whom he realised the common cause could not be realised. That added confidence to his courage, and he became the nation's martyr-hero. We need that spirit and outlook the most today for the Indian Left to come to its own.

U.P. EXPERIENCE (continued from page 11)

commodities like sugar and by accepting their recommendations for treating softly or indulgently persons found guilty of anti-social activity.

In Lucknow "secret discretionary funds" are spent on entertaining journalists lavishly or in subsidising one-man, so-called news agencies started by racketeers who are appendages to the State Government's Information Department or to the Information Minister of the day.

Capitalists in Allahabad, Lucknow and Kanpur have succeeded in corrupting a large number of newspapermen who are either in their pay or receive favours from them in kind. A capitalist of Allahabad, who presides over a fast-growing financial empire, controls a local newspaper by the simple expedient of offering free lunches and dinners to its reporters and by doling out

full-page advertisements to the newspaper. If there is a strike or lock-out it is not reported. The capitalist claims loudly that every journalist has his and every newspaper has its price. The public relations officer to the capitalist generously provides whisky to thirsty newspapermen and invites them to lunches.

The standard of integrity has fallen to such a low level in Allahabad that reporters insist on press conferences being held at a posh restaurant in the city where they are feted by key officials and non-officials.

Police officials in Allahabad get free passes for journalists to dance or cultural shows where the admission rates are exorbitant and oblige them by securing permits for sugar from the Food and Civil Supplies Department officials whose links with the Police Department are close. The result

is that nothing is published in criticism of the local police or the Civil Supplies Department in the local papers.

In Allahabad, several advocates pay money to legal reporters for mentioning their names in High Court reports. They have minted money. In Lucknow a capitalist wields enormous influence over some local newspapermen. He sends precious gifts, including crates of wine, to thirsty journalists. This investment has yielded him quick and rich dividends. He is written about frequently in appreciative terms and his image, thanks to those on whom he showers gifts, is bright.

In no other city has the capitalist become such a menace to the integrity of the journalistic profession as in Kanpur. Three powerful industrial houses keep a large number of journalists in

their pockets. They get even monthly payments for the services rendered by them. No wonder there is news blackout in Kanpur. It is the huge industrial metropolis with the giant-sized textile industry and small-scale industrial units. But rarely, if ever, is there adequate reporting of the strikes and lock-outs in Kanpur. With their pockets bulging with ten-rupee notes, most local journalists maintain tight-lipped silence over all manifestations of labour unrest. The journalists are very happy with the capitalists who patronise journalists openly.

Powerful politicians occupying seats of power are also becoming a menace to the integrity of journalists. Some of them complain to proprietors of newspapers about their correspondents in Lucknow. The proprietors who have industrial interests in UP dare not offend the Chief Minister. So invariably correspondents are told to keep in touch with the politicians who complain about them. Some correspondents have refused to be pressurised by the proprietors of the newspapers for whom they work, but there are not more than two or three special correspondents in Lucknow who do not yield to pressures exerted by proprietors of newspapers.

The picture is most depressing. Many reporters who get low wages cannot resist temptations. If they were paid well, the standards of integrity could be raised. But what about well-paid journalists, getting four-figure salaries, who do not mind receiving favours?

The imposition and enforcement of a code of conduct by the AINEC and the Federation of Working Journalists and the raising of scales of pay would go a long way in combating the pernicious influence of vested interests who have succeeded to a great extent, in corrupting the UP Press. Social disapproval, if not social boycott of journalists "who are on sale" could also help to nip the mischief in the bud. But the loss of idealism and integrity among journalists is merely an expression of the amoral standards valued by an acquisitive society.

FAMILY PLANNING

Facts at a Glance

THE population of India, as on January 1, 1969, was estimated to be nearly 530 million. This represents about 14 per cent of the world population, although India has only 2.4 per cent of the world's land area.

The population is increasing at the rate of 2.5 per cent per year, the net annual addition being about 13 million. The annual birth rate is 41 per cent per thousand and the death rate only 16 per cent per thousand.

India's population has more than doubled itself since 1921, when it was 251.4 million. At the present rate of increase, India's population will reach the 1,000 million mark by 1994.

Extensive and effective measures of public health and medical have brought down the mortality rate from over 48 per thousand in 1921 to the present 16. The average expectation of life also has risen since independence from 29 to 51 years in 1968.

India has made great progress in various fields since independence. There has been 150 per cent increase in industrial production, 300 per cent increase in educational facilities and agricultural production has almost doubled. But the gains of development have been severely eroded by the rising tide of runaway population.

While there has been 64 per cent increase in national income, the per capita increase has been only 21; the per capita availability of food has increased only marginally from 12.8 ounces to 13.4 ounces.

The State-sponsored massive family planning programme aims at bringing down the birth rate from present 41 to 22 per thousand and in the next ten years or

earlier.

To achieve this objective, 100 million couples in the reproductive age group have to be persuaded to plan their families. They also have to be provided adequate services and supplies. Programmes for motivating the people and providing them with the necessary services is now being implemented through a net-work of 1,775 urban family welfare planning centres, 24,191 rural centres and sub-centres, 7,031 other rural medical centres doing family planning work.

An absolutely voluntary programme depending for its success on acceptance by individuals, family planning has made significant progress during the last four years. So far about 53,17,087 persons have accepted sterilization and 26,90,123 women have accepted I.U.C.D. (loop). This means nearly 11.6 per cent of the total eligible couples have already been protected demographically; it means one million births are being prevented every year.

Several recognized methods of birth control including I.U.C.D., sterilization and conventional contraceptive like Nirodh (condoms), jellies, diaphragm, foam-tablets are in use. Family planning advice and services are provided free by the State. Nirodh is also supplied at nominal cost through depot holders and through the retail channels of some leading commercial houses at a subsidised price of 15 paise for three pieces.

The Family Planning programme employs about 1,25,000 workers. For the training of various personnel, there are five central training institutes and 43 regional training centres functioning in the country.

For bringing about a change in outlook on a voluntary basis, all extension and communication media and aids have been pressed into service. Besides radio, television, films, newspapers and printed material, all conceivable local media like puppet shows, *kirtans* and *kathas* are being used to reinforce the message of family planning. Family planning literature is proposed to be mailed directly to 2.5 million opinion leaders in the country.

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C W C

Futile Face-Lift

Mainstream

SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1969

Vol. 1

**POLITICS BEHIND PURI
BRINKMANSHIP IN TELANGANA
GANDHI AND JALLIANWALA BAGH**

Maj Genl Habibullah

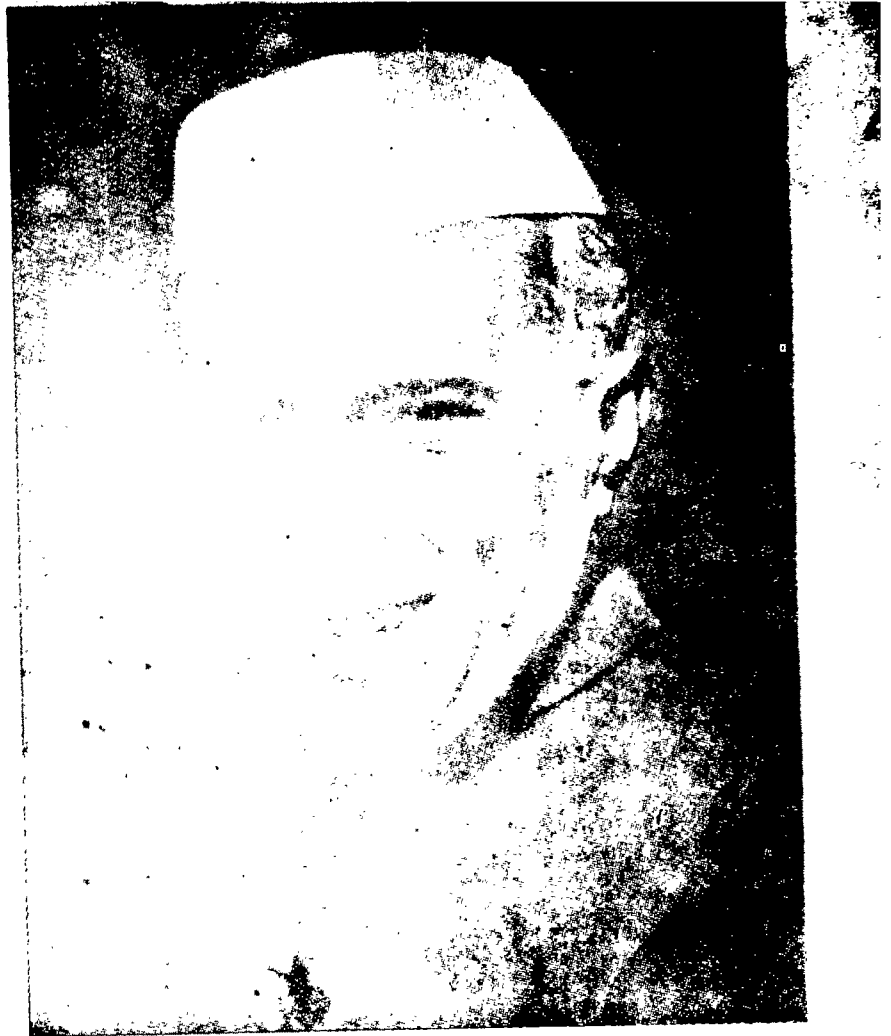
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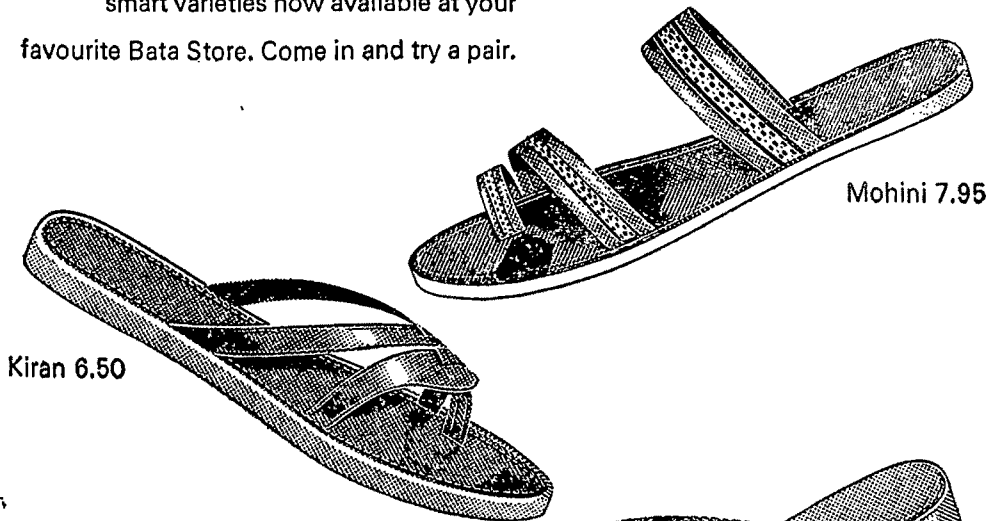
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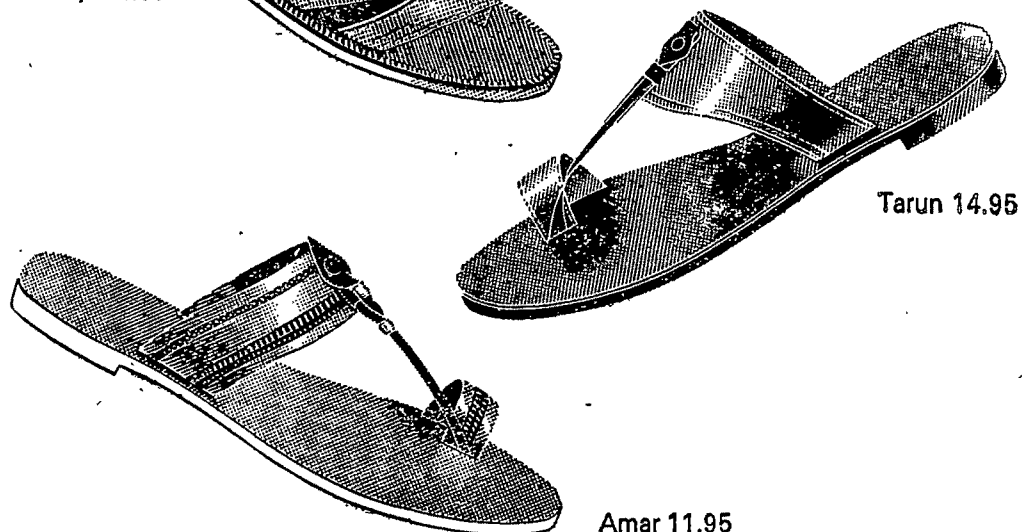
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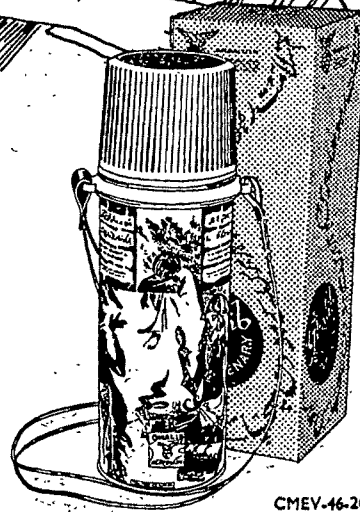


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THE FUTILE FACE-LIFT

THE Congress Working Committee's deliberations last week were a rather pathetic attempt at face-lift by which few will be deceived. Meant to be a pace-setter for the coming Congress session at Faridabad, what the Working Committee session betrayed was the chronic inability of the Congress leadership to attune itself to the new political temper that has come over the masses in this country.

This bankruptcy is very sharply brought out by the contents of the two documents—released with a flourish of publicity—which are supposed to treat the afflictions that the Congress is supposed to be suffering from, particularly since the nerve-shattering experience of the 1967 General Election followed by a worse one in this year's mid-term poll.

The Report of the Congress Reorganization Committee headed by Sri S.K. Patil bears the stamp of its chairman's politics. The heavy slant in favour of a party wedded to Big Money—with the paraphernalia of a streamlined modern business management and with the objective of setting up a Carlton-Club style electoral campaign machinery—marked Sri Patil's weighty recommendations. Apart from that, the Patil Report brought out the party bosses' anxiety to put the muzzle on the Prime Minister : on the face of it, the emphasis on the preponderance of the party organization over the party ministries is unexceptionable. However, in terms of present-day realities of Congress politics, this is obviously intended to rehabilitate the fast declining influence of the Syndicate at the centre of power. This factional approach is pronounced in the report—calling upon the Prime Minister to subject herself to the scrutiny of her government's record by the jealous party bosses. This game shows how these hollow men are going to face a situation which by their own admission is for the Congress "a critical time in its history."

Nowhere in the entire body of the Patil Report is there even formal recognition of the need to gear the Congress organization for the struggle of the toiling millions for their social and economic emancipation. Discussion on prohibition gets priority over concern at price rise. While the suggestion for making business and industrial concerns institutional members of the Congress has been almost apprecia-

tively quoted, there is no corresponding suggestion in the Report that trade unions and kisan sabhas should get affiliated membership of the Congress—a suggestion made by Nehru himself more than thirty years ago in the halcyon days of the Congress functioning as the national anti-imperialist front. The talk of "building a free and socialist society"—in the last line of the report—only underlines the blatant hypocrisy of the body.

Sri Subramaniam's report, ambitiously entitled "A Programme for Socialist Action," is a catalogue of platitudes which are more or less a rehash of the Ten-Point Programme as also of all the pious resolutions on national economy that the Congress has passed in the last ten years since its Nagpur session. Accompanying the Report is submitted Sri Subramaniam's own handiwork, a paper on "Political Hypertension of Indian Democracy" written in style of the purest Asoka Mehta bombast. Starting with Aristotle and ending with De Gaulle, it has all the trappings of phoney intellectualism of the

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American variety, talking of the "global perspective" of Indian democracy and the Indian party system. If a torrent of clichés could be taken as a substitute for a serious programme of action in a difficult political and economic situation, then Sri Subramaniam can congratulate himself on providing excellent fare.

The Working Committee papers once again underline how appallingly the Congress leadership is divorced from the new radicalisation that is fast coming over the country. The recent stirrings inside the Congress bear testimony to that same nationwide awakening. The demand for a Birla probe and Sri Chandra Sekhar's crusade against Morarji's mortgaged conscience to Big Business indicate that this new radicalisation has not left even some sec-

tions of the Congress untouched.

Against this background, the homework of Patils and Subramaniam has only brought into relief the emerging reality that there is no escape for the present Congress leadership but to face its own doom as a party. The fast-growing polarisation in national life with the democratic forces making common cause under the leadership of the Left on the one hand, and the reactionaries groping for ways and means for the consolidation of the Right, on the other, has almost made the present set-up of the Congress hierarchy a political irrelevance which has long outlived its utility except as an appendage of Big Business and alien to the interests of the common man who has so long tolerated it in power. No amount of face-lift can hide the contours of a decrepit physiognomy.

POLITICAL NOTEBOOK

POLITICS BEHIND PURI

A few years earlier the Shankaracharya of Puri would not have had the temerity to mouth the kind of nonsense he did a few days back; nor for that matter would he have had guts to insult the National Anthem.

To understand what prompted this man, claiming presumptuously to be a Jagadguru, to speak and act in defiance of the secular basis the people of India have laid down for their democratic structure, we have necessarily to take note of the change in the atmosphere in the country over this period, and the reasons therefor.

So long as Gandhiji first and Jawaharlal Nehru later dominated the national scene and commanded the allegiance of the masses, the reactionary elements, whether communal or caste-based, could make little headway. If Muslim communalism grew in the years immediately preceding independence, it was partly due to the mistakes of the national leadership but largely due to the tactics adopted by imperialism to retain its hold. That Gandhiji and Jawaharlal did their honest best to counteract and overcome both majority and minority communalism is beyond dispute.

In the early years of freedom communal and caste forces were kept largely in check mainly because

Jawaharlal placed himself squarely at the head of the rational forces and threw a challenge that the obscurantist elements and their patrons could not face. The reason was that Jawaharlal and those who shared his modern ideas were able to expose superstition and religious prejudice as being totally incompatible with social and economic advance: they were able to convince the people that cultivation of the scientific temper and outlook was the *sine qua non* for progress in the modern sense, enabling India to take her rightful place in the comity of nations.

It would be naive to imagine, however that the battle against obscurantism was entirely successful or that the dark forces of reaction thriving on popular ignorance were finished as a result of the sustained campaign of education conducted by Nehru and others. The truth is that even in the Congress leadership there were tradition-bound elements incapable of shedding ancient and anachronistic beliefs and prejudices. Who does not remember that the first President of India, forgetting his foremost place in the country and his position as the representative of all the factors that make up national life, chose to wash the feet of brahmin priests on one occasion? Nor was the attitude of certain top



Congressmen to the Hindu Code a secret.

It was not only the known conservatives in the Congress Party who by their conduct encouraged the backward-looking and divisive forces of obscurantism and religious bigotry. Many Congressmen, apparently modern in many of their ideas, could not muster the courage needed to engage in open battle with the cow agitators. Even a person like Sri Gulzarilal Nanda, who is identified with the labour movement and socialist ideas of a kind, established dubious equations with the brand of unemployable parasites known as sadhus and hoped to bring about radical changes with their help. Their answer to his wooing was to join hands with the cow agitators led by the likes of the Shankaracharya of Puri and engage in an orgy of violence in the Capital which was the direct cause of Sri Nanda's ouster from office.

It was not only select individuals who were guilty of providing encouragement to elements of this kind who are so obviously the enemies of national cohesion and progress. The Union Government as a whole, particularly in the recent past, has been guilty of failure to act to curb communal and caste groups bent upon keeping the people divided permanently. If Sri Golwalkar and his para-military bands have been able to spread disaffection between groups of citizens without let or hindrance, leading frequently to communal disturbances, the blame rests squarely on the Central authorities whose cowardice has prevented them from enforcing avail-

able law and putting down such anti-national propaganda and activity.

It is obvious that any religious head who presumes to enter the field of political debate should be deemed as no more than a politician and treated as such. This is true as much of Shankaracharyas and Karpatrias as of mullahs and padres. These so-called religious leaders can be kept in their place and prevented from poisoning the secular atmosphere in the country only by active and united effort by all the progressive democratic forces. Unfortunately, politicians have often in the past depended on the utilisation of communal and caste differences for immediate short-run electoral advantage. It is this fact more than anything else that has inhibited firm and determined resistance to organisations like the Jana Sangh and the RSS. It is this again which makes many of our leaders scared of the so-called religious heads who have no place in a growing modern society.

The Shankaracharya of Puri is so patently an ignorant charlatan that he need not be taken very seriously; it is as a symbol of the forces of obscurantism and of the vested interests behind them that he assumes importance. The following of the Purimath is negligible. Puri Shankaracharya is one of numerous sect leaders in the Hindu fold. There are doubts even about the authenticity of the math he heads. If he had confined himself to his job of teaching the philosophy of Shankara he would have counted for little; hence his anxiety to seek the

in the light by any means, whether it is the cow agitation or a mad caper over the National Anthem. The real danger, however, is represented by persons like Sri Golwalkar and his henchmen in organisations like the Jana Sangh, for these seek to make use of the ignorance of vast numbers of people to exploit religion and its traditional symbols to prepare the ground for the establishment of unadulterated fascism.

It is against this combined front of reactionaries that all parties and groups that believe in secular democracy have to organise themselves effectively.

While those in power have the duty of shedding their hypocrisy and pusillanimity and taking action under the laws of the land against the preaching and practice of deep ideas like untouchability and spreading of prejudices based on religion and caste, democratic political parties and intellectuals have the responsibility of mounting an offensive to expose pseudo-religious humbug and cant and make the people aware of the dangers implicit in tolerating those who propagate such ideas.

C.N. Chitpa Ranjan

Telangana : Dangerous Brinkmanship

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

ANDHRA Government's policy of drift, indecision, inaction and announcement of corrective measures in dribblets has heightened the crisis of confidence of the people of Telangana region in the Andhra leadership, of the ministers and political leaders in the leadership of Chief Minister K. Brahmananda Reddy and of the people as a whole against the Government.

The story is no different with the Centre either. With divisive forces raising their head in other parts of the country, one would have expected the Centre to have acted swiftly and intervened in an effective manner to contain the movement for separatism. But for reasons best known to it, the Centre too drifted for long and it was only towards the end of last month that it started evincing some interest in the Telangana problem and that too, only when members of Lok Sabha forced the attention of the Government to the problem.

The Opposition parties continued to remain inactive and helpless spectators to the deteriorating situation. They suffered convulsions within their own ranks due to regional chauvinism or taking some of them. Though some of the parties disowned

the January 19 all-party accord saying it proved an ineffective instrument to remedy the situation, other parties continued to believe in its efficacy. All of them, however, after a painfully slow process, have gathered on a common platform demanding the resignation of the present Brahmananda Reddy Cabinet on the ground that it has failed to instill confidence in the people of Telangana that it can deliver goods.

The policy of drift encouraged the separatist elements to pitch their demand high and ask for separate Telangana and nothing short of it. They have taken the problem to the streets and the methods adopted by them to achieve their goal was destruction of State transport buses, railway and postal properties; relay hunger strikes outside the educational institutions which have become a farce; collection of money through hundies by all and sundry including urchins and those unconnected with the movement in the name of separate Telangana; holding conventions in the districts and taluq centres with a threat to start a mass civil disobedience movement after April 9.

At the time of writing, the Chief Minister is in Delhi and a Central team led by the Union

Home Secretary in Hyderabad, trying to find solution to the problem.

This, in short, is a bird's eye-view of the situation since I wrote two articles on the subject (See *Mainstream*, February 8 and 15).

II

THE January 19 accord of all parties, which was supposed to act as a corrective to the lapses committed, has become a dead letter. One of the operative portions of the agreement, namely, relieving of 4,000 employees who are non-domiciles occupying posts reserved for Telangana personnel, was rendered impossible due to stay order by the Supreme Court and later by striking down the Mulki rules themselves.

Anticipating this decision of the Supreme Court, the State Government announced its decision to create 2,000 posts in Telangana to provide employment to Telangana personnel. The effectiveness of this decision was also nullified by the Supreme Court decision, since any post created in Telangana region was an open post and can be filled in by any person, whether domicile or non-domicile, based on merits.

The other operative portion of the January 19 accord was the determination of the surpluses by appointment of a special Auditor-General to be nominated by the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India. Though the special Auditor-General computed the surpluses at Rs. 34 crores, neither did the Government stick to this figure nor did the dissidents care to accept it. Even before the report was received, the Government announced a special allotment of Rs. 6 crores for developmental works in the Telangana region for the current year. After the receipt of the report, it could have spread the Rs. 34 crores surpluses over five years. But, it made an upward revision of this expenditure to Rs. 9 crores per year during the next five years. Is this the final figure? No. The Chief Minister said that the special Auditor-General's report was sent to the Regional Committee for its views and a final decision would be taken by the Government later. This indecision on so vital a matter like the surpluses and increase of the yearly expenditure of surpluses from time to time depending on the pressure, has given the impression to the Telangana people that firstly, they could get more if they further tightened the screw; and secondly, they are still not partners but have only to accept what would be given to them.

Announce something, later improve on it, offer another concession, concede another demand still later - Sri Brahmananda Raddi's offers in dribbles gives the idea as if it is a bargaining counter. First, Rs. 6 crores surpluses were offered for expenditure and it was increased to Rs. 9 crores. Then, there was bargain about the employment. First, 4,000 were offered to be sent out. Later, 2,000 new posts were offered to be created. First, a Cabinet sub-committee was constituted to look into the problems of integration of services; then, an offer was made to invite some officials from the Centre; again, the States' Reorganisation Act was invoked and a committee provided for under that Act was invited to solve the problem.

Finally, an Additional Chief Secretary was appointed to look after all problems of services in Telangana region. It will be the height of illusion to call all this a policy. It is indeed a sorry spectacle drift, indecision and inaction, which encourages the aggrieved party to question the very *bona-fides* or the powers that be.

III

It has been proved beyond doubt by now that the whole Telangana agitation is the making of Congressmen themselves and it would not lie in the mouth of the Congress Party hereafter to criticise others as being disruptors of unity and integrity of the country. Take the river waters row or the Mysore-Maharashtra border dispute or now the Telangana agitation, all of which cut at the very root of the concept of unity and national integrity and it is Congressmen alone that have to be held responsible for each one of them.

A number of Congress legislators including Ministers who were signatories to the January 19 all-party accord have backed out and have openly come out in support of a separate Telangana. The conviction of a considerable number of Telangana Congress legislators and other Congress leaders in the integrated state of Andhra Pradesh is only skin-deep.

An analysis of the six Congress legislators who announced their support for separate Telangana would reveal that they are out of power or leaders with no followers. One is a labour leader with no labourers behind him; a second does not represent fully even his own constituency; a third did not batter an eye-lid when it came to the question of taking bribes from the Andhra people for bestowing some favours; a fourth was a socialist-turned Congressman but not able to make any impact in his own district. The former Deputy Chief Minister first issued a statement supporting the Chief Minister; then he slowly drifted and issued a dilatory statement and ended up in support for separate Telangana. He com-

mands a following of himself only. Most of them shared the spoils of power all these years and were willing partners in denying the people of Telangana their due. Today, they turn round and accuse Sri Bhramananda Reddy, as if he alone is responsible for the failures. Having seen the movement launched by the students finding an echo among the people, they have crossed over the fence, for, in a separate Telangana state, spoils of power will be available to them in greater variety, at higher levels and they could, in turn, become distributors of the same spoils to their followers. They are exploiting the undoubtedly genuine feelings among the people for their own personal ends.

It stands to the credit of all Opposition parties that they stood steadfast against the division of the State. But regional chauvinism made its dents in all parties in some measure or other, though not to any significant extent.

The Swatantra Party was the first to disown the January 19 accord and though it did not openly support the slogan of separate Telangana, its leader in Lok Sabha gave expression to that view. Some of its legislators gave the slogan of full support to the Chief Minister as against the Party's demand for his exit. The Swatantra Party has no following in the Telangana region and therefore, the impact was not keenly felt.

The CPI strongly opposed the separate Telangana slogan since the beginning and maintains the same stand till today. If there is any party which has decided to hold meetings in different localities in the city, under the grip of separate Telangana movement, advocating an integrated state, it is only the CPI. But, for a time, its representatives in the Legislature, affected by the movement, suggested solutions which gave the impression that they would grant almost the substance of a separate Telangana. The Party was, however, successful in combating this weakness.

The CPM has also come out

strongly against the demand for a separate Telangana.

The student wing of the Jan Sangh has joined the movement for separate Telangana. Some of its leaders in the city and in at least one district have defied party discipline on this issue and are neck-deep in the movement. If it is remembered that the influence of the Jan Sangh in Telangana districts is broadly confined to the city and to some extent in Warangal, even these few defections are of no mean significance. But the party as such has stood its ground and has reiterated its stand on integrated state.

The Samyukta Socialist Party too had its share of trouble. In fact, during his recent visit to the state, Sri Madhu Limaye said that separate Telangana might be conceded, after exhausting all other solutions. Some of its city leaders demanded separate Telangana. Still, its weakness lingers and the national executive of the party is to consider the situation at the state unit's request.

IV

WHILE this is the stand of different political parties in the State, what do the common people feel *vis-a-vis* separate Telangana?

Take for instance, Hyderabad city. Muslims, who constitute nearly fifty per cent, are not at all in the movement for separate Telangana. They are either passive or opposed to it. The traders, industrialists, advocates, rickshaw pullers, taxi drivers and other sections of the people have either positively opposed the separatist slogan or did not care about the movement. The fact that since January 15, when the movement started, students and students alone formed the only contingent of the agitation proved beyond doubt that other sections do not want to burn their fingers. But the people in the city are in an uneasy state scared. Day in and day out, the Andhras are threatened with reprisals, issued warnings, though the leaders assure that their movement was not directed against their Andhra brethren.

In the districts, the organizers of the separate Telangana campaign claimed to have held one hundred district or taluq or town conventions where the separate statehood slogan was supported. But, one has yet to see the rustic, unsophisticated but hardworking rural population participating in these conventions. Thousands of people were claimed to have attended these conventions, but the audience was almost exclusively of the white-collared, the petty politicians and the middle landlord youth. The vast masses of the people have not been drawn into the movement though they feel the pinch of gross underdevelopment and neglect over the last twelve years.

Even in the city, while in the beginning, masses of students were brought into the streets, it soon reduced itself to some batches of students alone moving about indulging in incendiary actions, providing the newspapers with catchy headlines. The plethora of relay hunger-strike camps set up all over the city may have been organised in all seriousness, but the manner in which they functioned has done immense harm to the organizers themselves. While batches of young boys below ten years and those in their teens sat in the tent, another batch "waylaid" the passersby with hundies and collected small coins in the name of separate Telangana fund. The principal organisers who go about in the name of "Telangana Praja Samithi" disowned this money collection, and yet it went on. It was said in a local newspaper that a motor car owner, when he goes out, may do so without petrol in his tank, but must have small coins in his pocket. Card-playing, carroms and other indoor games that went on in the tents detracted any serious attention. People in those localities considered them only as a nuisance.

The Telangana NGOs, who were the other important contingent of the agitation stayed out of any active participation for a large part of the three-month period. They thought of doing something only towards the end of last month.

While students have undoubtedly done a yeoman service to the cause of the Telangana people, they have been made pawns for too long a period. It was perhaps this realisation on the part of well-intentioned political leaders, and senior professors that prompted them to appeal to the students to go back to class rooms and leave the solution to the elders. In terms of class support, the Separate Telangana movement has the backing of feudal landlords of Telangana with their narrow outlook and greed for petty gains; along with it, the powerful monopoly interests, like the Birlas would naturally favour the shrinking of a big size state into smaller units. As against this the bourgeoisie of the Andhra Pradesh, together with organised working class and peasantry would prefer the continuation of the present bigger Andhra State.

V

THE twin problems which have turned out to be the genesis of the present trouble, namely, the failure of the government to develop the Telangana region with its own funds and surpluses and the failure to implement the safeguards given to the service personnel have been thrown into the background, with the slogan of separate Telangana. Solutions offered by the Government or others for these problems have been brushed aside by the leaders of agitators for sometime, saying they have no confidence in the present leadership implementing the safeguards. Later, they stressed on the formation of separate Telangana as the only solution to their problems. Here is the clue to the problem.

If the failure to develop Telangana region was one of the main grievances, a solution was offered. Firstly, a special Auditor-General was invited from outside the State to compute the exact surpluses. Secondly, even before the agitation was started, the Governor announced in his Address before both houses of Legislature that the estimated surplus of Rs. 30 crores would be spent

(Continued on page 37)

India's Foreign Assets and Liabilities since Independence

THE Reserve Bank of India has brought out a series of four extensive studies depicting India's position as regards its foreign liabilities and assets on four different dates, namely, as on June 30, 1948, December 31, 1953, December 31, 1955 and December 31, 1961. This article is intended to present in broad outlines the trends in the growth of the foreign liabilities of this country and in the formation of its foreign assets over the period of thirteen and a half years from the middle of 1948 to the end of 1961 as revealed in these studies with particular reference to the liabilities and assets of the Indian business enterprises. The statistical tables presented in this article are more or less reproductions, in some cases in abridged forms, of the corresponding tables appearing in the Reserve Bank studies.

Foreign liabilities as assessed in the study include "real (or titles to real property) and money claims and titles to investments owned by non-residents" while foreign assets comprise "real property (or titles to real property) and all money claims and title to investment held abroad by residents. Real property or (titles thereof) cover all tangible goods such as productive equipment, property in lands and houses and other goods whereas claims to money and titles to investments comprise promissory notes, cheques, bills of exchanges, deposit receipts, shares and debentures, insurance policies, short and long term securities issued by Government and semi-Government institutions. Gold holdings of the official sector, though they are liquid foreign assets, are excluded from the computation of the country's foreign assets."

As may be seen from the following Table I, the total foreign liabilities of this country have tended to increase continuously. From Rs. 504.2 crores as on June 30, 1948 the liabilities went upto Rs. 767.7 crores as on December 31, 1955 and further to Rs. 2504.2 crores as on December 31, 1961. The foreign assets have on the other hand have been uniformly

on the decline during the period. The assets which stood at Rs. 2008.7 crores as on June 30, 1948, came down to Rs. 1294.4 crores as on December 31, 1955 and to Rs. 706.7 crores as on December 31, 1961. The pace of increase in the liabilities was much faster during the later six year period from the end of 1955 to the end of 1961, the rate of increase working out to an average of Rs. 289.4 crores per year as against an annual average rate of increase of only Rs. 35.1 crores during the earlier period of seven and a half years from the middle of 1948 to the end of 1955. The decline in India's foreign assets has, however, taken place more or less at an even pace, the annual rate of decline being Rs. 95.7 crores during the earlier period as against an annual rate of Rs. 98.0 crores during the later period. Long term liabilities formed by far the greater constituent of the total foreign liabilities throughout while except as on June 30, 1948 when long term assets fell far short of the short-terms ones the long-term assets were substantially in excess of the short-term assets both as on December 31, 1955 and December 31, 1961. The upward trend in liabilities and the downward trend in assets combined to quicken the pace of change in India's position from a creditor country as on June 30, 1948 to that of a debtor country by December 31, 1961. The credit balance of Rs. 1504.5 crores (excess of total assets over liabilities) which this country had as on June 30, 1948 dwindled down to Rs. 526.7 crores as on December 31, 1955 and turned into a debit balance to the extent of as much as Rs. 1797.5 crores as on December 31, 1961.

Govt. Sector vis-a-vis Non-Govt. Sector.

The liabilities both of the Government as well as non-Government sector of the country's economy followed the overall upward trend. Both went up respectively from Rs. 178.1 crores and Rs. 326.1 crores as on June 30, 1948 to Rs. 249.6 crores and Rs. 561.6 crores as on December 31, 1955 and

India's Foreign Liabilities and Assets as on 30-6-1948, 31-12-1955 and 31-12-1961

(Government and Non-Government Sector)

(Rs. in crores)

(As in crores)

	Liabilities.			Assets			Net
	Short-term	Long-term	Total	Short-term	Long-term	Total	Position
GOVERNMENT SECTOR							
June 30, 1948	55.5	122.6	178.1	1208.8	730.8	1939.6	+1761.5
Dec. 31, 1955	16.6	189.5	206.1	455.8	720.5	1176.3	+ 970.2
Dec. 31, 1961	449.8	1179.4	1629.2	133.3	450.9	584.2	-1045.0
NON GOVERNMENT SECTOR							
June 30, 1948	38.4	287.7	326.1	11.5	57.6	69.1	- 257.0
Dec. 31, 1955	64.0	497.6	561.6	55.2	62.9	118.1	- 443.5
Dec. 31, 1961	64.0	870.0	875.0	51.6	70.9	122.5	- 752.5
TOTAL							
June 30, 1948	93.9	410.3	504.2	1220.3	788.4	2008.7	+1504.5
Dec. 31, 1955	80.6	687.1	767.7	511.0	783.4	1294.4	+526.7
Dec. 31, 1961	514.4	1989.8	2504.2	184.9	521.8	706.7	-1797.5

further to Rs. 1629.2 crores and Rs. 875.0 crores as on December 31, 1961. But as regards assets, unlike those of the Government sector which in conformity with the overall trend declined consistently, the assets of the non-Government sector recorded a gradual rise. But despite the rising trends in assets, the non Government Sector continued to have an adverse balance, its liabilities having exceeded its total assets quite appreciably and the position seemed to have worsened with the passage of time. This sector which had a debit balance of Rs. 257.0 crores as on June 30, 1948 became a debtor to the extent of Rs. 443.3 crores as on December 31, 1955 and to a still greater extent, namely, by Rs. 752.5 crores as on December 31, 1961. The Government sector on the other hand had favourable balances as on June 30, 1948 and December 31, 1953 (Rs. 176.8 crores and Rs. 970.2 crores respectively) but became a debtor by Rs. 1045.0 crores as on December 31, 1961

Reasons for Deteriorating Trends

The appreciable deterioration in the net creditor position of this country over the period from June 30, 1948 to December 31, 1955, was according to the Reserve Bank Study, "mainly the result of certain extraordinary payments, such as transfers to Pakistan of its share of foreign assets of the undivided Reserve Bank, currency settlement with Aden following the withdrawal of the rupee from that territory, payment of pensions to former British employees out of the Pension Annuity and repay-

ment of the Railway annuities and the liquidation of the Burmese debt following the arrangements reached with Burma in 1954". In addition, there was during the period "a reduction in assets due to external transactions" amounting to a little over Rs. 200 crores and "an increase in foreign liabilities of Rs. 260 crores, partly on account of the inflow of foreign private investment and partly due to the US food loan, drawings on the IMF and borrowings from the IBRD."

During the subsequent period from December 31, 1955 to December 31, 1961 further worsening of the position at a much more rapid pace from that of a creditor to a debtor country was accountable to the sharp depletion in foreign assets resulting from heavy imports of steel, machinery, chemical etc. to meet the requirements of the Second Plan and an "increased scale of external assistance" to finance developmental activities which "in turn brought about an increase in the country's liabilities".

Foreign Liabilities and Assets Countrywise

Apart from international institutions, like IMF, IBRD, India's liabilities to which aggregated Rs. 371.6 crores as on December 31, 1961 as against assets amounting to Rs. 56.6 crores held with them, the countries to which India's liabilities exceeded Rs. 10 crores as on the above date were USA, UK, West Germany, USSR, Pakistan, Japan, Canada, Malaya, Switzerland and Burma. (Table II). Of these, the extent of liabilities owned to

TABLE II
India's Foreign Liabilities and Assets as on 30-6-48, 31-12-55 and 31-12-61

(Rs. in Crores)

	Liabilities			Assets			Net Position		
	30-6-48	31-12-55	31-12-61	30-6-48	31-12-55	31-12-61	30-6-48	31-12-55	31-12-61
Australia	0.4	0.5	0.8	0.5	0.6	0.2	+0.1	+0.1	-0.6
Burma	8.8	5.7	14.1	54.2	9.9	26.7	+45.4	+4.2	+12.6
Canada	0.3	3.7	21.1	0.4	2.9	1.6	+0.1	-0.8	-19.5
Ceylon	30.1	10.7	8.1	1.3	5.2	7.5	-28.8	-5.5	-0.6
Germany (West)	3.2	4.8	172.9	1.1	0.4	18.0	-2.1	-4.4	-154.9
Japan	3.2	2.9	31.1	1.8	0.2	2.1	-1.4	-2.7	-29.0
Malaya	3.3	9.9	15.9	1.3	4.4	7.3	-2.0	-5.5	-8.6
New Zealand	0.4	0.3	0.2	...	0.1	0.1	-0.4	-0.2	-0.5
Pakistan	66.4	51.7	43.0	322.5	320.5	321.7	+255.7	+268.8	+287.7
Switzerland	6.8	8.7	14.3	...	0.2	0.4	-6.8	-8.5	-13.7
UK	298.2	445.8	664.7	1591.2	874.9	184.6	+1293.0	+429.1	-480.0
USA	20.2	137.2	916.9	15.3	39.4	57.1	-4.9	-97.6	-859.8
USSR	...	...	68.5	...	...	...	...	...	-68.5
International Institutions	14.9	29.3	371.6	11.7	19.3	56.6	-3.2	-10.0	-315.6
Others countries	47.6	56.7	161.0	7.4	16.4	22.8	40.2	-40.3	-138.2
TOTAL	504.2	767.4	2504.2	2008.7	1294.4	706.7	+1504.5	+526.7	-1797.5

USA (Rs. 916.9 crores), UK (Rs 664.7 crores), West Germany (Rs. 172.9 crores) and USSR (Rs. 68.5 crores) were of an outstanding nature. Financial transactions with the last named country started only after 1955. As against the liabilities mentioned above India held as on the above date assets worth over Rs. 10 crores in each of the following countries viz., Pakistan (Rs. 321.7 crores), UK (Rs. 184.6 crores), USA (Rs. 57.1 crores), Burma (Rs. 26.7 crores) and West Germany (Rs. 18.0 crores). India's net liability position with respect to most of the above countries has worsened over the years. The deterioration has been particularly marked in the cases of USA, UK and Canada, the adverse balances with these countries as at the end of 1961 amounting to Rs. 859.8 crores, Rs. 480.1 crores and Rs. 19.5 crores respectively. The extent of India's net liability to the first named country amounted to only 4.9 crores as on June 30, 1948 while it was a creditor by Rs. 1293.0 crores and Rs. 0.1 crores respectively as on that date in respect of the latter two countries. Pakistan and Ceylon are the two countries, the balance position in regard to which is found to have registered a gradual improvement. The credit balance of Rs. 255.7 crores which India had with the former country as on June 30, 1948 increased to Rs. 278.7 crores as on December 31, 1961 while there was a considerable reduction in the debit balance with the latter country from Rs. 28.8 crores as on June 30, 1948 to Rs. 0.6 crores as on December 31, 1961. India's indebtedness to the international institutions remained more or less at the same level from the middle of 1948 to the end of 1955, namely at around Rs. 40 crores but rose sharply to Rs. 138.2 crores at the end of 1961.

Long term Liabilities according to type of Liability

Table III, (which follows, gives the break-up of the long term liabilities of the Government Sector according to the type of liabilities as also according

to the country to which such liabilities are owed. As on June 30, 1948 Government securities held abroad (Rs. 57.4 crores) happened to be the major component of the long term liabilities of this sector, the liabilities in respect of loans (Rs. 40.3 crores) being the next in importance. Since then, however, there has been a marked shift towards loans which formed an overwhelming proportion of the liabilities of this sector. The percentages which the loans and government securities formed of the total liabilities as on December 31, 1955 and December 31, 1961 were respectively 74.5 per cent and 22.4 per cent and 96.4 per cent and 2.8 per cent. Thus at the end of 1961 the liabilities of the Government Sector were almost entirely by way of loans and government securities represented only a small fraction thereof. While the loan obligations of this sector to foreign countries collectively have increased by leaps and bounds from Rs. 40.3 crores as on June 30, 1948 to Rs. 141.0 crores as on December 31, 1955 and further to Rs. 1137.5 crores as on December 31, 1961, foreign holdings in Indian Government Securities have undergone a gradual reduction from Rs. 57.4 crores as on June 30, 1948 to Rs. 42.5 crores as on December 31, 1955 and to Rs. 32.7 crores as on December 31.

Long-term Liability Country-wise

Country-wise, USA was by far the largest creditor of the Government Sector as on June 30, 1948, its credit balance as on that date amounting to Rs. 411.0 crores. UK, West Germany and USSR, were the other major creditor countries. The Government Sector's obligations of these countries stood respectively at Rs 171.9 crores and Rs 144.4 crores and Rs 67.7 crores. Till 1955 the liabilities to these countries were comparatively of much smaller magnitudes. The spurt in these liabilities took place only during the period that followed. There was a sharp rise in this sector's liabilities to the international institutions during this period from Rs 26.3

crores at the end of 1955 to Rs 288.0 crores at the end of 1961.

Pakistan, UK, British East Africa and Ceylon were the principal countries to own the securities while apart from the international institutions, the countries which have extended the loans were USA, UK, West Germany, USSR, Japan and Canada.

TABLE III

Foreign Liabilities (Long-term) of the Government Sector

	(Rs. in crores)		
	As on 30-6-48	As on 31-12-55	As on 31-12-61
<i>According to type of Liabilities</i>			
Government Securities	57.4	42.5	32.7
Loans	40.3	141.1	1137.5
Import Credits	...	0.5	8.8
Others	24.9	5.4	0.4
	122.6	189.5	1179.4
<i>Country-Wise</i>			
Australia	...	0.1	0.2
Burma	2.9	0.8	0.5
Canada	...	0.3	13.6
Ceylon	10.1	2.4	0.1
Germany (West)	3.1	2.1	144.4
Japan	3.0	2.7	24.0
Malaya	...	0.2	0.2
New Zealand	...	0.1	0.1
Pakistan	25.4	24.8	18.1
Switzerland	0.1	0.3	0.3
UK	70.4	33.9	171.7
USA	2.6	91.9	441.0
USSR	...	...	67.7
International Institutions	...	26.3	288.0
Other Countries	5.0	3.6	39.5
	122.6	189.5	1179.4

Long-term Assets according to Type of Asset

As on December 31, 1961 the bulk of India's long-term foreign assets was in the shape of Inter-Government debt of Rs 316.7 crores made up of India's claim on Pakistan with regard to the Pakistan Debt Settlement of Rs 300 crores and outstanding portion of Rs 16.7 crores of the loan of Rs 20 crores extended to Burma in sterling in 1957 (Table IV).

TABLE IV

Foreign Assets (Long Term) of the Government Sector.

(Crores of Rs)

	As on 30-6-48	As on 31-12-55	As on 31-12-61
<i>By Type of Holding</i>			
Government Securities	341.7	344.7	70.1
Gold & Dollar subscription to International Institutions.	11.8	16.9	54.0
Claim on the UK under the 1955 Pension Settlement Scheme	...	48.0	2.7
Inter Govt. Debt.	349.3	300.0	316.7
Others	28.0	10.9	7.4
	730.8	720.5	450.9
<i>Country-wise</i>			
Australia	0.1	0.2	...
Burma	52.7	6.0	19.3
Canada	0.1	0.1	0.1
Ceylon	...	...	0.1
Germany(West)	1.1	...	...
Japan	1.8	0.1	...
Malaya	...	0.1	...
New Zealand	...	...	...
Pakistan	301.0	300.8	300.5
Switzerland	...	...	...
UK	360.7	392.9	71.4
USA	...	0.6	1.0
USSR	...	...	...
International Institutions	11.8	19.3	56.6
Others	1.5	0.4	1.9
Total	730.8	720.5	450.9

Next in importance was foreign Government Securities worth Rs 70.1 crores, an overwhelming proportion of which was constituted of holdings in UK Government Securities. This item stood at around Rs 340 crores between June 30, 1948 and December 31, 1955. The reduction took place subsequent to 1955. The substantial liquidation of this item of asset has led to a sharp fall in the total long term assets from Rs 730.8 crores and Rs 720.5 crores respectively as on June 30, 1948 and December 31, 1955 to only Rs 450.9 crores as on December 31, 1961. There was also a considerable reduction in the assets relating to claim due under the UK Pension Resettlement Arrangement of

March, 1955 from Rs 48.0 crores as on December 31, 1955 to Rs 2.7 crores as on December 31, 1961 through speedy repayment "to help India to ease her exchange difficulties". The only item to go up steadily was the gold and dollar subscription to international institutions from Rs 11.8 crores as on June 30, 1948 to Rs 16.9 crores as on December 31, 1955 and further to Rs 54.0 crores as on December 31, 1961.

Long-term Assets Country-wise

The major portion of India's long term assets outside India was in Pakistan. There was practically no fluctuation in the level of assets held in that country which remained more or less static over the thirteen and a half-year period from the middle of 1948 to the end of 1961 and, as mentioned earlier, these assets related to India's claim on Pakistan in respect of Pakistan Debt Settlement. Next in magnitude were the assets in UK which stood at the much reduced level of Rs 71.4 crores as on December 31, 1961 from Rs 392.9 crores as on December 31, 1955. The only other country in which India had assets of any consequence was Burma. The assets in that country amounted to Rs 19.9 crores as at the end of 1955 and as with the assets held in the UK, suffered a substantial reduction from Rs 52.7 crores as on June 30, 1948.

Assets held with the international institutions have, however, gone up progressively from Rs 11.8 crores as on June 30, 1948 to Rs 19.3 crores as on December 31, 1955 and further to Rs 56.6 crores as on December 31, 1961.

Foreign Business Investments in India Industry-wise

During the period of thirteen and a half years from June 30, 1948 to December 31, 1961 foreign business investments in India has almost trebled itself from a total of Rs 264.6 crores as on the former date to a total of Rs 681.0 crores on the latter (Table V). Of specific industries, foreign investments was the largest in the petroleum industry as on December 31, 1961 at Rs 148.6 crores. The flow of foreign investments in the industry, was quite impressive during the period from June 30, 1948 to December 31, 1955 being as high as Rs 117.7 crores. Plantation industry was the next to receive substantial foreign investments which amounted to Rs 103.8 crores as on December 31, 1961. The manufacturing industries as a whole attracted substantial foreign capital during the period from December 31, 1955 to December 31, 1961 aggregating Rs 160.1 crores and within this group of industries influx of foreign capital was particularly marked in the "Metal and Metal Products" and "Chemicals and Allied Products" industries. Investments to the tune of Rs 84.0 crores and Rs 30.4 crores respectively were made in these industries during the above period. The share of the State-owned enterprises, which came into existence after 1955, in the total foreign investments of Rs 681.0 crores in Indian business enterprises as on December 31, 1961, was only Rs. 14.1 crores.

TABLE V

Foreign Business Investments in Indian Enterprises

INDUSTRY-WISE

(Rs. in crores)

	30-6-48	31-12-55	31-12-61
<i>Business Enterprises Private Ownership</i>			
Plantations	52.2	87.2	103.8
Mining	11.5	9.3	12.4
Petroleum	22.3	104.0	148.6
Manufacturing	70.7	129.1	289.2
Food Beverages, etc.	10.1	29.0	36.1
Textile Products	28.0	21.8	21.4
Transport Equipment	1.0	3.6	3.0
Machinery and Machine Tools	1.2	5.0	11.7
Metals & Metal Products	8.0	11.1	95.1
Electrical Goods & Machinery	4.8	14.6	14.7
Chemicals & Allied Products	8.0	20.3	50.7
Others	9.6	23.7	46.5
Services	107.9	112.8	112.9
Trading	43.0	26.8	29.3
Construction utilities & Transport	31.5	42.7	51.9
Financial	15.7	17.4	12.4
Miscellaneous	17.7	25.9	19.3
Total	264.6	442.4	666.9
<i>State Owned Enterprises</i>			
Petroleum			3.9
Manufacturing			5.8
Machinery & Machine Tools			2.3
Electrical Goods & Machinery			0.1
Chemical & Allied Products Services			3.4
Services			4.4
Construction Utilities and Transport			4.4
Total			14.1
Grand Total	264.6	442.4	681.0

Foreign Business Investments in India Country-wise

The country to have made the largest amount of investment in Indian Business Enterprises was the UK which increased its investments in the country progressively from Rs 206.0 crores as on June 30, 1948 to Rs 365.9 crores as on December 31, 1955 and to Rs 447.6 crores as on December 31, 1961 (Table VI).

Manufacturing Industries received the first preference from the UK investors. Their investments in this industry totalled Rs. 145.3 crores as on December, 31 1961. Plantation and petroleum were the next two industries in order of preference with investments from UK amounting to Rs. 103.4 crores and Rs. 101.4 crores respectively. Though far behind UK, USA's business investments in India as on the above date was quite sizable, namely Rs. 95.9 crores mainly distributed over the petroleum (Rs. 47.1 crores) and manufacturing industries (Rs. 44.8 crores). The investments made by the other countries were comparatively much smaller not amounting to more than Rs. 10 crores individually. The countries whose investments ranged from Rs. 3 to Rs. 10 crores were Germany (Rs. 10.5 crores), Switzerland (Rs. 9.3 crores), Canada (Rs. 6.5 crores), Sweden (Rs. 4.4 crores), Italy (Rs. 4.2 crores) and Japan (Rs. 3.2 crores).

Foreign Liabilities of Indian Business Enterprises

The following table (Table VII) gives the break-up of the foreign liabilities of the Indian Business enterprises into three main categories according to the nature of liability, viz., direct investments, portfolio investments and other miscellaneous obligations. Broadly, as explained in the Reserve Bank Studies direct investments are those investments which imply "a degree of control over the management of the concern", such as, "net assets in India of branches of foreign companies, as well as the ordinary shares held abroad of those Indian Joint Stock Companies which can be identified as foreign controlled". In cases, where "the investor has no intention of playing an important role in framing the policies of the enterprise, he is primarily influenced by such considerations as income yield, tax advantages, marketability and general safety of principal", the investments have been treated as portfolio investments. Ordinary shares other than those treated as "foreign controlled", preference shares, and debentures of Indian Joint Stock Companies owned abroad and creditor capital obtained from Government sources come under this category. Loans and advances received by Indian Joint Stock Companies, including inter-company and inter-branch advances, have been grouped under miscellaneous liabilities.

As on December 31, 1955 the total foreign investment in private sector companies stood at Rs. 442.4 crores of which direct investments were Rs. 386.5 crores and portfolio investments, Rs. 55.9 crores. Over the six-year period from the end of 1955 to the end of 1961 these investments have increased by Rs. 224.5 crores (that is, by about 50 per cent) to Rs. 666.9 crores as on December 31,

TABLE VI

Foreign Business Investments in Indian Enterprises COUNTRY-CUM-INDUSTRY-WISE

(Crores of Rupees)			
	30-6-48*	31-12-55	31-12-6
CANADA	...	2.3	6.5
Manufacturing	...	2.3	6.5
GERMANY	0.1	2.4	10.5
Manufacturing	...	2.4	9.9
Services	...	...	0.6
ITALY	...	...	4.2
Petroleum	...	...	0.1
Manufacturing	...	...	4.0
Services	...	...	0.1
JAPAN	0.2	0.2	3.2
Manufacturing	...	0.2	2.1
Services	...	...	1.1
SWEDEN	...	...	4.4
Manufacturing	...	...	3.1
Services	...	...	1.3
SWITZERLAND	5.3	5.7	9.3
Manufacturing	...	3.6	7.6
Services	...	2.1	1.7
UK	206.0	365.9	447.6
Plantations	...	86.2	103.4
Mining	...	9.0	11.8
Petroleum	...	79.1	101.4
Manufacturing	...	99.0	145.3
Services	...	92.5	85.7
USA	11.2	39.6	95.9
Plantations	...	0.1	0.1
Mining	...	0.1	...
Petroleum	...	24.8	47.1
Manufacturing	...	4.8	44.8
Services	...	3.9	3.9
OTHER COUNTRIES	33.0	26.3	99.4
Plantations	...	0.9	0.3
Mining	...	0.2	0.6
Petroleum	...	0.1	3.9
Manufacturing	...	10.7	71.7
Services	...	14.4	22.9
TOTAL	255.8	442.4	681.0

*Industry-wise break-up not available.

TABLE VII

Break-up of Foreigners of Indian Business Enterprises on 31-12-55 and 31-12-61 into Business Investments and other Miscellaneous Liabilities

(Rs. in crores)

	Business Investments				Total Business Investments	Miscellaneous Liabilities				Total Business liabilities	
	Direct Investments		Port folio Investments			Loans and Advances					
	1955	1961	1955	1961		1955	1961	1955	1961		
<i>Business in Private Ownership</i>											
Plantations	80.8	100.5	6.4	3.3	87.2	103.8	...	...	87.2	103.8	
Mining	7.8	10.9	6.5	1.5	9.3	12.4	...	3.3	9.3	15.7	
Petroleum	103.6	148.1	0.4	0.5	104.0	148.6	...	6.2	104.0	154.4	
Manufacturing	100.7	186.8	28.4	102.4	129.1	289.2	15.2	27.4	144.3	316.6	
Food, Beverages, etc.	28.0	33.7	1.0	2.4	29.0	36.1	...	0.7	...	36.8	
Textile Products	11.5	14.0	10.3	7.4	21.8	21.4	...	10.1	...	31.5	
Transport Equipment	2.9	8.6	0.7	4.4	3.6	13.0	...	1.3	...	14.3	
Machinery & Machine Tools	1.6	7.9	3.4	3.8	5.0	11.7	...	0.9	...	12.6	
Metals and Metal Products	5.9	26.7	5.2	68.4	11.1	95.1	...	2.7	...	97.8	
Electrical goods and Machinery	13.0	12.0	1.6	2.7	14.6	14.7	...	2.3	...	17.0	
Chemicals and Allied Products	18.0	47.6	2.3	3.1	20.3	50.7	...	4.6	...	55.3	
Others	19.8	36.3	3.9	10.2	23.7	46.5	...	4.8	...	51.3	
Services	93.6	82.1	19.2	30.8	112.8	112.9	2.8	6.6	115.6	119.5	
Trading	24.0	27.4	2.8	1.9	26.8	29.3	1.8	2.1	28.6	31.4	
Construction Utilities & Transport	37.8	38.3	4.9	13.6	42.7	51.9	...	3.0	42.7	54.9	
Financial	12.2	2.8	5.2	9.6	17.4	12.4	0.1	...	17.5	10.4	
Micellaneous	19.6	13.6	6.3	5.7	25.9	19.3	0.9	1.5	26.8	20.8	
TOTAL	386.5	528.4	55.9	138.5	442.4	666.9	18.0	43.5	460.5	710.4	
<i>State Owned Enterprises</i>											
Mining	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13.3	...	13.3	
Petroleum	...	...	...	3.9	...	3.9	...	...	...	3.9	
Manufacturing	...	...	...	5.8	...	5.8	...	10.9	...	16.7	
Textile Products	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	...	0.2	
Machinery and Machine Tools	...	...	...	2.3	...	2.3	...	...	...	2.3	
Metals and Metal Products	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.8	...	8.5	
Electrical Goods and Machinery	...	...	...	0.1	...	0.1	...	3.9	...	4.0	
Chemicals and Allied Products	...	...	...	3.4	...	3.4	...	0.9	...	4.3	
Others	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	...	0.1	
Services	...	...	...	4.4	...	4.4	...	6.8	...	11.2	
Construction Utilities and Transports	...	...	...	4.4	...	4.4	...	6.8	...	11.2	
TOTAL				14.1	...	14.1	...	31.0	...	45.1	
GRAND TOTAL	386.5	528.4	55.9	152.6	442.4	681.9	18.0	74.5	460.5	755.5	

1961. About 79.2 per cent (Rs. 529.4 crores) of this was constituted of direct investments and 20.8 per cent (Rs. 138.5 crores) of portfolio investments. Thus of the two forms of investments the preference was decisively for the direct investments which increased during the 'period' by Rs. 141.9 crores as against an increase of Rs. 82.6 crores in portfolio investment.

However, the percentage increase in the portfolio investments over the period was quite significant being as much as 147.8 per cent compared to 36.7 per cent in direct investments. The industries which have attracted foreign capital most during the period were petroleum and manufacturing industries. The increase in investments was Rs. 44.6 crores in the former industry and Rs. 160.1 crores in the latter. Among the manufacturing industries flow of foreign

capital was particularly marked in the "metals and metal products" (Rs. 84.0 crores) and "chemicals and allied products" (Rs. 30.4 crores) industries. The investments in the petroleum industry was almost entirely in the shape of direct investments (Rs. 44.5 crores) there being practically no change in the level of portfolio investments in this industry. While the inflow of capital in the "chemicals" and "allied products" industries almost exclusively took the form of direct investments (Rs. 28.0 crores), the "metal and metal products" industry attracted capital in both the forms, the portfolio form of investments (Rs. 63.2 crores) being, however, predominant in this case.

The entire foreign investments in the public sector undertakings, which amounted to Rs. 14.1 crores at the end of 1961, was in the shape of portfolio investments.

Whither Yugoslav Communism?

KUNHANANDAN NAIR

THE American, British and West German press which as a rule underplay or distort the deliberations of Communist Party meetings have played up the Ninth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which was held in Belgrade in the middle of March. However, they too have admitted that the Yugoslav Communists are "at the crossroads"—"fifty years after its foundation, 25 years after capturing national power and 21 years after its break with the Soviet Union".

Yugoslavia which is hailed by the West as "the first Communist country to break away from Moscow control in 1948" is however found today in a rather strange isolation from the international Communist movement.

Out of a total of 88 Communist and Workers Parties in the world, only 15 accepted

Tito's invitation and sent their delegates to the Belgrade Congress. These 15 Communist Parties are of Italy, Rumania, Belgium, Finland, Britain, Norway, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Chile, Maritius, San Marino, Sudan and Venezuela. Many of these parties have condemned the Warsaw Pact Powers' intervention into Czechoslovakia of last August which was aided and hailed by Belgrade. Finland, Chile, Venezuela and San Marino Communists in their messages to the Yugoslav Congress in fact criticised the Yugoslav policy. They warned against dangers of anti Sovietism. They stressed on friendship with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and a necessity of participation of all communist parties in a world conference to discuss and chalk out a programme to struggle against imperialism.

It is significant that no Communist Party in power, with the single exception of Rumania attended the Yugoslav Congress. Taking cognizance of his isolation from the family of socialist nations, Tito told the opening session: "We very much regret that certain Communist Parties from the Socialist countries, including the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia cancelled their attendance."

Out of a total of 62 foreign fraternal delegations at the Belgrade Congress, 47 were non-Communist or anti-Communist—Social Democratic parties or bourgeois nationalist movements. Particularly noticeable was the participation of the West German Social Democratic Party which has given up its opposition role to become a partner in the most reactionary ruling clique of German monopoly capitalism. The West German

delegation was lead by Herr Wishnevesky, who is nicknamed "neo-colonialist minister" of the Bonn coalition for his ruthless promotion of West German capital exports to developing countries.

Yugoslav Congress was attended by 3 separate delegations from India—the Congress, the PSP and the SSP. The decision of the Communist Party of India not to send a delegation to this Congress was appreciated as a "wise decision" in many Communist circles abroad.

The boycott of Yugoslav Communism by an overwhelming majority of Communist and Workers Parties of the world demonstrated the fact that there is something seriously wrong with Tito's socialism, and his policies have driven a wedge between Yugoslavia and the international Communist movement, a wedge that is deepening and widening. On the other hand, the participation of as many as 47 nationalist or anti-Communist movements at the Belgrade Congress showed Tito's close affinity with Social Democracy of the day.

Ideological Problems

In Tito's 25000-word document on "Socialist Development of Yugoslavia," there was only one passing reference to 'Marxism' and no reference at all to the science of 'Marxism-Leninism' that guides all genuine Communist and Workers Parties. This departure from the accepted norms of the international Communist movement was no doubt welcomed by the "Yugoslav Watchers" in the West as "a symbol of the degree of ideological independence achieved by Yugoslav Communists."

Yugoslav documents very considerably revises Marx-Engels-Lenin thesis on scientific socialism, state power and role of the class in social revolutions. These documents, for example, dismiss Dictatorship of the Proletariat as "a bureaucratic concept of the socialist state." Instead, they hail Tito's "self-government" as a state form of "anti-dogmatic approach, the

democratic, humane concept of socialist society which found expressions in the activity of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia." Tito in a few minutes and in few words rejected and denounced the very foundation of socialist democracy which was tested in fifty years of socialist construction and the role played by "proletarian dictatorship" in defence of socialism in the world—from the war of intervention of 1918 to the intervention into Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Economy

Many papers of Tito's concept developed a notion of doing away with the statehood in the early stage of socialist construction and replacing the *class state* with a system of "*social self-government*." At the same time Tito does not dare to proclaim that the state is withering away in Yugoslavia. His thesis also does not demarcate where exactly his state system differs from the bourgeois state and what is *not common* between his "share-holding society" and the "People's Capitalism" of the West.

Yugoslav Communists have set a line for "conversion of state property into social property," a transfer which in practice means turning the property over to "a collective of producers," with individual share-holding ownership in many cases. This method is criticised by many Marxist thinkers especially when this system, is applied to the main means of social production, industry. This method is a great distortion of the basic principles of socialist power and complete repudiation of socialism itself. Some even go further and say that it is a "process of social regress," a gradual return to private ownership of restoration of capitalism.

There is unbridled decentralisation of Economic Management in Yugoslavia. This has resulted in bringing industrial and technical composition of Yugoslav enterprises to considerably "below the optimum level" of world economy. Today, Yugo-

slav rate of growth is far below the average rate of growth in the socialist or capitalist countries.

One of the aims of Tito's economic reforms (incidentally, this has nothing in common with the New Economic System of Management and leadership in some other socialist states like GDR) introduced in the middle of 1965 was to *stabilise* the economy. But after four years of this new *experiment in mixing socialism with capitalism*, the Federal Secretary of Economy Dr. Borivoje Jelic admitted in an article in *International Affairs* (January, 1969) that "the policy of economic development of faced with some *serious problems*." The real sources of these problems were never fathomed out. Today, "small expansion of the domestic market," "higher growth of tourist trade" and a "serious balance of payment situation" (in which Yugoslavia is forced to backout from conventional agreements with barter-area countries like India and demand dollar payment) have become striking features of her economy.

There is a great deal of unemployment in Yugoslavia. Yugoslav manpower migrate to West Germany, Italy, France and other Western countries. In the Western cities, many Yugoslavs wash dishes in hotels and do odd jobs for a living. Many become anti-socialists and are recruited to strengthen forces of counter-revolution. Yugoslav emigrants in West Germany are the most reactionary lot.

After 25 years of socialist process, the Yugoslav Federal Secretary of Economy doles out shocking theories like "an excessive rate of growth would lead to the 'overheating' of the economy accompanied by inflationary process in the country and a rising deficit in balance of payments". This "theory" is just an excuse to defend their poor rate of growth in comparison with other socialist states.

Last year's crisis that weakened the dollar, pound and the franc actually shook Yugoslav economy as violently as it shook the French or the British economy. On the other hand, the Western currency crisis did

not affect the economy of the other Socialist states, united in the Comecon. When the pound was broken, *Times* reported that the rouble was the only stable money after the West mark. Dr. Jelic also admits that Yugoslav economy was "affected by the marked instability of the world monetary system." (A communist should have said at least "Western Monetary system" if not "Capitalist monetary system".) He further admits it has not recovered.

Nowadays Yugoslav economic experts speak only of a single "world monetary system" and never demarcate the socialist world market from the capitalist world market. Yugoslavia is not a member of the Comecon, the European socialist economic alliance of 11 per cent of world's total population producing 31 per cent of world's total industrial wealth. Instead, Yugoslavia seeks American and West German support to get associate membership of the EEC.

Ties with West

As the Yugoslav ties with socialist world system is weakened Belgrade is moving closer and closer to the West.

Soon after Tito's public denunciation of the Warsaw powers' military intervention into Czechoslovakia to stave off counter-revolution and roll back of capitalism to East Europe, President Johnson in October last sent his Under-Secretary for State, Katzenbach to Tito. Katzenbach is believed to have urged Tito to "re-activate" the dormant 1953 Balkan Pact as a "shield against Soviet expansion." Italy and Greece then assured Tito that he could pull troops away from their borders to "use them more effectively elsewhere." It was then reported that Tito secretly agreed to accept closer cooperation with Nato's southern flank—Turkey, Italy and Greece.

Greek Communists have complained that Tito did not give any help or asylum in Yugoslavia when military junta launched a White terror against democrats in Greece after the April, 1967 coup and the overthrow of

parliamentary democracy. Most Greek Communists and socialists were rounded up and packed off to the Athens Government's concentration camp island and the rest took refuge in Bulgaria and from there to other socialist States. Many European Communist Parties have been shocked and indignant at Tito's refusal of elementary Communist solidarity towards persecuted revolutionaries in a neighbouring country. When President Johnson at that time lifted the restrictions on US supply of heavy military equipments to Greece, next door Yugoslavia, a socialist state, neither protested nor expressed any concern for the fascist military build-up across her border.

There are fears in East Europe that Washington may be "invited" to the Balkans in the name of Tito's baseless fear that "Yugoslav sovereignty is threatened by the Soviet Union." In support of this allegation, Yugoslavia often quotes Gromyko's UN speech of October 3, in which he emphasised the Soviet determination to defend socialism against any internal or external threat of counter-revolution. It is this internationalist duty that Tito and the West distorted as "the doctrine of limited sovereignty." The Soviet Union after Tito's outburst has made it clear that the USSR never threatened any country. Even Stalin did not invade Yugoslavia when Tito snatched that state out of the Socialist community in 1948.

Yugoslav Party Congress did not solve any problems facing Tito except that he consolidated his own power with an inner circle, reducing the number of members of his policy-making party leadership or Central Committee. Tito in his speech warned of "a return of the Fifth Column," by which he wanted to eliminate the opposition in the party to his line, an opposition which is named in the West as "pro-Moscow conservatives." Tito in the Congress acknowledged that the activities of these groups were increasing. That was why he threatened action even against "ideological subversion."

In conclusion it will be useful here to list the main points of Tito's catalogue of differences with Moscow and how the USA has favoured Belgrade for this major diversion in the Communist camp and the socialist system.

Tito's Dispute with Moscow

1. Rejected invitation to attend the World Communist Conferences.

2. Encouraged Czech "Liberalisation" process and subsequent counter-revolution.

3. Engineered a revisionist wedge into the European Communist movement.

4. Accused that the Soviet Union is "struggling against our system and order, against our democracy and freedom and against our road to socialism" at a public rally last year.

5. Denounced in sharpest terms "the Soviet invasion" of Czechoslovakia.

6. Accused Bulgaria of harbouring "territorial designs" on Macedonia which was denied immediately from Sofia.

7. Equated the aggressive NATO with the Warsaw Pact for socialist defence.

8. Created a "non-aligned variety" of Communism when scientific Communism is always partisan to the oppressed classes, as long as classes exist.

9. Strengthened private sector, "free enterprise" "free market economy" "share-holding society" etc. with the ultimate aim of a "socialist people's capitalism."

10. In adverse trade deficits with Western countries, Yugoslavia is indebted to the tune of 1300 million dollars, thus becoming the greatest socialist debtor to capitalism.

11. Restored diplomatic ties with Bonn, ignoring the socialist interests of the GDR.

Washington's favour to Belgrade

1. American military guarantee and the Six Fleet cover against an imaginary "Soviet invasion".

2. US and West German support for Belgrade's associate

Gandhi and Jallianwala Bagh

BEJOY KUMAR SINHA

THE fiftieth anniversary of Jallianwala Bagh massacre is being observed on April 13 this year just on the eve of the Gandhi Centenary celebrations. It is very appropriate, as Gandhi whom the nation worships was indeed born in the midst of the turmoil and the tragedy of Amritsar of 1919.

The wholesale slaughter in the Bagh, of over a thousand people was a turning-point in the history of our national movement for liberation. General Dyer and his patron Michael O'Dwyer wanted to teach India a lesson that reforms were available only through the path of loyalty to His Majesty the King. But the Indians learnt it differently. They realized that they should henceforth stand firm and give a good fight to achieve their emancipation.

Tremendous was the impact on the minds and later on the actions of leaders who were in the Indian National Congress, till then putting their faith in the good intentions of the British authorities in London. The Amritsar events shook them and made them capable of appreciating the correct stand of the revolutionaries who had proclaimed the nation's goal as Complete Independence since the days of martyrdom of the three brave Chapekar Brothers in the closing years of the nineteenth century.

Writing of Nehru, Michael Brecher has observed that "it (Jallianwala Bagh massacre) had violated all that he had absorbed and admired about British justice and liberal idealism during his

seven years in England."

In the case of Gandhiji however it was almost a transformation, a revolution in his perspective.

During the years of war of 1914-1918 Gandhiji had repeatedly stressed unlimited support to the British Power. He had said

"The war in Europe : What is our India's place in it ? We are above all British citizens of the Great British Empire. Fighting as the British people are at present in a righteous cause for the good and glory of human dignity and civilization—our duty is clear, to do our best to support the British, fight with our life and property.....

"With the Home Rulers it must be an article of faith, that the Empire must be saved. For in its safety lies the fruition of their fondest hope.

"May God grant us Home Rulers, the wisdom to see this simple truth—the gateway to our freedom is situated on the French soil—if we could but crowd the battlefields of France with an indomitable army of Home Rulers fighting for victory for the cause of the allies, it must also be a fight for our own cause. We would then have made out an unanswerable case for the granting of Home Rule, not in any distant time or near future, but immediately. Any advice, therefore, to the country would be—fight unconditionally upto death with Britain for the victory and agitate simultaneously also unto flowed Gandhiji's earlier well-known actions in South Africa in

death, if we must for the reforms that we deserve."

From such a conception of duty to the British Empire, had organising support for British people in their unjust wars against Boers and in their repressive campaign against rebelling Zulu peasants. Krishna Kripalani in the recent book *Gandhi—A Life* mentions that on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee celebrations towards the end of the last century, Gandhiji joined the Committee set up to prepare for the celebrations and taught the British National Anthem to children of his family ; and the author remarks : "Throughout his eventful and unique career Gandhi proclaimed the sublime and the odd with equal zeal." In the days of Britain's war with Germany Gandhiji followed the same line and conducted a campaign of recruitment of Indian soldiers. Some people who were in violent disagreement with his action expressed their indignation by calling him a 'Recruiting Sergeant.' But with single-minded devotion he continued in his unpopular work till his health could not stand the strain.

To him who was so hopeful, the 'Punjab Disturbances' came as a great shock. Gandhi realised that India had to choose the path of a grim struggle. In a strident note, he now said, "We must be prepared to contemplate with equanimity not a thousand murders of innocent men and women but many thousands before we attain a status in the world that shall not be surpassed by any nation. We hope therefore that all concerned will take rather than lose heart and treat hanging as an ordinary affair of life."

Next year, in August, 1920, he observed : "I can retain neither respect nor affection for a government which has been moving from wrong to wrong in order to defend its immorality."

Speaking of this period of Gandhiji's life Sri Shriman Narayan Agarwal wrote in 1958 in his preface to a bibliography : "In the beginning Gandhiji tried to

co-operate with the British during World War I in order to gain political freedom for India through the process of conversion of the heart. But the enactment of the Rowlatt Bills and Jallianwala Bagh tragedy sorely disappointed him and the people of India. These events gave birth to the Satyagraha movement of 1919."

Unlike the majority of the leaders of different countries of the world that were fighting for freedom, learning from the global experiences of mass struggles, Gandhi had his own peculiar way of moving in life. From Ruskin, Thoreau and Tolstoy—men definitely living in isolation from the broad stream of their people, he drew inspiration and tried honestly, in his own light, to guide the Indian people. Unique, no doubt, has been his teachings and the path that he laid down, but it has also to be assessed with a scientific temper to what extent it was fruitful.

Gandhiji more than once said that his life was 'an open book'—a life that he called an 'Experi-

ment with Truth.' And Pyarelal writes in his book, *Last Phase* that Gandhiji strongly disapproved his deification by over-enthusiastic people.

Gandhi was a warm human being. He himself has confessed his 'Himalayan Blunders' more than once. Any study of his life must above all be truthful, objective and rational. To put him on the pedestal of a God would be the one thing that Gandhi himself never wanted. Gandhi has his positive and enduring contribution to the modern world, his philosophy of individual life in a code of private and public conduct inspired by high moral values and restrained material needs. But how far he was correct in his theory of trusteeship in the economic sphere and in his advocacy of non-violence as the means to solve national and international issues is definitely doubtful. In the year of the Centenary it has to be critically examined with genuine regard for truth that Gandhiji always preached.

WHITHER YUGOSLAV COMMUNISM?

(Cont. from page 22)

membership of the European Common Market.

3. World Bank loans, West German and British credits and the restoration of Dollar aids if Tito agrees to revive the Balkan pact of 1953 with NATO's southern flank.

4. American private capital investments proposed in joint ventures and collaborations in Yugoslavia.

5. Opening of US armament market to Yugoslavian buyers on "commercial basis."

6. West German offer to setup an armament factory in Yugoslavia.

7. Revitalising political diplomacy by sending top US administration advisers to Belgrade for private talks.

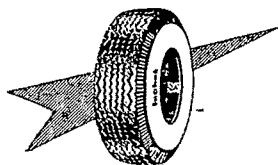
8. Ideological appreciation of the Tito Model Socialism or "non-aligned Communism" and "socialist People's Capitalism" by American experts working on the theory of "converging of two systems" to subvert scientific communism and internationalism.

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Apart from his other writings in MAINSTREAM, Major General Habibullah reviewed in the pages of this journal, Lt. Gen. B. M. Kaul's "THE UNTOLD STORY" (April 8, 1967) and D. R. Mankekar's "THE GUILTY MEN of 1962" (October 26, 1968).

Right Focus on Defence

E. HABIBULLAH

SRI S. S. Khera's book *India's Defence Problem* is undoubtedly a fine contribution towards the problems of ways and means facing India. It is written in three distinct portions. The first dealing with the Defence apparatus of India; the second with "the experience of 20 years since freedom"; and the last portion has an "analysis of various problems" as they occurred to the writer.

In the very opening of the book Sri Khera has quoted Jawaharlal Nehru as writing: "The Equation of Defence: the defence forces plus your industrial and technological background, plus thirdly, the economy of the country; and fourthly, the spirit of the people." Sri Khera then goes on to say, "if it helps in some measures to advance and enlarge the scope of public discussion concerning a subject which concerns the safety and security of all, that purpose will have been served."

The above quotation from Jawaharlal Nehru certainly does invite public discussion particularly from any one who tries to compare the 'miracles' of Algeria, Cuba, and Vietnam, not to mention the great victory of mankind at Stalingrad. Sri Khera's quotation from that "distinguished thinker on matters of national policy" Smt Sharda Mukerjee also invites immediate rebuff. She says, rightly, "defence strategy, far from being an isolated and reserved territory of Generals and service H. Qrs, involves statecraft in its highest form." She adds: "The fighting forces can play a decisive role on the battle-field, but there their function ends. They are required to safeguard the country's territorial integrity by effective confrontation of enemy action, to support national policies in the conduct of any conflict and, in exceptional circumstances assist civil authorities in maintaining national security."

In this opening chapter entitled "Inheritance" whereas the author has laid great stress on differences between Kitchener and Curzon, describing the General as the "dominating Kitchener," he has skimmed over, rather quickly, the chaotic inco-ordination caused by having three armies based on Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, nor does he seem to have realised that Curzon's advocacy of the continua-

tion of "the Governor General in Council" being the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief and a Major General inevitably *had* to lead either to a crisis or to lop-sided decision making. The Secretary of State's decision, therefore, was only illogical when it attempted to *compromise* between the views of the Viceroy and the C-in-C.

Throughout the book Sri Khera takes a particular view and then uses all arguments to conclude in line with that view. It is, therefore, not surprising that he comes to many wrong and inaccurate conclusions as well as to a considerable number of newly stressed and correct points of view. It would probably have been better had the author not connected the British 'inheritance' with the shaping of the modern Indian army. Then, the problems as they faced India, (the Indian Government of India as opposed to the British Government) could have been seen in their true and exclusive context. As it is, Sri Khera has succeeded in drawing on arguments not wholly irrelevant. But, the one pre-partition factor, of vital importance was that India had an integrated defence force under the British War Department, giving it flexibility, economy, clarity of purpose and unity of command, with integrated administration and logistics. The other lesson which is important is that the British Armed Forces in India "were not purely of the people, by the people and for the people." This, therefore, would mean that the basic organisation of the Indian army at the lower levels (the individual sub-unit, and unit levels) needed more radical reform than at the higher levels; but in the event, the opposite was the case.

In order to start, therefore, from the beginning, we must refer to the fact that it was Sri Khera who was Cabinet Secretary at the time of the crisis and had a big hand in decision-making in 1962 (*vide* article entitled "Where the Guilt Lies" by the reviewer in *Mainstream* of October 26, 1968). Although he does not refer directly to himself, he was also the person who took over as Defence Secretary after the resignation of Sri Pulla Reddi and, therefore, worked to achieve the reforms which he has described with satisfaction.

To revert to the "Equation of Defence" by Jawaharlal Nehru, it is clear that the 'defence forces' as described are the regular armed forces and the expression "your industrial and technological background" mean little unless they refer to the study of technological progress, research and rapid industrial development. Without this, any reference to "the spirit of the people" is meaningless because within this definition there is no *participation* of the people. Without the participation of the people the whole of the previous portion of the definition collapses like a house of cards. Nothing could be more obvious in 1962 than the fact that when Tejpur stood apparently exposed to the enemy, the Deputy Commissioner and his wife fled while the Government officials at Gauhati planned the evacuation of their families out of Assam. The Corps Commander too introduced an atmosphere of hysteria; but in spite of the burning of the treasury, the opening of jails and lunatic asylum, a deliberate giving up by the officials, a couple of Ministers and the young men of Upper Kamrup had already begun to prepare to stand and face the worst. It is a pity that so little note of this has been taken, because *there* lay the truth of what the defence of India could be.

Since 1955 the reviewer has been advocating an army of the people; but the question has been deliberately avoided time and again because those who claim to be democratic on the one hand, are not able to bring themselves to trust the people on the other hand. It is, therefore, illogical to speak of the spirit of the people without a full and active participation of the people.

As for Smt Sharda Mukerjee's definition of defence strategy, it is obvious that she has studied Bernard Shaw and Shakespeare in full measure; but the study of Bernard Shaw and Shakespeare is no substitute for study in depth and width of what is today the relation of policy to diplomacy in further relation to the needs of the broad masses of the people, geography and modern development. Certainly the statement of Smt Mukerjee quoted by Sri Khera displays a grey ignorance of the need to inter-relate strategy on the battle-field to economic strategy for the betterment of the nation, based on developmental strategy to meet the needs of the people. If these matters had been carefully studied they would have led to the definite conclusion that the defence services are the biggest individual educational organisation, social, economic, purchase and research organisation, in the whole country. Nothing could be more illogical, therefore, than to dismiss the Generals and General Staff by saying that their function finishes on the battle-field or after beating a few uneducated, half starved or semi-organised crowds of their own countrymen. It is just this attitude towards Generals and the General Staff which led and will lead to continuous battle failure if persisted in.

As regards the confusion caused by having had Bombay, Madras and Bengal armies in the nineteenth century the lesson is obvious, and yet, while the world is striving to integrate the three services (the Communist world having done so long ago) we in our wisdom have equated our blunders for

three armies by forming three services all aspiring for separate honour and their own predominant growth.

It is interesting to note that as long as Sir Robert Lokhart was commanding the combined Indian Forces, Air and Naval Commanders signed themselves as Flag Officer Commanding Royal Indian Navy and Air Marshal Commanding the Royal Indian Airforce, but the advent of Carriappa caused this to cease.

It is true that a Defence Ministry had to be brought into being and it was correct that "During September and October, 1946" when the country was on the threshold of independence and partition, the 40-year old arrangement came to an end as it had to. But the abolition of the Commander-in-Chief should have logically led to the creation of a Chief of Defence Staff directly under the Defence Minister, and the Defence Ministry should have been a combination of the General Staff, the Air-force and Navy supported by proper A and Q (personnel, discipline and provision) logistical staffs. This would have given much more direct association of the Government in the affairs of defence. Sad to say that the abominable white elephant created in 1947, manned by civil servants, exercising remote control of the armed forces has never been replaced, only the services have been set up separated from each other. This was given shape after consultation with General Sir Roy Bucher and not with General Carriappa.

"The apparent fact that India was a viable going concern as a nation, and continued to be satisfactorily governed and administered..... was due in large measure to the fact that the whole administrative machine in the country consisting of innumerable establishments..... was manned practically from top to bottom by Indian personnel many years before independence." The author conveniently compares this state of affairs with Africa. How many of Ataturk's administrators were in the service of the Sultan? And what is wrong with the self-administration of Kenya or Algeria? At a later stage (which we shall come to) the author seems to consider the Chinese to have progressed faster than ourselves; nor certainly, did Soviet Russia inherit an administration from the Tsars. Is it not possible that one can think of a British administrative inheritance of a powerful bureaucracy as being an undemocratic bane and no blessing? That the ICS officers were in closer touch with the Congress Ministerial office-holders may have been of help; but the fact that they and other civilian services also took part in inflicting brutal punishment upon freedom fighters made their outlook impersonal, callous and undedicated. It turned them into obedient servants who depended primarily on the manipulation of the minds of their masters. On the other hand, no Indianised army unit was ever called upon to inflict punishment on its own countrymen and so many of them dared to be closer in spirit to the freedom movement, as the Garhwalis in Peshawar and the frustrated INA gave visible proof. Sri Khera thinks that Jawaharlal Nehru always liked to be close to the services because he

liked the colour of their uniforms. "He had a very special regard for the services, not the least being that they were in uniform, looking the most distinguished among the usual assemblage of men." This was not so; the real reason was that he had made many genuine friends from amongst us during his own time of struggle and he was also conscious of the reputation that the Indian Armed Forces had built for their country during World War II. He knew the admiration and respect that Indian officers and men enjoyed in the military world; and many Indians saw War services as officers.

The writer has blamed all those in command and the Ministers in control during the "uneasy fifties" as having no set idea and of leading a rudderless course; but this was not so. There was a very clear-cut policy throughout; a policy of trying to exercise strictest economy in the Defence budget. To this end the Defence Chiefs had to argue and justify every action while also maintaining the position of their forces in a state of high morale and training. It is true that the equipment available for the battle-field was not of a high order; but it was equipment on which good training could be carried out as was proved in 1965. Let us not think that the magnificent tank battle then fought by the Indian army with inferior equipment was the result of three years training. It is absolutely wrong to say that "throughout the fifties no one appears to have made up their mind as to what should be the strength of the Indian army....It lacked the essential core in the way of equipment and training. Things like reserves and buildings and logistical support were almost out of the question." In fact the whole of the analysis of the pre-1962 approach to men and material is absolutely wrong. This is why the "radical changes" after 1962 have not been the correct and necessary radical changes leading to people's Defence participation. Indeed the officer material was better and more select before 1962. The new army of post-1962 has one marked feature; that it is much more expensive and is the basic cause of today's inflation. The most unfortunate thing in the fifties was that General Cariappa, having become Commander-in-Chief, was personally told by the Prime Minister to bring the army nearer the people, so that they would feel its changed role. When the General, however, began to carry this out the bureaucracy at once started putting up minutes about possible coups, and urging a separation of the three services on such grounds.

Chapter V which is the last chapter of Part I, deals with the subject of coups, but not very convincingly. Therefore in an atmosphere of suspicion such as would be ideally designed to create dissension between the forces, credit must go to those senior officers who still maintained the morale of their men in the face of it. The writer has felt that provided "politicians in office" avoid "the sure way of preparing the ground for a coup, and even precipitating a take over" their internal party quarrels must be kept out of the public eye and their own safety lies in cherishing "these (existing) institutions of State." It is a nice piece of cliché in the form of high sounding advice; *sans* much else. But all good

democratic people denounce each other, do they not? In America they denounce each other before they get a party nomination and the nominees then denounce each other at a higher level. To cling to outworn 'institutions of the State' makes them a very sound cause of trouble. The only way to avoid this is to have a rising standard of living, to remove from society, primarily the antagonisms of caste and creed and so, *ipso facto*, of class; for a contented society is not an explosive society. A contented society which has to be built by lifting itself up on its very bootstraps cannot offer to spend one thousand crores on a million man army. It should aim at arming its people and pushing up factory production as fast as possible. That is what logic seems to say in spite of any gifts of personal rhetoric or expression.

Because Sri Khera has tried to probe deep into the field of defence and strategy he has come to poor and indifferent conclusions, depending on clichés heard in military offices or used on military notings but imperfectly understood by civilian brethren. The first part of the book is, therefore, the weakest.

This is the first time the reviewer has heard of officers trained at Sandhurst referred to as "little brown sahebs." He has however heard this expression used for those entitled to Lee Commission passages "Home." He also knows of very affected accents used by ICS officers in their speech and can point to several who still serve. Finally, one knows well of several names of Brown 'Civilians' who used to change for dinner into a black tie and dinner jacket even in camp in jungles and villages.

So much for the first and worst part of the book.

II

FROM Chapters VI to XI the author is in his elements at times. This part of the book is immediately a noticeable improvement on the first part. In Chapter VI "India & Pakistan" he says "It is far from the truth to say that the Indo-Pakistan confrontation is a simple conflict between a Muslim and a Hindu nation" This is the proper stress, for this is what the mass media of communication at the disposal of the erstwhile colonial powers have never ceased to reiterate. Even Tinker, a professor of London University arranged a special TV Broadcast in September, 1965 to show Hindu India *versus* Pakistan and Islam as the basic fact of our conflict. Shri Khera traces faithfully the events which led up to our first conflict over Kashmir and of how Pakistan could lie no more about the fact that the so-called tribesmen were officially supported Pakistan invaders. The Security Council's reaction was sharp. "The presence of Pakistan troops in J & K, however, constitutes a material change in the situation in as much as the Security Council did not contemplate the presence of such troops in that State, nor was it apprised thereafter by the government of Pakistan" (UNCIP First Report). "Thus followed over the years since then, a series of debates in the Security Council,.....Pakistan had in addition at her elbow, advisers, especially British and American who lacked in understanding how far the Indians could be pushed."

While this is really an excellent chapter it is unfor-

fortunate that he should have given a comparative statement of Pakistani and Indian forces in such detail. For, while the former can at best be a really good guess, the latter must be exact information handed out free and gratis !

The inter-relation between the Kutch skirmish and infiltration, later, into Kashmir, requires further amplification. It is not fully enough given. The basic cause for the sudden tension in Kutch is not given. It was due to military pressure on F.M. Ayub Khan by his top brass. The Army by then had earned the contempt of the country and Ayub had had to get rid of all his coup companions one by one. It was one of his top bureaucrats who had hit on the Kutch plan ; for India had no defences there. It was also correct strategy for us not to hurl in large forces which could have got into natural trouble in the Rann at that time of year. Even today many politicians do not understand why we did not retaliate.

When Ayub made a cease-fire agreement with Lal Bahadurji, he was at once assailed by his empty 'brass kettles'. It was then that he observed "What do you fellas want in the desert ; Why not have a go at Kashmir." Thus the whole of the 1965 offensive from across the border was for political rehabilitation of the Pakistan Armed Forces and their acceptability in the eyes of their civilians. It was only brought to a rude halt by the massive destruction of the material which had been secretly built to a position of superiority in Tanks and Artillery, while Eisenhower and his successors swore it was not for use against India. Even today China and America are united in their effort to build a point of combustion in this sub-continent. This then is the vital problem of India's defence and it does not receive enough stress from Shri Khera.

Chapter VII on China is good in parts but not so good as Chapter VI. In this chapter, however, he analyses clearly the reasons for the superiority of Mao's men over the Kuomintang. "The communists were better organized, they were tougher, they lived and moved lightly and fast they were better disciplined and honest Chiang Kai Shek and his men.....had imbibed some of the Western habits of encumbered strategy and tactic ; political power had played its part in corrupting many of them and ordinary plain corruption did the rest."

Surely here was material on which to base some telling conclusion. What a pity that, having made these observations the author has shrunk from drawing any lesson at all. Here is something vital which could have been pointed to when analysing our own "failure in Nefa." The probe into Chinese Medieval history brings us to the fact that Changiz Khan (the mighty destroyer) is now historically considered by the Chinese as the great uniter. He is known as Mongko the Emperor Hsien Tsung. It is claimed, it is he that united China. If this is so then Kharezm that is modern Persia and Afganistan could as well also be parts of China ! "However one might interpret it, the events of the midthirteenth century led to the assertion thereafter of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet.....from time to time." This is not of course what their former stand was under British rule, "whereby Tibet was regarded as a separate

nation with its own King in tributary relationship with China."

By the end of the chapter (a good chapter for all that) one finds oneself yet a little confused about what are the merits and demerits of our border problem. Felix Green in his *The Wall Has Two Sides* and Robert Frost, have tried to make out what they feel to be a fair case; but undoubtedly the basic historical analysis by Owen Lattimore - the great Sinologist *The Inner Frontiers of Asia* gives the correct interpretation that China means more a tradition, cult or influence than a fixed territory. Mong'ko, and the Yuans were as territorially non-Chinese by race and origin as were the Manchurian Han. In the other way they are *the* Chinese of China. The dramatic rise of Chengiz Khan in fact remained dynamic for centuries in China and the Far East long after it had declined in Central Asia and the West. It is, however, an over-statement of fact to say that all these territories "were forced to pay tribute to Peking." For Peking itself was made a tributary territory. Kublai Khan the resplendant grandson of Chengiz Khan was lord only of the East and Far East by the time of his reign and may have gathered his tribute into Peking.

The chapter entitled "Tibet" is the weakest of the trilogy, because diplomatically Tibet had been the hub of Imperial policy in Asia while in the hands of the British. The author has frankly admitted that "The temptation to adventure into Tibet from the South (by the British) was restrained mainly by the fear of upsetting the Emperor in Peking." He has also faithfully traced the cruelties perpetrated by Francis Younghusband leader of a British force into Tibet, which caused a furore in Europe, ending in the Russo-British agreement of 1907 agreeing to "leave Tibet alone. Specially, neither Britain nor Russia must send any missions or representatives into Tibet."

Any one who feels India should therefore have taken over the mantle of Britain in Tibet can only speak from a point of pure ignorance. The status of Tibet so far as India could ever be concerned was a dried up Imperial bone over which China stood, jaws open, while Imperialist Russia and Britain yapped, growled and barked, but, for their own ulterior reasons, could make no further move to devour. It is, therefore, questionable in the second half of the twentieth century whether we were helping the people of Tibet when we sided heavily with the preservation and perpetuation of the long out-dated feudal god-king whose very status militated against his people moving in the direction of their times. As Indians we may reflect as to what the verdict of posterity will be on our role in Tibet up till and including the escape of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa.

The Chapter "The Uneasy Fifties" is not as objectively written as might have been expected after reading the previous three chapters. Perhaps when an actor himself appears on the stage, he has to have the driving force to make him believe that his is the peak performance. Thus to rely on his judgement where he himself is involved may sometimes be misleading. Wisdom comes most irresist-

ably with experience. Experience is forged best by one's own senses and by observing others. There is, however, then, the temptation to overlook the objective angle in analysis. "The government of independent India had inherited from their predecessors, the British government of India, some not too well-defined 'rights' in Tibet." In 1953 "India recognized Tibet as a region of China" but it is clear that from the start Mao had no intention of long-term relations with India cutting down the proposed 25-year goodwill-agreement to eight years, much to the chagrin of Jawaharlal Nehru.

"Cariappa.....as well as Thimayya were averse to any involvement in the North. The fact that the involvement might be forced upon India..... required perhaps political judgement and foresight beyond the capacity of the military experts." Is this the hollow line of thinking to be expected of an ICS officer? Surely this judgement and foresight lay in the political field. Only, inherent in our very ministerial hierarchy (already criticised in this review earlier), is the compartmentalization of the information sources and decision machinery pertaining to and related with Defence. As Cariappa and his successors would have seen it, the diplomatic resources of India were and would remain sufficient. They would have assessed that all problems could be solved across the table and that peace with China was a critical plank in our 'Panchsheel' declaration with China. That there was a possible enough threat that escalated had been pointed out in *Seminar* of 1961; but who was to take notice? In fact the 1962 debacle reflects not a military but a diplomatic collapse, and a wide breach into which the armed forces had to rush using "other means." Not even Napoleon, given the circumstances of decision, as those given to our top commanders, would have asked India to prepare for so costly an involvement. Though the present situation may even not be of our own volition it is costing us far more than a country of our means can afford and what is more, we are paying the piper and Mao is calling the tune.

We can agree that the later negotiations were part of a play-act put up to show that India was wrong; but March 31, 1959 marks the day when fire came into the soul of the Chinese, the day we helped the god-king of Tibet across the border. If any one thought we were repeating the rescue of the king of Nepal from his Ranas, then all we can say is, it was a blunder of the first order. The last talk of April, 1960 completed the blunder; Chou-En-Lai placed our own secret notings before our leaders and demolished them one by one. Here was a tryst with destiny. We could no doubt have taken a line of other sorts; but it is doubtful if the Chinese would have been prepared to accede the slightest advantage. At best we may have come to a hard compromise. It will be for critics of the future to judge whether, even at that hour, it would not have been a wise policy, to try for settlement. After "The Indian government published the report of the officials on February 1, 1961" the breach was complete. The author refers to it in terms of right and wrong as though it was a judicial trial, while the question was, from start to finish, one of nego-

tiation and thus, of give-and-take.

Chapter X continues the same confusion of interpretation and lack of military knowledge that bedevilled the first part of the book. The author states that "the Indo-Tibet-Bhutan border was invaded by the Chinese. There was great pressure within India.....This might be a militarily unsound decision; but the Indians had little option to do otherwise than to declare the nation's determination to yield no more territory to China. *The military consensus of opinion was that it was feasible.*" We are afraid that such a statement would need more positive proof. So far as is known the plan was opposed firmly by all the Army Commanders and at Army H. Qrs. Only one officer ultimately gave in and said it *might* be feasible. The unreadiness of the army for a campaign has been described in such detail but has little relevance.

However ready the forces may have been, their composition and handling at the time would have led to the same conclusion. Even more men and material would have been lost. You cannot (let us be frank) fight a patriotic war on an imperial pattern; which means poor nations cannot emulate the rich in their organization, deployment and man-power. This is why Sri Khera has not been able to come to a realistic conclusion. "Finally, in making my final assessment of the motives behind the Chinese cease-fire declaration and withdrawal, it may be worth mentioning that the main Indian armed forces were never committed.....They were and remained far from the front anywhere along India's Northern borders." Then why talk of shortage and the like?

If this is correct (and it is) then why all the allegations about poor logistics, low morale and rudderless military policies in the fifties? Does it not point to the fact that the Chinese made little more than a foray into India with the primary object of panicking us into something unwise? That they have more than succeeded is borne out by our continued floundering in the economic slouch. New chances for investors to invest in defence industries, tremendous circulation of unproductive money, the fourth largest armed force in the world; and 85 per cent of Indians have not Rs. 30 to spend in one month! What "quality of man" does Sri Khera wish to produce then when he says on page 107, "The quality of the man is more significant by far than the perfection of the machine in his charge". The expression of cliches is certainly not going to produce quality. His summary of what "appear to me to be the more important causes of failure" (in 1962) is thus scarcely worth serious consideration. Nehru was vaguely near the crux when he said "You cannot out of a relatively agricultural background suddenly put up a highly sophisticated factory." Nor can you, from semi-colonial people, make highly sophisticated forces.

Sri Khera cannot finish his second part without having an inevitable 'dig' at the army leaders. "With the relative quick promotions which characterised the Indian Armed Forces after independence, the senior ranking commanders appear to have become more increasingly isolated from the new economic, social and political developments than they had

been, while serving as comparatively junior officers under the British." If this was so, was it not through the massive efforts of the civilian 'Establishment' to keep the forces isolated? It certainly was, and still is so. But in spite of the isolation the armed forces had to function. It was a completely utopian orbit *created* by the famous "steel frame" which till today has not altered its hold or shape one 'jot or little.' Thus the forces still are wrongly oriented. The arrival of Sri Chavan as Defence Minister did not metamorphosize the thinking or the range of the services. The shortening of the tenure of the Chief of Army Staff to three years can scarcely be said to be a step in the right direction; nor can the proliferation of emergency commissions improve the leadership quality to quote only two of many items.

The Chapter on the 'Failure in Nefa' says: "To repeat the truism. There are no bad soldiers, there are only bad officers". At this stage the reader has just about read as many undigested military clichés as can be reasonably accepted. So we too will finish our commentary on this part by asking: Why did diplomacy fail? Why were our main forces not committed? Why did we draw back from Tse La and Bomdi La? General Thorat had carried out a thorough study of the possibilities in his time and had recommended the holding of these two places but he was out of the army by then, at what age and why? Why also was Tse La abandoned while fully stocked without plan? Above all, and most vital, the Divisional Commander and the two Brigade Commanders were all replaced a few weeks before the battle by new men, who had never before set foot on or studied that area. Bungling at the ministerial level right back in New Delhi can provide many of the answers. Some senior military officers, in office by hook or by crook, held positions which they should have never aspired to. They were not capable of higher direction; yet men of calibre stamped their heels in helpless retirement. For this, not bad officers but a rigid bureaucracy was responsible.

III

THE "Defence Budget is determined primarily by political and economic factors, rather than by free choice." Sri Khera rightly quotes from a conference at Oxford: "The total of any defence budget which may be framed can never be arrived at, simply by totaling amounts set up by Military Planners..... Their job is to defend the country therefore they must err in asking too much, never too little. And the too much..... may be beyond the nation's capacity to provide." This base for developing a good argument is excellent but Sri Khera once again does not take advantage of it, he fritters away facts he has carefully collected and so his book goes out with a whimper where it should have gone down with a 'bang.' The more the pity for he realizes full well that for "countries such as India and Pakistan most of the very sophisticated and complicated weapon and delivery systems are ruled out.....

They must therefore trim their policies, their international postures, their domestic economic efforts, their military plans and strategies to their resources military material from abroad is a slippery thing for any nation to depend upon." He goes on to examine the questions we must consider when evaluating costs; but the objectives that diplomacy *must* achieve are omitted in his thinking. Here then is his major gap in thinking; yet he goes on to acknowledge that "China is the outstanding present-day illustration of the doctrine of self-help."

For India the table on page 244 makes depressing reading. From the year 1950-51 when it was Rs. 168 crores the Defence budget rose in eleven years to Rs. 312 crores in 1961-62. In that year, contrary to Menon's and Nehru's 'accusers' it jumped to Rs. 474 crores. Now what is important to note is that (as the reviewer has asserted earlier) Mao Tse Tung threw our economy clean off balance. The 1963-64 budget rocketed up to Rs 816 crores. As if this was not enough, when stabilization was attempted in 1964-65 and the figure came a little down to Rs 805 crores showing a small decrease, Pakistan completed what China was trying for and the 1965-66 budget leaped to Rs 886 crores while this year's budget is over Rs 1,200 crores and there are no signs of decrease. While over 85 per cent of Indians still do not have Rs 30 per month to spend on themselves, one may ask, is this a luxury or a dire necessity? If this is not successful "erosion" of India's strength it is a fine imitation. "Further, the gap between India and China is increasing, for Communist China is racing ahead in an all-out effort to catch up with the United States".

More ominous is the author's thought: "If ever India and Pakistan go to war again..... The United States programme to Pakistan has been stepped up, under the April 1967 dispensation..... The terminology used in the American declaration refers also to 'end items.' This means complete pieces of equipment such as aircraft, tanks, guns."

"An arms race between India and Pakistan especially with Pakistan and China closely associated against India must have, within a foreseeable short time a crippling effect."

The corollary to this frank reading is that Mao's forces in their foray in 1962 (helped by Pakistan's repeat performance) have fulfilled to the greatest possible measure, the long-term dream of the Chinese strategist. We, on our part, go on helping fulfilling it ad infinitum. Why? all because we have shrunk from, or never considered an armed resistance based on the patriotic instincts of the Indian people.

"More immediate and more direct ways of controlling and reducing defence cost" are not as suggested by him "closer attention to management of defence itself," but only by looking inwards and reflecting socialism and society in defence readiness. In fact, doing what all the successful socialist countries have already set the blueprint for. But when the Export Import Bank of America has been doing a roaring arms trade in billions of dollars how can other private and national manufacturers not use all measures, persuasions and retired armed forces officers to guide

India into being a valued customer? In order to do that there must be a vested interest in Nagas, Mizos, Pakistanis and any one else prepared to keep the Indian kettle boiling.

Had Sri Khera written his whole book leading up to the following paragraph and subordinated his logic thereto, *India's Defence Problem* should indeed have been taken as a manual for Indian defence:

"The marks of sound and strong national economy lie in the capability of the nation paying its way for everything, including particularly in our present context, paying for whatever is needed in the way of defence equipment and services; secondly, in a sufficient up-to-date industrial complex; thirdly, in the state of its scientific and technological achievements, and the capability of inducting science and technological features into the management of the nation's economy; fourthly, in achieving a rate of growth of its gross national product, and in vital sectors of the economy such as food, energy, basic materials and medicines; and so on, such as will enable the nation to overcome periods of strain or of shortages beyond its control; fifthly, in a sufficiently high standard of social services and investments in educating, training and public health services; and finally, in a reasonably equitable distribution of the national income; with standards of consumption which are not too disparate between those at the top and those at the bottom of the scale."

He briefly examines these postulates in their present context and finds quite a great deal wrong. Astonishingly he finishes by showing that we are spending easily the least percentage of our gross national product on defence, 3.8 per cent—the highest being Israel 11.7 per cent, followed closely by China 10 per cent. One feels most emphatically reluctant to accept such a figure!

While a special chapter is devoted to Science and Defence, there is no real contribution made to thinking on the subject. That Krishna Menon bewailed the fact that the "Indian Army is very unscientific" is because the Indian Army is based on caste and peasants. How scientific does Sri Khera expect such an army to be without a solidly scientific education base for India? The standard of science taught at Khadakvasla, Dehra Dun and the service officer training establishments has registered a steady increase; but it is the rank and file that has a rural totally uneducated base. It is then hardly fair to say that "The resistance.....in military echelons was in almost direct ratio to age and seniority." He has already acknowledged earlier that you cannot give backward countries highly sophisticated weapons. The armed forces can only reflect the capacity of their country. Thus quotations from C. P. Snow, P. M. S. Blackett and others are inappropriate. A scientific education and temper are vital for India as a whole. The armed forces in isolation cannot operate it. However, weapons and equipment, design and development, should be the business of the arm and service concerned and should be guided and operated much like it is in the USSR where, for instance, the Stalin school of armour developed tanks; not like England and America, where a firm is given a competitive contract for design and

development. In this way the forces themselves will throw up their own Ilyushins and weapon scientists not depending on Wrights and Vickers and other companies to do the thinking, starting from zero each time.

It was almost certainly the Russian approach to design and development that enabled them to out-tank and out-gun Germany by the end of World War II. That was in itself a formidable victory achieved by fighting scientists, with full knowledge of what was needed in the field and a personal feel of the direction in which their research must move. Layers of secretaries, clerks and professors, consulting Leylands, Rolls Royce or any one else can never achieve such aims in the same way. Indeed the "Mandarins of White Hall" and the Lamas of New Delhi merely tend to become more and more crustaceous as they pore over the gains made; but these gains, in comparative terms, are as little when compared to the strides that could be made.

It is of little use summarizing "Science in China" in a chapter when the base from which the Chinese can work is not examined. Therefore, it is better to move to the penultimate chapter "The Policy making Apparatus." This is probably the most irritating chapter in the book. The hastily added last two paragraphs state that H.M. Patel, ICS was made Secretary of Defence in October, 1946 and was succeeded by B.B. Ghosh "an officer of the Finance cadre brought with him the valuable experience and knowledge he had gained in the Military Finance Department." With such satisfaction does the author state these as first-class qualifications that he obviously wants us to say 'what a marvel was this.' "New systems of relationship began to be brought into being between the Armed Forces Headquarters... and the Ministry of Defence." But, this is the very apparatus that still bewilders any military thinker and handicaps the possibilities of victory in any serious contest of the future as much as of the past.

The last chapter peters out with a statement as to why it is our policy not to have an atom bomb. As one reads it one hopes that some day some one in a position of responsibility will have a mind wide enough, knowledge deep enough and a capacity persistent enough to see that the great problems that face our country today are those of undernourishment, poverty and ignorance, which cannot be defended.

The "figures of diminishing returns and net extra-repayments is the expensive answer in the equation of foreign aid. Too much dependance upon others, even upon the best of friends and allies is emasculating and in the long run a fatally weakening process...and if it goes on long enough it tends to destroy the nation's integrity and security...India seems to have as yet many hard lessons to imbibe."

Finally we will end with this last significant quotation: "The creation of a sufficient industrial base for defence and the maintenance of the industrial base in a sufficiently up-to-date state, especially in countries like India and Pakistan can succeed only in the measure in which the nation plans and develops its economy as a whole. The nation's defence mechanism, its industrial set-up and its overall economic condition are closely related."

Lenin on Hegemony of Proletariat and Present-Day Reality

I.A. ALUF

THE teachings on the historical role of the proletariat is the acme of Marxist thought. Marx and Engels brought out the historic role of the working class as the grave-digger of the last exploiting system, capitalism, and the builder of a new society. In the words of Marx, the proletariat is a class "in the hands of which is the revival of humanity."

"The great and historic merit of Marx and Engels is that they indicated to the proletarians of all countries their role, their task, their mission, namely, to be the first to rise in the revolutionary struggle against capital and to rally around themselves in this struggle all the toilers and exploited."

This basic idea of Marxism was carried forward by Lenin with due regard for the specific features of the new epoch and the new experience of the emancipation movement of the proletariat. In the struggle against reformists and revisionists Lenin evolved a streamlined teaching on the hegemony of the working class. This teaching is the starting point in the working out of the strategy and tactics of the international Communist movement.

First, Lenin furnished proof of the thesis that in the present-day epoch the proletariat can and must be the vanguard of any truly popular revolution, not only socialist but also democratic.

Second, he defined conditions necessary for making the hegemony of the proletariat possible and elaborated the idea of alliance of the working class with the peasantry and other non-proletarian masses of the working people as the fundamental condition for the victory of the revolution.

Third, having summed up the wealth of experience of the Russian revolutions and the international proletarian movement, he showed the mechanism of the hegemony of the working class, the forms and methods of struggle to carry this hegemony into life.

Lenin taught us that the attitude to the hegemony of the proletariat is the touchstone for any party which claims to speak on behalf of the working class, the chief expression of its genuine, not sham, revolutionary nature. "Renunciation of the idea of hegemony," he pointed out, "is the crudest form of reformism in the Russian Social-Democratic movement."

This is the translation of an article that appeared in the Soviet journal, VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No. 1, 1969,

The main issue in Lenin's struggle against economism and, later, Menshevism and other varieties of opportunism was whether the proletariat will follow in the wake of the liberal bourgeoisie or whether it will rise to the role of the leader of a revolution, the political leader of the people. "While capitalism existed the political and economic activity of the working class was marked by two tendencies. On the one hand, there was the tendency to settle down fairly comfortably under capitalism, which was feasible only for a small upper stratum of the proletariat. On the other hand, there was the tendency to lead the whole mass of the working and exploited people towards revolutionary overthrow of capital in general."

The Bolshevik activities led by Lenin were focussed on bringing about the success of the second trend. Lenin persistently reared the Russian proletariat in the spirit of understanding by it of its historic role as the leader of the class battles of all the working and exploited people. He stressed with particular force that the ability of the proletariat to become the leader of the emancipation movement was the chief criterion of its revolutionary aspirations. "The proletariat is revolutionary only insofar as it is conscious of and gives effect to this idea of hegemony," he wrote.

The hegemony of the proletariat can be effected only under certain conditions. The main among them is the readiness of the proletariat itself for an active struggle to achieve the victory of the revolution. Another condition for this is the winning to the side of the proletariat and the rallying round it of allies from among the semi-proletarian and non-proletarian sections of the working population. "The proletariat," Lenin wrote, "cannot achieve victory if it does not win the majority of the population to its side."

Thus the conversion of the immense revolutionary potentialities of the proletariat into a tangible force presupposes first of all the realisation by it of its class interests and historical tasks. Only by abandoning the narrow aims of the struggle and rising to the role of the leader of all working people, the leading revolutionary force influencing the political life of the nation, can the working class become the true hegemonic force.

This role is won in the revolutionary struggle in energetic political actions with the ultimate goal

of over-throwing the power of the exploiting classes and carrying out truly democratic and socialist reforms. "Only struggle educates the exploited class," Lenin wrote. "Only struggle discloses to it the magnitude of its own power, widens its horizon, enhances its abilities, clarifies its mind, forges its will."

This struggle is possible only when the working class is united ideologically and organisationally, when it is led by the political party equipped with the Marxist-Leninist theory. Lenin indissolubly linked the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat with the formation of a militant, revolutionary Marxist party. It is not accidental that the first controversy with the Mensheviks was precisely on the issue of the type of the party that was to be founded at the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party. The formation of the Bolshevik party of a new type, was of decisive significance for the party, carrying out by the working class of Russia of its leading role in revolutionary movement.

* * *

LENIN's teaching on the hegemony of the proletariat was constantly developed and enriched in organic connection with the general progress of the Russian and international revolutionary process, with changes in the alignment of forces in Russia and on the international arena.

The idea of the hegemony of the proletariat was given pride of place in the early works of Lenin. It was expressed with particular force in *What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats* in which he set out the scientific and political foundations of the workers' movement in Russia. In this work Lenin theoretically substantiated the historic role of the Russian working class as the advanced revolutionary force of society, as the most consistent and staunch fighter against tsarism and capitalism. In this book he reached the conclusion on the hegemony of the proletariat in bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions and put forward the idea of a party as an instrument of carrying out by the working class of its historic mission.

The book, *What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats* exposed the petty-bourgeois ideology of the Populists, which prevented the Russian revolutionaries from correctly understanding the historic role of the working class and firmly adopting the positions of Marxism. At the same time it brought out the revolutionary potentialities of the peasantry and showed its vital interest in the abolition of the vestiges of serfdom. That is why, Lenin stressed in the book, the peasantry can and must become a reliable ally of the working class in the revolutionary struggle.

A new important stage in the development of Lenin's teaching on the hegemony of the proletariat was the first Russian revolution which gave Lenin much food for reaching conclusions of great significance.

With the beginning of the 1905 revolution the

question of whether the proletariat can become the hegemonic force of a bourgeois revolution acquired a vital theoretical and practical significance. The Mensheviks denied such a possibility. The greatest merit of Lenin lies in that he utterly exposed the groundless and liquidationist essence of the Menshevik propositions. Carrying forward the ideas expressed by him back in the nineties, he conclusively proved the point that the working class must lead a bourgeois-democratic revolution, that only it can bring this revolution to final victory.

Advancing a new strategic slogan for the bourgeois democratic stage of the revolution, Lenin proceeded from the concrete analysis of the socio-economic relations and class shifts in Russia and the world. "We have now undoubtedly entered a new era—a period of political upheavals and revolutions has begun," Lenin wrote in the summer of 1905. The new epoch radically changed the correlation of class forces. Following the European bourgeoisie, the Russian bourgeoisie, too, was growing into a counter-revolutionary force. The economic interests of the liberal bourgeoisie closely interlaced with the interests of autocracy and landowners, while the fear of the consistent revolutionary mood of the working class pushed this bourgeoisie to a deal with Tsarism. On the other hand, the proletariat had by that time emerged from the total mass into an independent political force with a militant Marxist Party at its head. Thus, a solid foundation had arisen for the establishment of proletarian-hegemony in a bourgeois-democratic revolution, the more so that the working class was vitally interested in its complete victory so that it could continue the struggle for socialism.

The struggle for democracy educates the proletariat politically and strengthens it as the hegemonic class. Heading the general democratic movement, the proletariat extends the front of class battles, consolidates the political forces of the revolution and finally facilitates the transition to the immediate struggle for socialism. "It is quite inconceivable that the proletariat, as a historical class, will be able to defeat the bourgeoisie, unless it is prepared for that by being educated in the spirit of the most consistent and resolutely revolutionary democracy," he stressed.

During the first Russian revolution Lenin made a new important step in elaborating the question of allies of the proletariat. The Marxist party, working in a bourgeois society, cannot conduct political struggle ignoring bourgeois democracy and avoiding blocs with it. However, it is necessary to take a concrete attitude to bourgeois democracy and be able to single out its revolutionary elements and orientate on them. Lenin criticised the Mensheviks because they identified bourgeois democracy in Russia with its opportunist wing with Constitutional Democrats, and colluded with them, leaving the peasantry out of their reckoning. Yet the peasantry, entangled and burdened by numerous vestiges of serfdom, comprised the main force of revolutionary bourgeois democracy. The first Russian revolution conclusively showed that the agrarian question was its essence and that the peasantry was on the whole able to wage a mass revolutionary struggle against autocracy and the landowners. Lenin wrote in this connection

that "hegemony in the bourgeois liberation movement, which revolutionary Social Democracy always assigned to the proletariat, had to be defined more precisely as leadership which rallied the peasantry behind it."

In addition to proving the need of alliance between the working class and the peasantry, Lenin worked out a new strategic formula which laid a solid political basis for this alliance. We have in mind Lenin's slogan of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. It was a truly unique slogan expressing for the first time the idea of the dictatorship of two classes which won in the bourgeois democratic revolution. The possibility of such dictatorship arose from the coincidence of the political interest of the workers and the peasants during the bourgeois democratic revolution. Both were vitally interested in consolidating the results of the 'democratic overthrow and preventing the counter-revolutionaries from restoring the old order detested by the people.

Lenin's slogan of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry was of inestimable significance for the correct orientation of the Party. First, it protected the Party from adventurist slogans like the one proclaimed by Trotsky: "Without the Tsar, but the workers' government." Second, it threw a bridge to the struggle for the realisation of the socialist tasks.

The first Russian revolution corroborated Lenin's idea of the hegemony of the proletariat. For the first time in history the proletariat displayed such a revolutionary energy. For the first time such intensity of the struggle was achieved that the armed uprising merged with the mass political strike, a specifically proletarian instrument of struggle. The revolution of 1905 disproved the Menshevik talk about the immaturity of the Russian proletariat and the impossibility of the hegemony of the proletariat because of its small numerical strength. In the course of the revolution, Lenin wrote, "the leading role of the proletariat was brought out clearly."

In the process of the revolutionary struggle of the Russian proletariat Lenin tirelessly elaborated the question of the forms and methods of effecting the hegemony of the proletariat.

Of great significance for the firm establishment of this hegemony are energetic actions of the proletariat, its insistence, heroism and consistency in the struggle. This exerts a tremendous influence on the allies of the working class, accelerates their transition to the positions of the revolutionary proletariat. "From the proletarian point of view," Lenin wrote, "hegemony in a war goes to him who fights most energetically, who never misses a chance to strike a blow at the enemy, who always matches the action to the word, who is therefore the ideological leader of the democratic forces, who criticises half-way policies of every kind."

A mass political strike holds a leading place among the various forms of proletarian struggle. It is the chief means of rousing the people to action, drawing them into political struggle and rallying them around the working class. "In a political strike," Lenin pointed out, "the working class comes

forward as the advanced class of the whole people." However, a political strike is not separated by some wall from an economic one. Lenin showed the interaction of these two forms of the proletarian movement. At the beginning of the struggle an economic strike often arouses the backward section and stirs them to action. Demanding better conditions, the working class simultaneously grows morally and politically. It becomes better prepared for carrying out its lofty goals of emancipation and is drawn into the political struggle. Political and economic strikes are mutually interwoven and support each other. In this connection and interlacing lies the strength and vitality of the movement. Unless these two forms of struggle are closely interlinked, "a really wide mass movement—moreover, a movement of national significance—is impossible."

Revolutionary organisations of the working class were in Lenin's opinion the main levers of its hegemony, the strongholds of proletarian influence on the working people. These were above all Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. Back in 1905 Lenin showed what immense revolutionary potentialities are hidden in these new forms of the organisation of the working people. Lenin regarded Soviets as an apparatus through which the vanguard of the oppressed strata can rouse to action, educate, teach and lead the working people.

Using the broad arsenal of means, the Bolshevik Party, enriched by the experience of the 1905-1907 revolution, continued to work consistently for enhancing the leading role of the working class in the emancipation movement and prepared it for new revolutionary battles. During the First World War, carrying forward the theory of the socialist revolution, Lenin showed that the leading role of the proletariat in the emancipation struggle of the entire people rose still higher and that new, more favourable conditions appeared for the rapid growing of the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist one.

Indeed, the quick transition from the democratic stage of the revolution to the socialist one began after the February Revolution of 1917. The Mensheviks again came out against the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution. Plekhanov and other ideologues of the Mensheviks stuck to the dead dogma of the Second International theoreticians according to whom the proletariat must become a majority of the nation to achieve victory in a socialist revolution.

"The very attack of the proletarian revolution," Kautsky wrote, "presupposes the numerical superiority of the proletariat in comparison with all other classes of society taken together." Basing themselves on this proposition, the Mensheviks spoke about the "illegitimacy" of a socialist revolution in Russia. The Menshevik newspaper *Rabochaya Gazette* wrote in March, 1917 that bourgeois power fully conformed to that stage of political and economic development at which Russia stood.

Lenin disproved these opportunistic thesis of the Second International. He showed that the proletariat must not necessarily constitute the majority for carrying out a socialist revolution. "The strength of the proletariat in any capitalist country," he noted, "is far greater than the proportion it repre-

sents of the total population. That is because the proletariat economically dominates the centre and nerve of the entire economic system of capitalism, and also because the proletariat expresses economically and politically the real interests of the vast majority of the working people under capitalism."

That is why the proletariat, not being the majority of the population, can win over the broad masses of the working people of town and countryside, heading them and carrying out a victorious socialist revolution.

Life convincingly proved the correctness of Lenin's analysis of the new opportunities opened before the proletariat in its struggle to overthrow the domination of capital. After the February and March events of 1917, which demonstrated the exceptional determination and heroism of the working class, its moral and political authority rose still higher. The working people became convinced that only in alliance with the working class and under its leadership they can overthrow all forms of oppression, win peace, land and freedom. Ably combining the struggle for the social emancipation of the working people with the struggle for general democratic demands, the Bolshevik Party helped the broad masses overcome petty bourgeois illusions and ensured their alliance with the proletariat. That is why in October, 1917 the Leninist Party could rely on the majority of the active section of the people, which was the brightest manifestation of the hegemony of the proletariat in the socialist revolution.

The victory of the October Revolution confirmed the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the historic mission of the working class by placing it for the first time at the helm of state power. Thus the hegemony of the working class in the bourgeois democratic revolution made for its hegemony in the socialist revolution, which then grew over into the dictatorship of the proletariat. "The dictatorship of the proletariat," Lenin wrote, "would have been out of the question if, in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, the proletariat had not developed a keen class consciousness, strict discipline and profound devotion."

* * *

AFTER the victory of the October Revolution a new stage began in the development of Lenin's teaching on the hegemony of the proletariat. This stage was conditioned by new tasks of the working class; the state guidance of society, the radical changing of its economic and political foundations and moral principles, and the placing of it on to the road to socialism. No other class could cope with these tasks unexampled by their complexity and difficulty.

Elaborating questions of socialist construction, Lenin showed that only the working class led by the Communist Party can overcome not only the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes but also the vacillations of semi-proletarian; petty bourgeois strata of the working people, and draw

them into the building of socialism. The proletariat must accomplish a two-pronged task to defeat the bourgeoisie and build and consolidate socialism. First, it must carry along the mass of the working people by its devoted heroism and revolutionary energy and head it for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the complete stifling of any resistance on its part. Second, it must lead the working and exploited people, as well as all the petty bourgeois sections, along the road of new economic construction, building a new labour discipline and a new organisation of labour which combines the latest achievements of science and capitalist engineering with the mass unification of politically conscious workers engaged in the building of large-scale socialist production. "The second task is more difficult than the first," Lenin warned, "for it cannot possibly be fulfilled by single acts of heroic fervour; it requires the most prolonged, most persistent and most difficult mass heroism in plain, everyday works."

The working class of Russia, led by the Communist Party, again proved it was worthy of its historic mission. Its organisation, discipline, revolutionary spirit and labour heroism were of decisive significance for the victory of socialism. Becoming the dominant class, it displayed itself as a great builder, organiser of the people, and a creator of new forms of political and economic life of society.

Working-class hegemony is not a dead category. At a certain stage of its evolution it is embodied in the dictatorship of the proletariat necessary for the entire transitional period from capitalism to socialism. But this does not end the historic mission of the working class. It fulfils this mission in new forms. With the victory of socialism and the consolidation of the socio-political and ideological unity of the working people the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat grows over into a state of whole people, a political organisation of the entire people with the working class preserving its leading role.

Socialism evokes profound changes in the social structure of society. It abolishes class antagonisms and guarantees the socio-political and ideological unity of the working people. It would however be a mistake to consider that under socialism classes cease to exist, that the workers get diffused in socialist society, and the latter becomes an "association of immediate producers." Views of this kind, current in some of the socialist countries, run counter to Leninism and contradict reality. Lenin warned in the early years of socialist construction that the abolition of classes requires a very long period of time because for their complete elimination it is necessary to liquidate not only any private ownership of the means of production but also to eliminate the distinction between town and countryside, between manual workers and brain workers.

Lenin's conclusions were borne out by the experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. After the exploiting classes had been abolished and the socialist mode of production established, society made a decisive step on the way of building a homogeneous social structure. However, it does not lose its class nature. The working class preserves its leading role in society and the state.

This is determined by a number of objective factors. The working class is bound up with large-scale industry—the basis of the socialist economy and of technical progress in the entire economy. It is also connected with the property of the whole people, the main form of ownership in socialist society. In this way the working class exerts a decisive influence on the development of social production and makes the main contribution to the laying of the material and technical basis of communism.

The working class of the USSR is the most advanced and organised class of socialist society. It inherited the best qualities of the revolutionary proletariat of Russia and is distinguished by a high degree of consciousness and political maturity. Its activity, innovation and progressive initiative in the promotion of socialist forms of labour provide an inspiring example for the whole of Soviet society.

In full conformity with the real position of the working class in our society, the CPSU Programme states that it exercises its leading role also in the period of full-scale construction of communism. It will complete the fulfilment of this role only when the higher phase of communism is built and the classes disappear completely. Hence, the notion of the hegemony of the working class is, historically, broader than the dictatorship of the proletariat, because it means the leading role of the working class at all stages of fulfilment of its historic mission from the first political battles against the exploiting classes to the construction of complete Communist society.

At all these stages the leading role of the working class is exercised through the Marxist-Leninist Party. It is not accidental that the latter-day revisionists zealously seek to break the working class away from the Communist Parties. For instance, one of the active inspirers of the Czechoslovak counter-revolution, Ivan Svitak, maintained that the "historic role of the working class and the leading role of the Communist Party are two different questions" because, he said, the working class can fulfil its mission without the guiding influence of the Communist Party.

However, the historical experience irrefutably proves that without such a party the working class is unable to carry out a socialist revolution, overthrow the bourgeoisie, build socialist society and then unfold the construction of Communism. With the increased scope of the constructive activity of the working class and the entire people the leading role of the Party rises still more.

A one-party or multi-party system may arise in one or another socialist country depending on concrete historic conditions. However, in strict correspondence with the role played by the working class, its party, the Party of Communists, acts as the leading political force. Any deviation from this, one of the main laws of socialist and Communist construction threatens with grave consequences for the working class and other working people because this imperils their socialist gains.

The Bratislava Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist countries said the fraternal Parties became convinced on historical experience that the road to socialism and communism can be followed only when one is guided by general laws of

socialist construction, first of all by strengthening the leading role of the working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist parties.

History has shown conclusively that those who deny the guiding role of the Communist Parties and sap the basic foundation of socialism, voluntarily or not, bring the grist to the mill of the enemies of the working-class. That is why the enemies of socialism, revisionists of all hues always choose the Communist Party as the chief objective of their attacks. "Socialism, but without the Party," "Soviets, but without Communists." For over half a century these have been the favourite slogans of counter-revolutionaries.

During the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary in October 1956 the reactionaries besieged the Party Committees buildings and killed Communists in the first place. Liquidation of the Communist Party was the chief aim of the Hungarian counter-revolutionaries. This is also borne out by Czechoslovak events. The counter-revolutionaries launched a frenzied campaign against the Communist Party, slandered the achievements of socialism in the country, and strove to wrench it away from the Socialist camp. The London *Daily Mail* wrote in those days that "reformers" attacked the Communist Party in the first place. The bourgeois press of the West put forward the slogan of "liberalisation" of the socialist system in Czechoslovakia with the aim of abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. The fraternal assistance of Socialist countries foiled these designs of the international reactionary forces.

It is significant that the subversive activities of the revisionist elements in Czechoslovakia were accompanied by crude attacks on socialist democracy and the leading role of the working class. Revisionists claimed that the working class had become a reserve of conservatism. They advocated the bourgeois technocratic idea that in our atomic age the working class is no longer able to lead society and that leadership should go over to its "intellectual part," technical intelligentsia. The enemies of Communism would like very much to counterpose the working class to the working intelligentsia, explode the socio-political unity of the socialist nations, and drive a wedge between them.

The fraternal Parties of the countries of the socialist community vigorously oppose any attempts of imperialism and its ideological agents to undermine the leading positions of the working class. The further consolidation of world socialism is inconceivable without the strengthening of the leading role of the working class and the Communist Parties.

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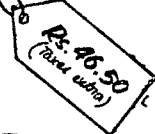
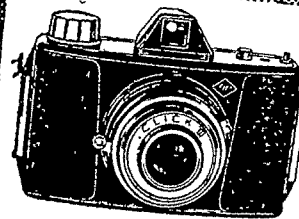
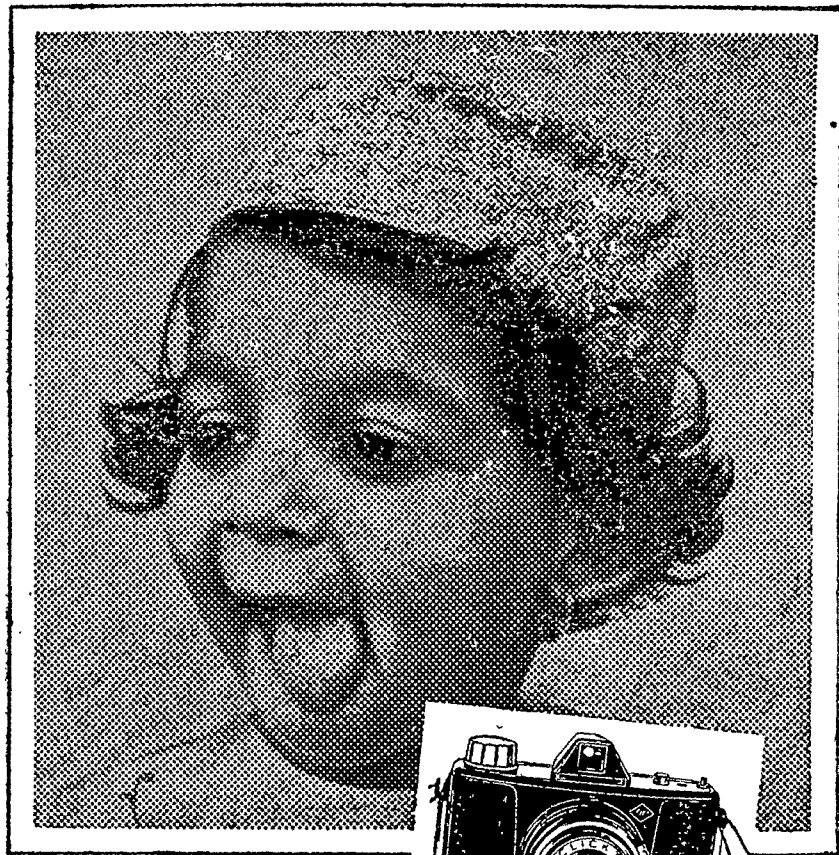
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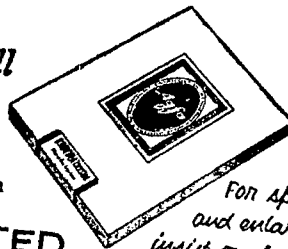
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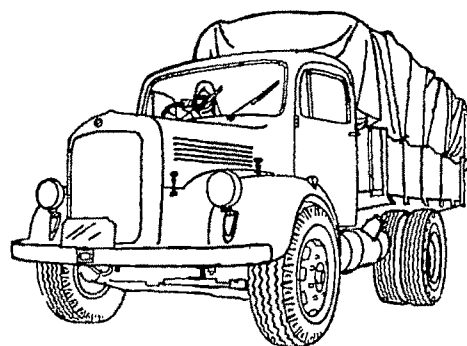
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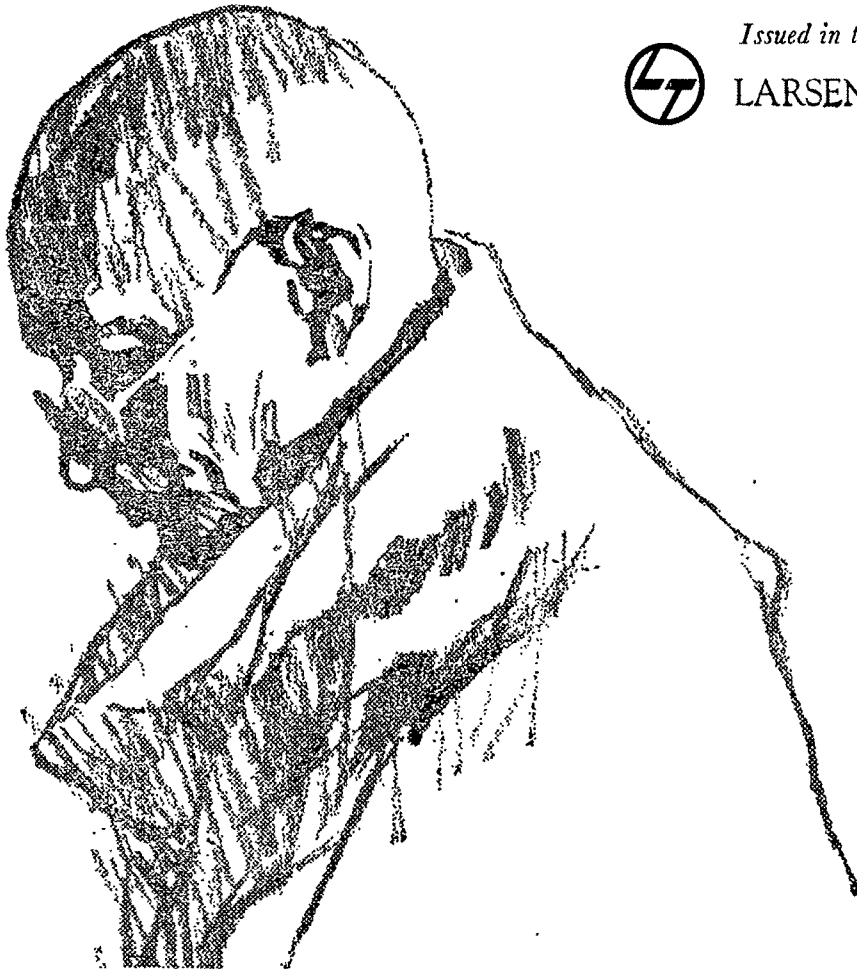
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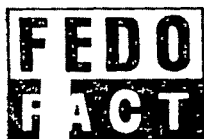
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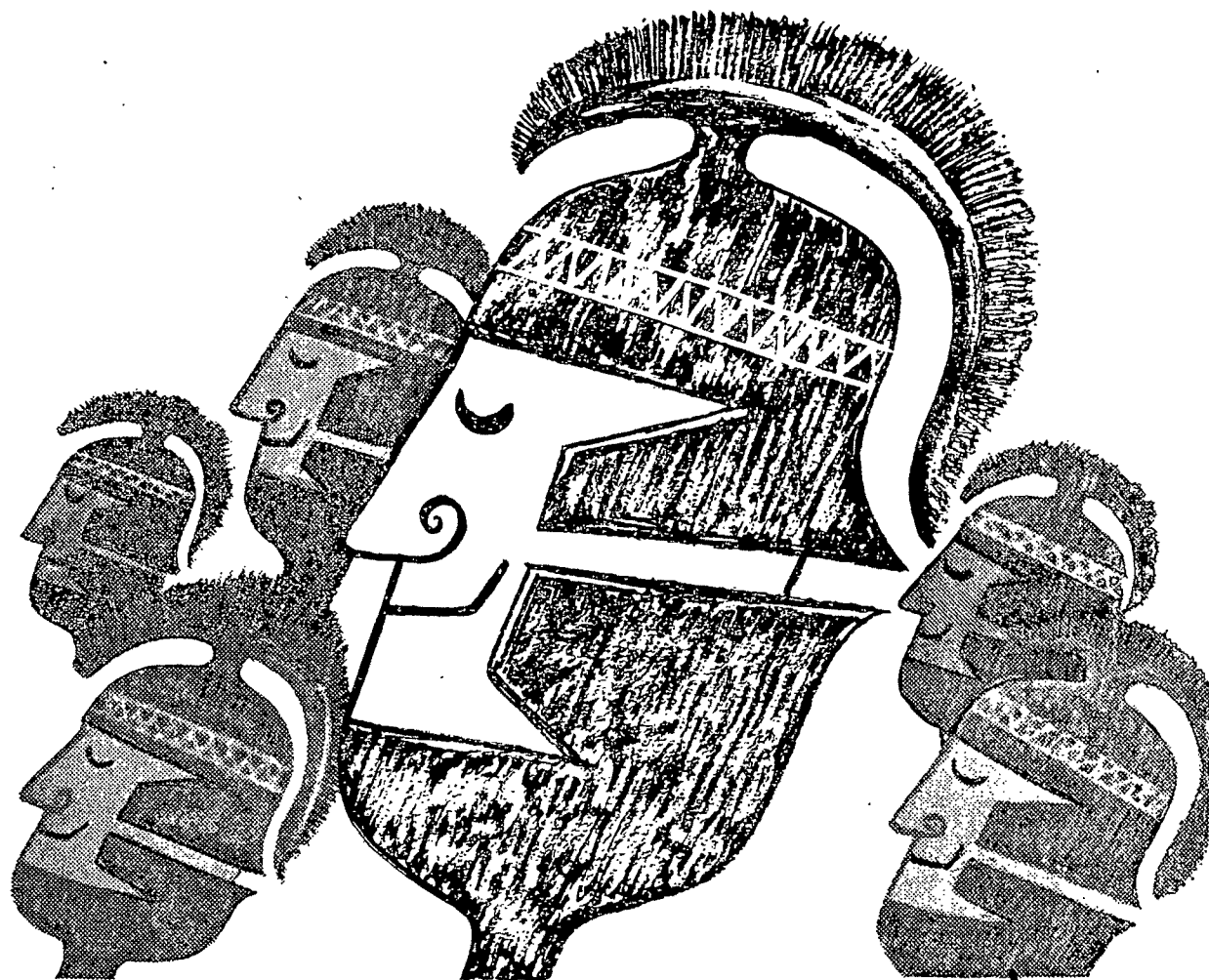
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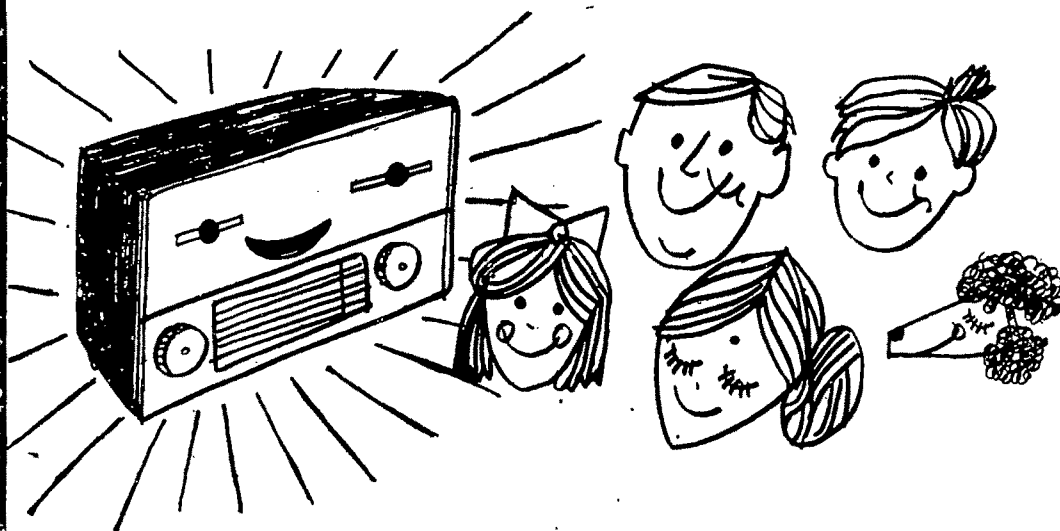
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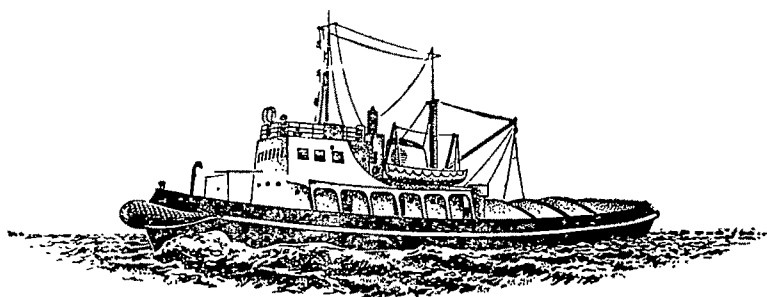


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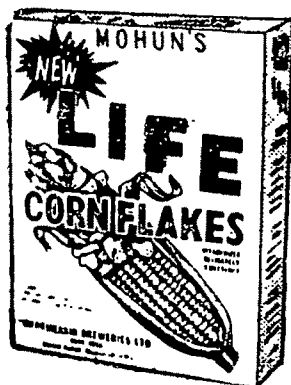
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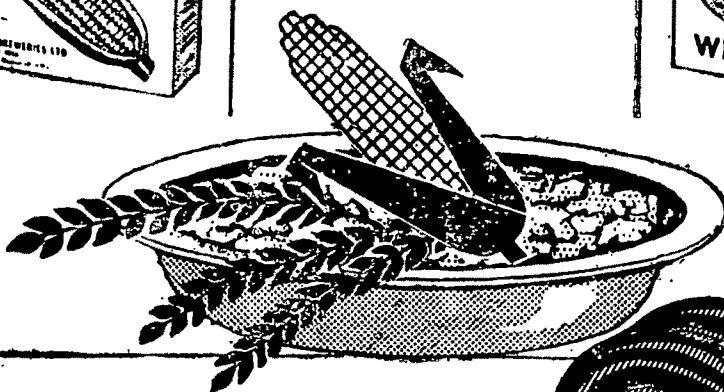
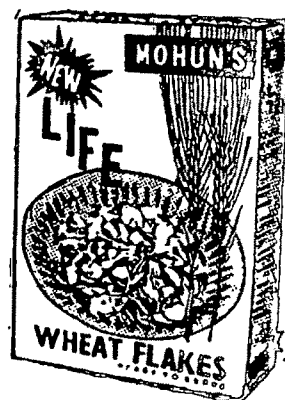
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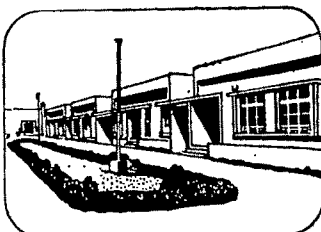


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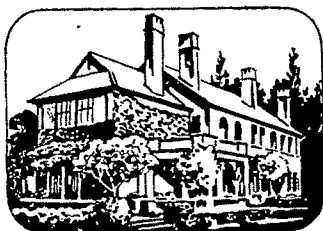
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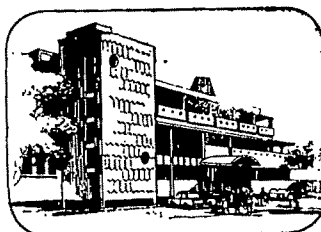
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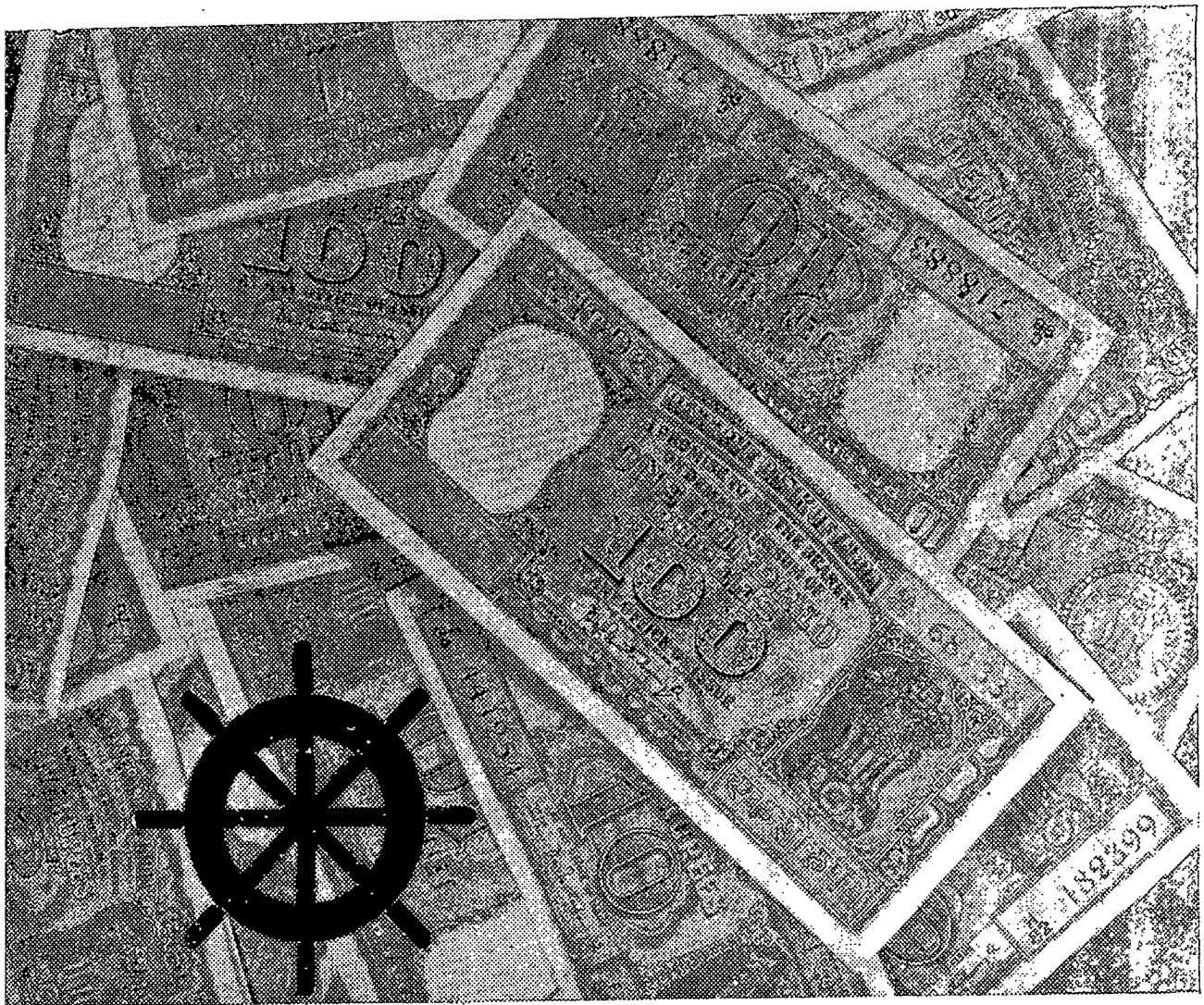
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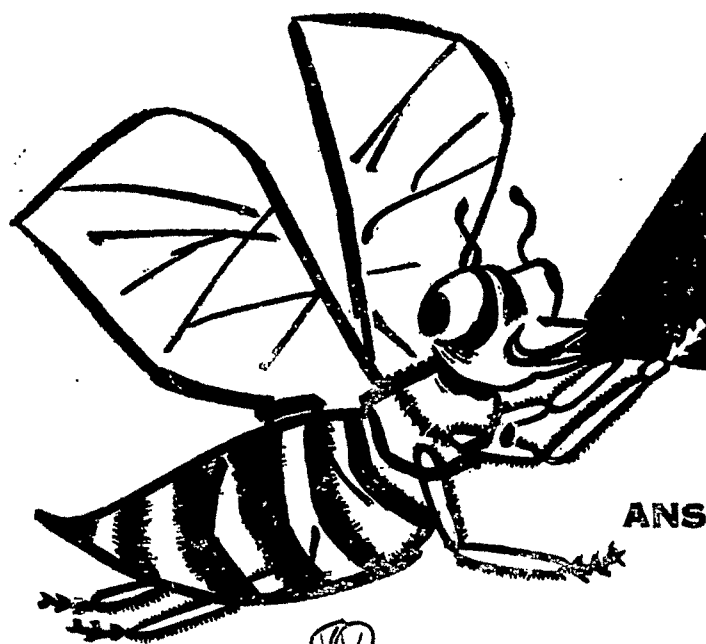
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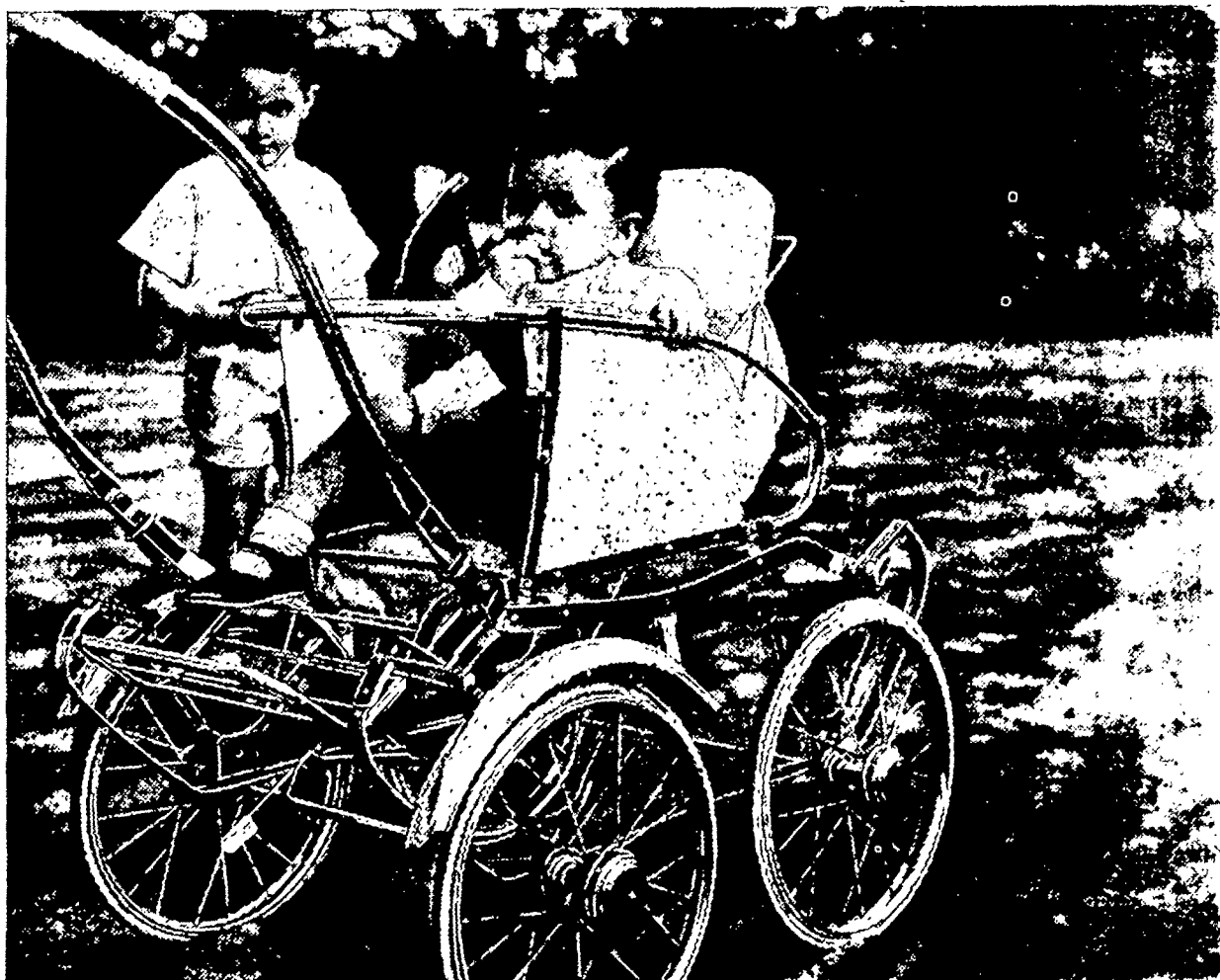


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Annasaheb P. Shinde
Union Minister of State for Food and Agriculture

INFORMATION SERVICES IN A DEMOCRACY
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PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION : HOW CPI AND WE VIEW IT
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As this Special Number of Mainstream is almost three times the size of a normal issue, it will spread over the first three numbers of Vol VIII, that is, the next issue of Mainstream will appear on Saturday September 27, 1969.

Edited and Published by Nikhil Chakravarty for Perspective Publications Private Ltd. and Printed by him in Navin Press, Subhash Marg, Delhi-6. Views expressed in the articles are those of the authors and not necessarily of this journal.

Rededication

As *Mainstream* enters the eighth year of its existence, the climate in the country is more hopeful than ever before in the years after independence; the aims the sponsors of this journal set before themselves do not any longer appear to be remote and impossible dreams. The obstacles in the way are big and cannot be wished away; but the fact remains that a new determination and awareness are evident throughout the length and breadth of the country, and the tide cannot be stemmed for all time by pockets of vested interests, however powerful they may seem at the moment.

During the twelve months that have passed, there have been setbacks as well as gains for the working people. The year began badly enough, with the Union Government letting loose unprecedented repression against its employees because of their one-day token strike. The problems created by the mishandling of the strike are yet to be solved. But while the year began on this sad note, it has ended on a very hopeful note, for the long-standing demand of the entire working people in the country for the nationalisation of major commercial banks has been met. The removal of Sri Morarji Desai from the Finance Ministership and the takeover of 14 banks represent a victory for the working class. So does the election of Sri V. V. Giri as President of India, defeating the nominee of the Syndicate, Sri Sanjiva Reddy. The Prime Minister and those who support her in the Congress have emerged victorious for the time being; this means that the moment policies and programmes were taken up by the Prime Minister and she refused to confine herself to group and clique politics, the operators of the Syndicate, used to hole and corner methods rather than to public debates on basic issues, found themselves cornered. Their failure at the Working Committee meeting to muster the strength needed to "censure" the Prime Minister or even to express mild displeasure, and the public controversy among members of the Syndicate over what really happened at the Working Committee meeting, only underline the fact that lacking any principles or policies to unite them, the Syndicate bosses are in no position to stand up to the massive awakening that has overtaken the

Congress ranks along with the rest of democratic opinion in the country.

It would however be wrong to conclude that the caucus controlling the Congress has been routed; its members are resilient enough to regroup and mount an offensive in some other form. Their close ties with Swatantra and the Jana Sangh have been fully exposed during the controversy about the Presidential contest. No one appears to have taken the various denials seriously. In any event, it is to be expected that the combined efforts of the Right wing to pull down the Indira Gandhi Government will continue and be intensified.

That the caucus and the Rightwing parties realize the difficulties involved is also clear enough. The Jana Sangh, having exposed its real character by its opposition to bank nationalisation, is busy offering various explanations and making out that its opposition is not to the takeover but to something else. The Swatantra Party does not have to resort to pretence, for it has no mass following anywhere and does not feel called upon to present a suitable image of itself. Even within the Congress, elements known to be bitterly opposed to bank nationalisation, have come out with fantastic demands for the takeover of everything available: the idea is obviously to project themselves as progressives, too, but more important, to embarrass the Prime Minister. The common thread that runs through the approaches and postures adopted by the pro-Syndicate group in the Congress, the Jana Sangh and a section of the SSP leadership is becoming quite easy to recognize.

The anxiety of the Rightwing in the Congress to topple Smt Gandhi with the help of Swatantra and Jana Sangh is understandable: despite their dislike of her, earlier on they might have hit upon some compromise, but now she is committed to the path of radical economic changes and they cannot tolerate her in office for long. It is clear to them that bank nationalisation will have to be followed by the takeover by the State of other essential sectors of the economy; they also know that in order to make banks takeover meaningful the Government will have to ensure that the nationalised

banks get back funds lent to big business houses and speculators and utilize them for helping agriculturists and small entrepreneurs. The other measures outlined in the economic programme presented at Bangalore by the Prime Minister will have to follow. Once these modest steps are taken, their impact on the masses will have its own logic: not all the "strong men" in the Congress or elsewhere can stop an awakened people from pursuing that logic.

The latest developments have proved that it is possible to achieve radical changes on the economic front through parliamentary institutions. It is not enough to say that bank nationalisation is not a radical change: it does pave the way for major changes, and it has changed the atmosphere in the

country as nothing else has done in many years. It is in this context that the parties of the Left should stand united and put pressure on the Union Government to go ahead with the economic programme to which it is now officially committed. The adoption of revolutionary postures and the hugging of extremist isolationism are futile in our context today.

The battle against the Right is going to be long and difficult. And it is only the unity of all progressive and democratic forces both inside and outside the Congress that can ensure radical advance in the political, economic and social life of the nation. It is with this message *Mainstream* set out on its modest venture seven years ago, and today it is to the same objective that it rededicates itself with greater confidence and surer steps.



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September 2, 1969.

I am glad to know that the
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of its useful existence. I send my
greetings to the special annual number
of the journal and wish it success
in the future.

V. V. Giri

Socialism in Indian Context

JAGJIVAN RAM

LABELS are generally helpful in broadly indicating the objects or concepts one has in mind. But sometimes they can be very misleading because they gloss over the differences in shades of meaning which may be of profound importance in terms of the world-view and life-outlook of a people.

For instance, when we envisage a socialistic pattern for the old yet young republic of ours, there can be ambiguities hidden in the use of the broad label of socialism. And it may be dangerous for us to let these ambiguities lurk in the background without being brought out into the open, discussed and eliminated.

The recent history of socialism has tended to make it a doctrine of pure economism. Economics deals with the satisfaction of the material wants of man through the intervening mechanism of a market economy which would divert the scarce means of production in those directions where they will fetch the most returns in terms of money.

But there is no particular reason why any one should accept the economic criterion as the ultimate criterion for the ordering of the life of the individual and the life of society. For instance, a runaway expansion of economic activity in terms of wants artificially generated by the manipulation of mass communication media may reveal nothing basically

unsound if looked at from the perspective of pure economism. But if one views the whole issue from the point of view of man, who has other needs besides the material though these latter are basic, one may justly come to the conclusion that progress does not necessarily lie in endlessly and artificially multiplying wants. Economics would now become the problem of meeting the minimal requirements. Once these are guaranteed man would be able to grow towards a fuller life, the demands of which are not always demands for material things.

Cruel Mockery

If it is legitimate; thus to deflate the concept of man as a purely economic being governed by material needs, we should not go to the other extreme of demanding that men should concentrate on their spiritual existence and ignore the physical. Actually, the distinction is often unreal. Man has to live first before his spirit can yield its finer fruits, and in the context of any community where the economy does not provide the basic and minimal requirements of the large mass of its population, it can be cruel mockery to talk about the life of the spirit and ignore the demands of a decent existence.

What I want to make clear is that socialism can have many roots and in our tradition at

least it has more humanistic roots rather than economic. Our socialism can accommodate many great traditions indigenous to the soil: the religious movements which rebelled against the inhuman stratification of society into groups which had the monopoly of light and those which were condemned to live in the dark; the enlightened humanism of Vivekananda who affirmed that the service of the poor and the down-trodden was the best way of serving God and the profound insight of Gandhiji who said that to a hungry man God can appear only in the form of bread.

Since our socialism is not rooted in any purely economic dogma, it envisages no victory of one class over another, whereas this is a feature which seems to have become intrinsic to the concept of socialism as it has evolved in recent decades in the West. So all our programmes can be drawn up in the light of two basic aims.

The first is the reduction of tension arising out of social and economic inequalities and discriminations and the establishment of social peace. The second is the growth towards social harmony. The latter of course is the more positive and comprehensive concept, implying as it does understanding, cooperation and the sense of partnership among all groups.

But in the historic context in

which we find ourselves, we cannot afford to underrate the first objective in spite of the fact that it is somewhat negative. The reason is that in a country with a relatively low gross national product, competition between groups for monopolistic possession of the low marginal increase in production is likely to be keener and more frequent. Therefore, safeguards have to be introduced, to ensure that all groups benefit equally from the general economic progress of the country, the rate of which is slow now, but certainly can be accelerated.

That the imperatives of production and of social justice can coverage is easily demonstrated by a study of the problems of the small farmer. About 62 per cent of the holdings in the country are less than five acres and they account for about 19 per cent of the cultivated area. It should be very clear that modern agriculture has to spread to these holdings also if the increase in production is to be maximised. But scientific agriculture needs substantial investment. The bigger farmer can

get financial assistance from institutional sources. The small farmer, however, is under serious handicaps here. If he is not given any special help he will be left completely behind, the gap between the small and rich farmer will widen and both production as well as social justice will suffer. This is why it is desirable to introduce an integrated scheme to help the small farmers by establishing development agencies. These agencies will provide grants to central cooperative banks, agricultural credit societies and cooperative land development banks to cover their loaning risks in financing small farmers, arrange custom service in agricultural machinery and render assistance for developing animal husbandry and poultry to add to the income of the small farmers. About 50,000 small farmers in each district are likely to be covered during the Fourth Plan.

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This gradualness, I am sure, will temper the other programmes to be evolved in the near future. But the absolute minimum required from them will be that they actually deliver the goods. As the Prime Minister said, "We cannot continue to ignore the impatience and frustration with which the underprivileged look at our efforts to help them stand on their feet".

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Scarcely since the days of Lenin had there been such a figure as Ho Chi-minh. Not only a man of integrity but an integral, whole, unified man. Not the hint of a pose, never a false note in this complex of a delicate wholeness of sincerity which was this immortal revolutionary. It is this that made him such an adequate symbol of that incredibly heroic people, the Viet Nameese, and the equally incredible story of their struggle for freedom. It is this that made him the embodiment of the aspirations of all people throughout the earth who wanted a better world. It is not a matter of cult of personality but of the bringing to a focus on the human plane of all that humanity must do to realise its potential.

What a life it has been! The starting point was that blend of patriotism—"how can I tolerate the snuffing out of the very personality of my people?"—and revolt against the injustice of poverty—"how can I allow my people to starve to death?"—which continued till the end and without which there is no revolutionary beginning. And it is this blend that brought him from patriotism to anti-imperialism to Communism. The transition was a consistent accumulation of the riches of experience as well as of theory, a natural qualitative transformation that never broke even when it leapt.

The journey of the years to England and France and to the Soviet Union and China ended in Vietnam from where and for where it had begun. This was yet another remarkable unprecedented feature. The combination of a tremendous wealth of international connections the reaching out to the knowledge of other revolutions, the grasp of the international interrelatedness of the national struggle and the supreme rootedness in one's soil—a great-rooted blossomer. What started out as a quest for national salvation became the only brotherhood that is possible for man today—the brotherhood of united revolutionary struggle. It is this dynamic, tense equilibrium of making the world revolution one's task among one's own people that gave Ho Chi-minh's life its unique exemplary quality.

Then there was the supreme ability to know how to make a revolution. Easy enough to formulate as a task but impossible of acknowledgement except of a chosen band. Again, the resemblance is with Lenin. The utter lack of flamboyance even as the most militant of calls are given. The taking up of the gun, indeed never letting go of it for close on three decades, the superb handling of the gun, making a whole people heroic warriors, the formulation of concrete military tactics for every specific phase of struggle and yet the consistent refusal to apotheosise

the gun, to make a fetish of it. The handling of the gun with unequalled success went with unparalleled skill of knowing when to negotiate and how to negotiate. The talks at Fontainebleau with the French, the conference at Geneva after Dienbienphu, the Paris talks after the great Tet offensive. And when negotiating, never forgetting the gun and when the guns blaze never forgoing a chance to advance through talks as well. This is the great rhythm of the steady triumphant march of a proletarian-led people's revolution, avoiding the craven evasion of revolutionary confrontation as well as the conclusive short-term hopes of victory through catastrophe.

Yet another extraordinary dialectical unity was the extreme austerity mixing with uninhibited humanism. Austerity sat lightly on him almost as a second skin and never as a mark. Nor was this dictated solely by the requirements of the struggle, though this was undoubtedly an important compulsion. It was more in the nature of the man, the idiom of his personality. Restraint, limit and a grace that comes from control. And because it was so utterly natural this austerity led straight on to abounding love for others, especially children. It is only the very great who can be unaffectedly fond of children in the mass, can express this emotion demonstratively and without a shade of affectation. The simplicity and classical restraint of Ho Chi-minh's poems, lyrical as they are, express best this amazing marriage of austerity and warmth.

This humanism of Ho was no amorphous thing. It was not sentimentality. Nor was it merely tempered by insistence on struggle and revolution as the only road of human emancipation. It was manifested, above all, in abounding faith in the people. Again, we find that what is so often mere rhetoric or banality is at the level of genuine leadership transformed into scientific faith. He did believe that the people were invincible and because such a one as he so believed, the people believed it as well and this made their invincibility immediate—Vietnam's saga was the result.

In India it is evident that a great new turn is in the offing. We have a lot to do and too few to do it. Brecht was right to say that unhappy is the country which needs heroes. Even unhappier a country which needs heroes and receives men of limited vision and less courage. At such a time the resplendent image of Ho Chi-minh fills a void. And because of the nature of the man there is no danger of admiration becoming vicarious heroism. It becomes, on the contrary, a call to whatever valour is possible and a little more in honour of the real hero. The real hero of our complex times.

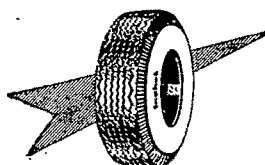
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NEVER before during the post-independence years has this country witnessed such massive political divides as the one we saw during the Presidential election campaign. The sponsoring of Sanjiva Reddy as the official nominee of the Congress to the Presidentship is the biggest political mistake that the Congress made. It was not merely an error but it was also an act of injustice and unfairness that any organisation could do to its Prime Minister in office. However, this turned out to be a blessing for the nation in the month of grace that is August, a month hallowed by the memories of the 9th of August, on which date the freedom movement culminated in the Quit-India Struggle.

The President under the Indian Constitution is to be aided and advised by the Prime Minister. Unlike the Governor in the States, the President has no area of discretion within which he can act on his own. In the field of discretion, aid and advice need not be sought. While sending a recommendation to the President for dissolution of the Legislative Assembly, dismissal of the Ministry and take-over by the Centre, the Governor of a State need not seek the aid and advice of the Chief Minister. While there are one or two other specified matters also on which the Governor has to act on his own, there are none at all for the President to act outside the sphere of aid and advice of the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers. Thus far there is no controversy.

But the question whether the President is a rubber stamp is not free from controversy. The issue was raised indirectly by Dr Rajendra Prasad when he was in office. The then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru cried halt to any such issues being openly discussed. The President under the Indian Constitution is the Head of State. He is the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces. He appoints the Prime Minister on his own, and then appoints the other Ministers as advised by the Prime Minister. The Council of Ministers func-

Changing Face of Indian Politics

K. CHANDRASEKHARAN

tions under the pleasure of the President. The "pleasure" doctrine applied at a given moment in a given way can lead to disastrous consequences. The aid and advice has to be sought and considered, but no where is it stated that the President is bound to accept all or any such aid and advice. It all depends therefore on the facts and circumstances existing at a particular point of time. Traditions and conventions not only of this country but of the entire democratic world have to be adhered to and followed. While the President has no sphere excluding the sector of aid and advice of the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers, the question is how far and in what manner the President can act on the basis of such aid and advice. Suppose the ruling party by a snap decision elects one, other than the Prime Minister, to be the leader of the ruling party in Parliament, and the Prime Minister refuses to resign. In what way the pleasure doctrine would be exercised would not only depend on the facts and circumstances but also to some extent on who the President is. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi possibly saw through the whole game and the result was the free or conscience vote.

The Congress has failed the nation and the Congress must go. But so long as the Congress remains there is a greater danger to the country if the Congress continues to be led by a Syndicate

of men with black records. Who are the members of this Syndicate? It is not necessary to name any of them, because each of them in his own way has attained political notoriety. It is strange that these really go by the name of the nation's leaders. One amongst the Syndicate ought to have lived in the 18th century, for he refuses to see the present and what is more does not believe in looking ahead. Another is one who has been rejected completely by his home State and his own party in his home State. Yet another is the watch dog of the capitalists and monopolists; the fourth amongst them hardly knows to read and write, he is blissfully ignorant of international affairs, and he knows nothing of issues relating to economic policy; but he is a big and respected leader yet. The last amongst them is a by-product of expediency and he was put in his position because none else was available. It is good for the country that this Syndicate of ill-informed and misinformed people has been shown its proper place.

Giri's success is a victory for the common man. There was a consolidation of Leftist and near-Leftist forces which rallied round behind Giri. This consolidation cut across the divides of political parties. Political polarisation started to gather momentum beyond party barriers. There was also a Rightist consolidation. The Jana Sangh, the Swatantra and the Congress Syndicate grouped to-

gether. They exchanged first and second votes as between Deshmukh and Sanjiva Reddy. The results of the Presidential poll indicate that the Left and the Right are fairly even in struggle.

In the hands of the Rightists, the country has a dark and bleak future. If the country is to prosper and maintain its dignity in the comity of nations, the country has to be taken to the Left by the political Left. There is no place and there is no necessity for centrist parties. It was only a few months ago that the Prime Minister declared at the Faridabad session of the Congress that the Congress is neither Left nor Right, but a centrist party. But in the Presidential poll the Prime Minister was compelled to support Giri who was also supported by the Socialists and Communists and other near-Leftist parties. Giri came into the field all by himself. The Leftist and near-Leftist parties announced their support to Giri publicly. In a situation pressurised by unmistakable events and in a moment of political compulsion, the Prime Minister followed the Leftist opposition in extending support to Giri. If any party therefore believes that it can be at the Centre, it is living in a cage of illusion. Every party, every group, every individual in this country must take the decision whether to be with the Left or the Right.

The Rightists constitute a reactionary group. The time is not far off when there will be a welcome consolidation of all the progressive forces in this country; and as and when that happens, the reactionaries will be moved out of the political stage.

The removal of Morarji Desai has got a personal and political relief around it. The nationalisation of 14 Banks may be an act of political expediency. Everybody who is a Leftist is happy over Morarji Bhai's exit. Every such man also welcomes Bank nationalisation. But if things stop here, then doubts about the bonafides of the actions taken arise.

The Birla Enquiry is more for psychological satisfaction and for the melodrama about it. The Princes' Privy Purse does not

seriously touch the burning problems of the nation. They are all no doubt good so far as they go. The question is a new approach towards the mixed-economy pattern, a new content and a new face for the Plan, a socialist-oriented tax structure, and more than everything else, an immediate interim revised budget. If these do not come, the Prime Minister cannot save her face.

The Opposition parties of the Left have to be particularly careful, and in a tactful and intelligent manner they will have to present themselves in the situation today. As history tells us, there are eras of thought and eras of action. We are in the era of the second kind. All progressive parties, groups, forces and individuals in the country must consoli-

date and join hands together. Political polarisation which has set in must destroy or disintegrate the Congress and we must achieve what Gandhiji suggested—at least in his Birth Centenary Year. Progressive Governments in the States and the first progressive government at the Centre should become possible of being formed in 1972. Let 1969 be the forerunner of 1972.

The highest office in the country would have been lost to Giri if out of the Opposition MPs who voted for him, ten had backed out. Giri is therefore the President elected with the votes of the Left parties. 1972 must see a government installed at the Centre by the Left parties. That way lies India's stability and progress.

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THE victory of Sri V. V. Giri over the Syndicate's candidate in the Presidential election is an event of great significance in the history of independent India. With it the struggle of the masses for a socialist society is entering a new phase.

The Congress party is on the verge of a vertical split. If such a split becomes a reality it will bring about a sea change in the situation and a fresh correlation of political forces in the country.

The anti-imperialist toiling people in the country imbibed the idea of an egalitarian society during the freedom movement. They realised that a mere overthrow of the foreign yoke is not enough. Their problems will not be solved unless the struggle acquired a socialist content.

Thus the concept of a new social order based on social and economic equality began to take root and the Congress Socialist Party was founded within the Congress organisation in the year 1934. The Socialists endeavoured to intensify the class struggle of the masses as a part of the national movement with a view to making it more militant and powerful. They aspired to transform the freedom movement with one stroke into a socialist movement. Their dream, however, did not materialise.

National leaders became impatient to wield political power as an instrument of progress. They accepted Partition and their attitude towards the Socialists underwent a significant change immediately after getting into power. While they tolerated them during the struggle for freedom they made no secret of their hostility to the militant socialist ideology of class struggle, after the achievement of freedom. Mahatma Gandhi, however, with his foresight and his complete identification with the toiling millions did realise that the new age was for the socialists and socialism. Therefore, he recommended to the Working Committee that Acharya Narendra Dev be chosen as the President of the Indian National Congress. Probably he believed that the Socialist movement if allowed to develop within the national organisation, would

be able to adjust itself to the Indian environment.

The old guard of the Congress, however, vehemently opposed his suggestion under the pretext that it would lead to a split in the Congress and thereby weaken the forces of national integration. They also argued that violence was inherent in the socialist ideology.

Mahatma Gandhi, however, knew that violence was inherent in the institution of the State itself and whenever there is a question of capturing State power the problem of violence crops up inevitably. He had demonstrated through his movement that State power could be captured from the foreign government without resorting to violence. He thought that the toiling people in our country, true to the traditions of the freedom movement, might as well be able to capture State power without an armed revolution and utilise it for shaping their destiny according to their needs and in keeping with their genius.

The majority of our Congress leaders did not see eye to eye with Mahatma Gandhi on this point as on many other issues. Even before the death of Bapu, Sri Morarji Bhai Desai, the then Minister of the Bombay State, banned a rally of the Rashtra Seva Dal volunteers in Bombay. Rashtra Seva Dal was a youth organisation dedicated to non-communal nationalism and constructive work in the masses. Not only

did he ban the rally but imposed restrictions on its day-to-day activities as well. He complained that the RSD was a socialist organisation and that they shouted slogans 'Long Live Revolution' and '9th August leaders Zindabad'. Evidently it was his antipathy for socialism and Socialist leaders that was at the root of his hostility to the RSD. In vain was it pointed out to him that the RSD was pledged to democratic and peaceful methods.

It should be noted that this happened long before the Congress Socialist Party came out of the parent organisation in the year 1948.

The socialist wing of the national movement was compelled to come out when the Congress Constitution was amended so as to make the existence of the CSP within the Congress impossible. Thereafter the socialists began to function as a democratic opposition to the ruling party. Essentially their opposition was on ideological grounds, since the Congress was not prepared to accept the socialist ideology. If the Congress were to accept it, the constitutional difficulty would have been solved and Socialists would have agreed to the dissolution of the Congress Socialist Party.

Curiously enough in the year 1954, Jawaharlal Nehru prevailed upon the Congress leaders to accept socialist pattern of society as an objective of the Congress Party. If he were to show the strength

The Shape of Things to Come

S. M. JOSHI

and will to do so in the year 1948 he could have succeeded in retaining the socialist wing within the Congress. His attempt to bring them in after the change in the Congress objective was also half-hearted.

Ordinarily such an important change in the objective of the Congress would have evoked a lot of discussion, since there were quite a number of leaders and their followers who were very much opposed to socialism, but nothing of the kind happened. Probably they thought that it would be useful to take the wind out of the sails of the Socialist Party.

The timing was very significant. In the context of Sri Asoka Mehta's notorious theory of political compulsions, this move as expected did create a lot of confusion in the socialist ranks. The controversy regarding the Socialist opposition to the Congress became all the more acute and ultimately caused the split which forced Dr Lohia to form a rival socialist party. Discouraged by these internal bickerings, Sri Jayaprakash Narain lost interest and left the Party to join the Bhoodan movement. After the Third General Election of 1962, Sri Asoka Mehta also lost faith in the Socialist Party's capacity to deliver goods and went over to the Congress along with a number of his friends. Sarvasri Kamaraj and Yashwantrao Chavan assisted him in his efforts to take a bigger chunk from the party to the Congress. It is really an irony of fate that we find Sri Asoka Mehta siding with the Syndicate at a time, for whatever reasons, a process of polarisation within the Congress is acquiring a fresh momentum.

After Jawaharlal Nehru's declaration of socialist faith and its acceptance by the Congress no serious effort was made to revitalise the Congress organisation by way of ideological training and cadre building so as to make it an effective instrument of social transformation. Barring a small section of conservative die-hards, the country accepted the need for economic planning. The capitalist class was intelligent enough to see the advantage that

could be derived from the plan. The so-called Socialist leadership of the Congress, however, did not bother to think as to how planning could help the construction of a socialist society.

In the absence of a coherent, clear-cut and well thoughtout policy buttressed with an organisation determined to implement it, the organised wing of the capitalist class and the monopolists managed to derive the maximum advantage from Five Year Plans. They could conveniently wield the state power for the realisation of their aims and objectives. It is no use blaming Birlas and Tatas. In a similar situation any other group of businessmen would not have acted differently.

If today unemployment is growing, standard of life of millions of working people is being slashed down owing to the rising prices and if the discontent is mounting the responsibility must squarely be fixed on the Congress Government.

While the possessing classes were well organised the socialist movement was in complete disarray and therefore incapable of mobilising the masses in the right direction. The Communists with their usual dogmatism and their anxiety to keep in line with the policies of the two Communist camps proved themselves ineffective to meet the exigencies of the situation. In contrast, the traditionalist and status quoist elements found it easier to organise their strength and pressurise the Government for their own benefits.

In the absence of a broad national and progressive policy, the regional imbalances and political instability became the order of the day.

In the Fourth General Elections (1967) the discontent of the masses became manifest and the Congress was dethroned in quite a number of States. Barring two or three States, however, no single political party of the Opposition was in a position to form a government on its own. In a situation like this the formation of the non-Congress governments became a historic necessity. Evidently these govern-

ments were not homogenous but there was no other go. These non-Congress governments did not last long.

It was hoped that the mid-term poll would give stable governments. But this hope did not materialise. So far as two important states of UP and Bihar are concerned, the political situation became all the more unstable. The people are almost ready for a confrontation on a massive scale. But no party at present is strong and organised enough to give a correct and determined lead. On the contrary,

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regional parties are coming up on the basis of regional demands.

The Congress party was the only All-India party with its branches all over the country. But it also failed to resolve the deepening contradiction or to afford adequate relief to the masses. The mass discontent began to simmer within the Congress itself. Mere passing of socialist programme resolution was not enough to satisfy the urges of the people. The demand for its implementation began to be made persistently. This started a process of polarisation within the Congress itself.

The rumblings were heard for sometime in the past but the conflict came into the open during the Presidential election. The official Congress candidate, the nominee of the Syndicate, was defeated by the combined strength of the Leftwing congressmen and the progressive forces in the Opposition. The conservative Syndicate joined hands with the traditionalist and the monopolist advocates of free enterprise.

It is significant that the masses instinctively rallied round Sri Giri. The efforts to tarnish his image by suggesting that he was a Communist stooge miserably failed. The election is over but the conflict continues. Nationalisation of banks and the revolt of the Prime Minister against the status-quoist Syndicate has triggered off a process of radicalisation leading to greater polarisation within the Congress. The great organisation that is having its sway over the country for the last so many years is in the throes of a big change. Will it be possible for the toiling masses to transform the organisation in a manner so as to make it an effective instrument of radical change? The events of the coming few months will provide an answer.

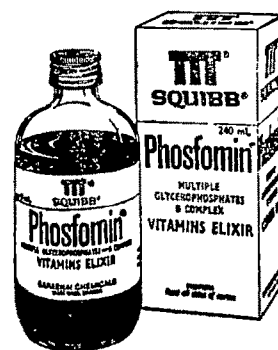
All these years it was the capitalist and the monopolists who influenced and exploited the Congress organisation and its government to promote the interests of their class and to deny the working class their rights. Last year the people have seen the ruthless suppression of strike and the heartless victimisation of the workers. In the new context, it

is to be hoped that at least the united strength of the working class will assert itself and compel the Government to change their anti-labour policy and rectify the wrongs done to them. Mere high-sounding words or the growth in the personal popularity of some leaders is not going to satisfy the people. Every action of the Government shall be judged and success of a policy measured by a single yardstick: How far it helps the people to become more and more assertive and to resist evil effectively in all walks of life.

The events of the coming few

months are going to influence and affect the social forces in a big way. A realignment of forces is inevitable and the Opposition parties will be compelled to reassess the developing situation and make the necessary adjustments in their policy from time to time. They cannot afford to be dogmatic if they have the good of the country at heart. The Socialists alongwith the other Leftist parties have to be very vigilant and active. It will be their task to mobilise the democratic masses with a view to taking the country forward on the road to socialism, secularism and democracy.

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THE past few weeks have been momentous. Developments have taken place at a fast pace. Stagnation in the political and economic life of the country has given place to a new stir. New trends are indeed quite manifest.

This has inevitably resulted in some turmoil in our political life. In certain quarters there has been little effort to comprehend the significance of this change and the immense possibilities that have opened up for healthy developments in our socio-economic structure. Apprehensions have been expressed and rumours circulated about the very future of parliamentary institutions in our country. Faced with new situations of change and advance, the forces of status quo have always indulged in mischief and machinations in all parts of the world, and there is nothing exceptional or extraordinary about such a development in our own case.

Vague generalisations about the need for social change do not arouse the fury of these elements, but a definite step forward, however small it may be, creates a lot of angers among them. A certain amount of courage and a spirit of adventure are essential for initiating such steps. After taking such a step one should not expect smooth-sailing. Strains are bound to develop and a little dislocation in the institutional set-up and the emotional framework cannot be avoided. Recent developments should be analysed in this perspective.

Certain elements in the administrative authority feel that the State apparatus should be used to maintain stability. To them stability means the preservation of the social order they have inherited. They miserably fail to understand the potentialities of the emerging forces. In an underdeveloped country the rising aspiration of the oppressed and exploited sections to get their minimum needs met can be ignored only at the cost of democratic values and the parliamentary method of functioning. Preaching tolerance without providing even subsistence level existence to a vast section of society and simul-

The Only Alternative to Chaos

CHANDRA SHEKHAR

taneously pleading for freedom for the chosen few to live a life of luxury is nothing but a denial of human values and a negation of all democratic principles.

Millions in this country are half-starved. A large number of our children remain without education. We are unable to provide shelter to a sizeable section of our population, and ailing people suffer without proper medical facilities. The paucity of resources cannot be denied. But the colossal waste involved in luxury living and conspicuous expenditure cannot be ignored. Our objective of establishing a democratic socialist society will be reduced to a mockery if the mobilization of resources and their proper utilisation for the developmental programme according to priorities fixed with the definite purpose of achieving the goal are not pursued with clarity and determination.

This realization naturally leads us to take steps to ensure purposeful control of financial and credit institutions. Unfortunately this long overdue step was taken only recently, and that too partially. Predictably, vested interests are alarmed and their spokesmen are vociferous.

Mere nationalisation of banks will not bring about the removal of poverty, but at least it will remove the stranglehold of certain monopolists, of certain exploiters, on the financial resources of our country. The recently released Dutt Committee Report has revealed how a few monopolist business houses are not only indulging in malpractices but have been able to set in motion such trends in economy

and planning that wealth gets concentrated in a few hands and the poor become poorer every day.

To curb the concentration of economic power in a few hands has been the declared policy of the Government for a long time. The Directive Principles of the Constitution lay down that this concentration of economic power should not be permitted. Many opponents of bank nationalisation have mouthed high-sounding platitudes, but it beats one how, after taking the oath of allegiance to the constitution, they can with any sense of decency oppose this attempt to curb concentration of economic power.

It is quite easy and pleasant to claim to be socialists and raise loud slogans from the housetops but social transformation is by no means an easy task. For any effort at social transformation has to reckon with the desperate resistance of vested interests who come out as champions of the status quo. But we have always to bear in mind that in our democracy there are five hundred million people who are going to determine the course of history, who are going to decide the destiny of this nation, and not the few business houses and their henchmen.

It is being said by champions of vested interests that the nationalisation of banks has impinged upon their fundamental rights. But if one examines the set-up of the 14 banks that have been nationalised, one will be surprised to find that their biggest shareholder today is the Government of India. In the Bank of Baroda, LIC investment was already 35

per cent ; the Bank of India 21.5 per cent ; the United Commercial Bank 20.5 per cent. In addition, the Unit Trust of India and other Government financial institutions hold substantial shares in these banks. What is to be noted is that with Rs. 10 crores worth of paid-up capital, the private managements of a few industrial houses controlled nearly Rs. 2400 crores.

When studying the implications of bank nationalisation, it is necessary to study the present working of Bank credit. A feature of private bank credit is inter-corporate lending and investment. For instance, NOCIL (Mafatlal Group) has been given large bank accommodation, but NOCIL has actually invested a very large amount in other companies in the Mafatlal Group. Birla Jute has lent substantial amount to Indian Linoleum, after obtaining bank credit. It is here that proper credit regulations by nationalised banks can effectively restrict the growth of industrial empires.

During the past year, banks had adopted the policy of financing consumer goods in the urban sector ; this financing was thought of as a solution to their excess resources. It is necessary in the national interest to put a stop to such wasteful credit. It is significant that among 52 public undertakings, as many as 45 are manned by old ICS-IAS bureaucrats. It is a dangerous situation that retired ICS officers who have no commitment to the policies that the Government now wants to pursue should be given the charge of manning these undertakings. It is to be noted that representatives of big business houses are made Directors of the State Bank along with old ICS officers. Such a policy can never lead to the success of nationalisation of banks. Instead, the Government should immediately make a survey and hunt for economists, small industrialists and people working in the field of co-operation, to mobilise them for running the banking institutions. It is true that some of the elite among university professors have not responded to this new positive turn in economic policy as was expected of them. But if

a talent hunt is seriously undertaken, there should be no dearth of competent as well as committed personnel who can make a real success of public sector projects, including nationalised banks. It is to be underlined that the success of the economic programme will largely depend on the skill and vision shown in choosing the right type of dedicated men and women to take charge of strategic points of the nation's economy.

In conclusion, I would like to refute the charge that the stability of the present politico-economic set-up is being endangered by the new economic programme, of which bank nationalisation is but the first step. In reality, chaos

will descend upon this country if the status quo is sought to be maintained in the name of stability. There cannot be any stability in the country if the status-quo is maintained. People's faith has not been shaken but has in fact been revived by the Government's take-over of the leading banks. Only those people are shaken who want to maintain the status quo, who think this country can be built with the willing consent and cooperation of the Birlas, Jains and Dalmias, Goenkas and Mafatlals. The present stagnation in national life has to be broken, and to break this stagnation, there is no other way for the Government to mobilise and control resources.

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ON July 19, 1969 the whole of the country was electrified by the news that our Prime Minister had taken the bold and timely decision to nationalise 14 major Banks of this country.

By this magnificent stroke the Prime Minister has socialised the most powerful lever that any society can have at its command namely the financial institutions—to achieve our long cherished social and economic objectives.

The Nationalisation of Banks was one of the main planks of the Election Manifesto of the DMK party. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu had also urged early implementation of this socialist measure in his speech before the National Development Council meeting held in April 1969. It is therefore with considerable pride and great expectations that we in Tamil Nadu welcome this egalitarian measure of nationalising the Banks.

Towards Social Justice

Especially in a poor country like ours where we hope to usher in an economic millenium for the common man within his life span, speed of implementation is the essence of success. If we want to achieve economic progress consistent with social justice, if we want to reduce the gap between the haves and have-nots, if we wish to cut off the "tall poppies" so as to achieve equal distribution of wealth, if we wish to provide opportunities for one and all irrespective of accident of birth, if we wish to rid the society of domination by a few financial magnates and if we wish to achieve all this in the context of a democratic set-up—what other way is open to us than social and public control over the principal institutions which mobilise people's savings? I am therefore certain that posterity will long applaud this bold step of Nationalisation of Banks.

Credit Policies

Nationalisation of Banks will enable the Government to channelise the available resources to the needed sectors. It can also be

Bank Nationalization and Beyond

K. A. MATHIAZHAGAN

used to reduce the regional imbalances by mopping up savings from the rich and developed areas and investing them in the relatively backward areas.

The legitimate credit needs of private industry or trade, big or small can be met with greater ease now. Especially the rural economy, the small-scale industrialists, the self-employed small entrepreneur can be helped to a greater measure as Banking Policy will shift its orientation from mere credit worthiness to economic need-based study and encouragement of viable programmes. In future, service and not mere old-fashioned security will become the watch word of investment policies of the Nationalised Banks.

Hitherto credit used to bear a definite proportion and relation to deposits and credit used to be advanced mainly against mortgage of goods. But now we can look forward to a modernisation of Banking principles when credit will be advanced not on the credit worthiness of a person but on a judgement of the credit worthiness of the project. It is such far-sighted change in banking principles which contributed to a great extent to the industrial progress of Japan. Following in those footsteps we can also reasonably expect to usher in a genuine Industrial Revolution with a short span of time provided the nationalised banks follow bold credit policies.

Public ownership will also curb the use of Bank credit for speculative and other under-productive purposes. Hitherto most of these major Banks were tied to the apron strings of a few rich families who exercised both direct and indirect influence over the distribution of bank advances. By severing these unsavoury links the way has been cleared for an intelligent and guided investment of available resources so as to subserve a social purpose namely, maximising community benefit. It should be possible now to invest resources in sectors which will satisfy consumer demands and needs. In short, a need-oriented investment policy will replace an exclusive profit-oriented policy.

Importance of Banking Approach

We should however realise that nationalisation is a very powerful weapon. It can make or mar our hopes and aspirations depending on the way we use it. Take for instance an Atom-bomb. We can use it if we so desire to completely annihilate mankind. But if wiser counsel prevails we can also use the same atom to build up peaceful power and promote progress. So also mere nationalisation is not a magic wand that will usher in the utopia. We have to implement it properly and learn to use this public control over financial resources in a responsible and mature manner. This word of

caution is very essential especially if we are to avoid many of the pit-falls which followed in the wake of other nationalisation measures taken up previously.

Nationalisation should not become synonymous with bureaucratisation and rigid bureaucratisation at that. Even after nationalisation these banks should be allowed to have their individuality. There should be flexibility and freedom so that each bank is able to display dynamism and initiative in blazing new trails of profitable investment. The inevitable red tape of a Governmental organisation should not be allowed to choke these life-lines of progress. Individual initiative should be allowed to flourish. Governmental control should only be limited to indicating the sectors and directions in which investment may be encouraged, the actual implementation of policy should be left to the bankers—only then can we hope to have a refreshing enthusiastic active participation which combines in itself the good of private initiative with the good of public purpose.

Regional Requirements

It has also to be ensured that nationalisation does not transfer the reins of control from the different headquarters of these banks to the ivory tower of Delhi Finance Secretariat. By this I wish to stress that even after nationalisation the Banks should retain their regional basis. Over a period of time some of these nationalised banks had built up a regional character. They had built up a local knowledge, a local awareness and a local understanding with depositors and entrepreneurs.

This local knowledge and identification of banks with the aspirations of the regions should not be disturbed. I feel strongly that this can be done through careful implementation of the nationalisation programme. One of the methods to achieve this would be to have Regional Board of Managements for each of the nationalised banks. On these Regional Boards, representation can be given to the nominees of the State Governments of the

regions, as also a few elected representatives of the people of that region. Then we can expect the Regional Boards to be responsive to the needs of the people as it will have a alert finger on the pulse of the people and be ready to satisfy their needs. It is only through such responsive attitudes that the nationalised banks can hope to serve the needs of the people and become an instrument of the people, to be used for the benefit of the people, by the people themselves.

The role and function of the National Credit Council will have to change, now that nearly 85 per cent of the deposits available in the country are controlled by Government. This council will now have to be made more effective by giving representation on it to all States so that it can effectively formulate the lending policies to be followed by the Nationalised Banks.

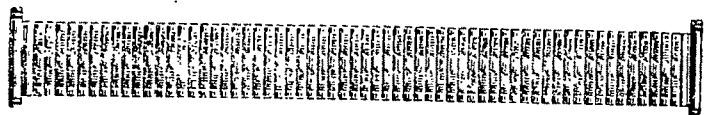
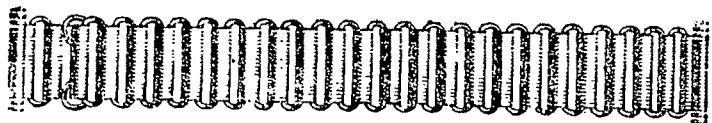
Resources For Rural Areas

It is also hoped that after nationalisation it will be possible for these banks to mop up more resources in the rural areas. The Banks should arrive at a gentleman's agreement, so that each bank concentrates in opening branches in a particular area. This way they could avoid the

cuthroat competitive practices in two or more banks trying to operate in the same areas. Instead, through a cooperative effort they can develop a network of viable branches which could help in effectively collecting more rural deposits.

I am also sure that the bank employees who have all been uniformly expressing their joy at nationalisation, will rise to the occasion and work with a sense of devotion and a sense of service and achieve greater operational efficiency in the bank operations. The success of nationalisation depends to a great extent on these employees who have to work with zeal, conviction, dedication and faith. I am sure that Bank employees will be imbued with a spirit of public service and a sense of participation in a great national experiment. On them, to a great extent, depends the success of this action of nationalisation.

I do earnestly believe that a publicly-owned Banking System will turn out to be a socially responsible and responsive instrument of development. I hope that Nationalisation of Banks will induct an element of dynamism and vigour into our development programmes and usher in an era of prosperity and plenty in the quickest time.



STRAPS • BRACELETS

INVESTMENT is central to economic development, which process is chiefly a function of the size of the annual investment and the efficiency of its distribution over various productive sectors. In a short compass an attempt may be made to formulate certain guidelines towards an efficient investment policy for each of the major economic sectors.

I. AGRICULTURE

The Cooperation Muddle

THE agricultural sector is where there is the greatest waste of investment resources, and this is happening chiefly because of the cooperative system.

In most of the States—and particularly in West Bengal, Assam, Rajasthan, Orissa and Bihar—the cooperative credit system is controlled by the richer sections of the farming peasantry. The bulk of cooperative credit goes to this section, and the objection to this is that in these past few years the incomes of this section have increased tremendously, and they are today in a position to mobilise their own resources for productive investment. However, the incentive to this is small because of (a) the existence of an easy line of credit from the cooperative agencies, and (b) the absence of proper Government direction regarding the mobilisation of resources.

The result is that those farmers who are truly in need of cheap credit are denied it, while those who have no need of credit receive it in abundance. This must stop, and in this connection I would suggest :

(1) A thorough refashioning of the cooperative credit system, making it a 'poor man's' organization, lending money and other forms of capital to the poorer farmers at cheap interest rates.

(2) A differentiated interest rate structure, with higher interest charges for the bigger landowners and lower charges for the smaller ones. The differentiation must not be merely on the basis of income but on the basis of productivity as well, by which I mean that the rate of interest charged should vary inversely with the degree of 'productivity of purpose' of the loan for instance a loan to purchase fertiliser should be given at a much lower interest rate than a loan to finance household consumption.

(3) Reserving the field of finance for the bigger farmers to the commercial banks. This would ensure greater efficiency in inspection and more prompt repayment of overdues.

Action on the lines indicated above is vital if we are to force our farmers to spend their incomes productively. The 'soft' policy pursued till now in agriculture—of denying credit to those most in need of it and giving it to those who could well do without it—has resulted in an expansion of inflationary pressure and a distortion in the distribution of rural incomes. The poor may not be getting poorer, but the rich are certainly—and undeservedly—getting richer.

Some Guidelines to Investment Policy

M. D. NALAPAT

The Utilisation of Rural Savings

THE farming 'miracle' in the Punjab and in wide stretches of India extending over UP, Madras and the Gangetic regions is to a large extent due to the 'pumpset revolution', for these little machines assure irrigation water to the farmer plus all the economic benefits this entails.

The generation of electric pumpsets is limited by the extent of power available ; and this is where the State comes in, by floating and initiating schemes in the rural areas for the construction of small 50-100 KWH hydro units wherever it is technically feasible to do so. These units can be financed either from (a) the floating of debentures in the affected rural areas or (b) the floating of shares in the electricity companies running the project.

In fact, this is one sector where the newly-nationalised banks can do good work, and that is by financing rural power generation schemes through deposits collected in the regions concerned.

Power generation is not the only method of rapidly increasing agricultural productivity. Bunding and canal digging are further examples. I have repeatedly heard the plaint from farmers whenever I visit an agricultural district that 'we have plenty of money, and if the Government can show us what to do, we will properly invest it.' The Government has an important job, and this is the diversion of rural resources into productive channels rather than into the present economically wasteful ones.

The conclusions of this section are therefore that—

(a) Credit should be provided only to those really in need of it.

(b) The interest rate structure should be such as to make a loan cheaper, the poorer and more deserving the farmer is, after due regard has been paid to the 'productivity of purpose' of the loan.

(c) Government should initiate on a large scale

productive schemes in the rural economy to absorb (i) surplus rural liquid resources, and (ii) surplus labour in the villages.

2. INDUSTRY

But agriculture cannot survive alone ; and it is to industry that we must now turn. But before discussing this sector a short background of economic theory is helpful.

Types of Industries

There are two types of industries important in the process of economic expansion. One is what may be called the *Feedback Group* and the other is the *Forward-Thrust* group.

The *Feedback Group* consists of those industries which provide the basis for future expansion by provision of raw material. These include steel, power, etc. These industries are essential to the development of other economic sectors.

The *Forward-Thrust Group* is that section of Industry whose expansion results in a cumulative expansion of other sectors. For instance, fertiliser. The production of this will lead to an expansion in the agricultural products industry. Transport is another example of an industry whose development means the expansion of other sectors.

The Government should obviously encourage the development of both these types, and this may be done through a division of labour between it and the private sector.

Steel and Power

There is an absurd notion going around that steel is one of those 'large scale' industries, where production on a tremendous scale is the only method consistent with economy. In fact, there exists a process known as the direct reduction process, which renders even a small plant of 50,000 tons output economical (in the sense of low unit costs) *versus* the 750,000 minimum capacity needed for the LD and other processes with which we have been experimenting so far.

Multiplier Effects of Investment

There exists a definite ratio that can be established between a given amount of investment and the addition in national income resulting from this investment. This is the 'investment multiplier' and

is defined as $dY = \left[\frac{1}{1 - \frac{dc}{dy}} \right] dI$ where dY is the

increment in income, dI is the increment in investment and $\frac{dc}{dy}$ is the 'marginal propensity to consume' or the first derivative of consumption with respect to income.

What the 'multiplier' concept means is simple : a given volume of investment can be 'multiplied' into a much larger increase in national income if investment is properly directed. In the Indian case, largely because of extremely poor planning (I have

strong views on the Planning Commission, and the caricatures of an economic 'plan' that it has been putting out from time to time ; but as this is not relevant to the present essay I shall not discuss the reason for my views here), the multiplier effects of investment have been small. If a 500 crore plant was constructed, the increase in national income was not much above the 500 crore level. There was no multiplication of income as there would have been if the multiplier had been strong. *Big Things need n't add up to much.*

One major reason for this is the Planners' emphasis on gigantism. They seem to feel that the bigger (and therefore fewer—unless this angle has been overlooked by them !) the projects, the greater is the expansion in income. This line of thinking would have applied to a much smaller country for instance, Austria, but in India it will lead (and has lead) to disaster.

This is because a number of small projects located in those areas where an initial investment thrust would trigger off an expansionary process is much better than a few projects in badly selected areas. The areas where the expansion response to initial investment in the *Feedback Sector* is highly elastic are those areas where the population is energetic and intelligent, and includes large parts of the Punjab, Mysore, West Bengal and Kerala.

Steel, for instance. There exist large reserves of ore in Kerala, Madras and to some extent in Andhra. Small steel plants could be set up in these areas to serve as the base for an expansion of light industries such as bicycle and implement manufacture. The sources of supply of steel should be close to the market for it, to avoid transport costs.

Power generation on a small-scale basis has already been discussed in the preceding section. It is superfluous to state that this too should be undertaken extensively.

In any system of economic development it is the people who are the crucial factor. It is not cold steel but warm flesh and blood that is the most productive natural resource, as the rise of countries sparsely endowed minerals but possessing a vigorous population has demonstrated time and again.

The quack economists who say *a la* Ashoka Mehta that we must 'squeeze the people of today to provide for the people of tomorrow' are talking suicidal nonsense. What are the consequences of squeezing today's man ? He becomes poor and is unable to offer good education to his children, with the result that they degenerate into manual labourers rather than into the engineers and technicians the country needs. This makes a difference. It is the people who must ever be kept in mind in planning, and it is they who have been most neglected by it. The waste of human resources evident in the Indian economy is a standing rebuke to the shortsightedness of our planners.

The Demand Aspect

But what about the un-utilised capacity in our plants ? Wouldn't the creation of all these units mean more excess capacity ?

The answer to this is that there is a demand aspect to development, and this aspect too has been forgotten by our planner and the framers of our tax policies. The present demand level in India is too low to support a substantial industrial base. But this is easily overcome by (a) an efficient tax policy and (b) the creation of numerous small enterprises.

For, another reason why consumer standards have in general remained low despite extensive Plan investment is that the investment has mostly gone into the pockets of a few big contractors and engineering firms rather than to a large segment of the population. This is another defect, given the present distribution of income between capital and labour, of large industry : a few people derive most of the profits from it and as a result general consumption standards fail to rise.

This problem is defeatable by emphasis on small-scale industry, investment in which will mean a more even distribution of income and therefore a greater demand flow.

All this should not be taken to mean that I am against large industry ; there are sectors such as synthetic manufacture, petroleum refining and fertilizer manufacture that need a large-scale of output and plant to be consistent with economy. But, when I read in foreign journals of advances in engineering which wipe out economics of scale, I am sorry that these methods are as yet untried in India.

General Economic Model for Industry : The general economic Model I have attempted to sketch in the preceding few paragraphs may be briefly recounted here. The Government ensures the growth of the Feedback Sector, either alone or with the help of private enterprise, and attempts to diffuse the pattern of ownership of enterprises over as large a segment of the population as is possible.

The rising demand level caused by more even distribution of investment will pull up the slack caused by the expansion in feeder industries by the impetus to utilise this slack in the production of consumer articles. This will cause national income to grow period after period.

A digression on the Nationalised Banks

A short digression on a danger in the investment flow of the nationalised banks is necessary here. My fear is that there may be pressure to use bank funds to bail out industries like the Textile industry, which are dying of neglect by the owners. The result will be chronic Government losses.

The Government should resist this danger. If it invests in these industries at all, it must invest in new units, for only then will this investment result in a net addition to capital stock. It should construct new, technically modern mills in the textile sector (or in any other, similar sector) and let the 'sick' mills die. This is the only approach consistent with long-run rationality.

The emphasis in investment should all along be in new units, rather than on any extension of control over the existing ones, for the latter course is a mere waste of money whereas the former course means an expansion in national income.

However inadequate my treatment some of the points discussed above are, they are to be taken after all, as merely guidelines to an investment policy, they are not the policy itself.

Finally, I would wish to state two things. One, economic development is not a function of quantifiable magnitudes like the capital stock or the GNP. These are only its indicators. The causal variables are unquantifiable intangibles such as Energy, Enterprise and Education and it is these we must rouse. The great latent power of the people must be brought into play and they must become active participants in the development process, not just toy soldiers dumbly following orders from above. This is essential if we are to progress. I would throughout lay stress on individual initiative and enterprise, channelled by an imaginative and intelligent Government into socially desirable ends.

Second, I am not being visionary when I state that within a decade India can lift itself out of the present slough and become among the most developed nations of the world. But this presupposes a change, and hinges on one factor : the imaginative, dynamic men and women of the country, young and old, who must replace the present wooden unimaginative heads at the seats of power. If this transformation be effected, my prophecy will come true.

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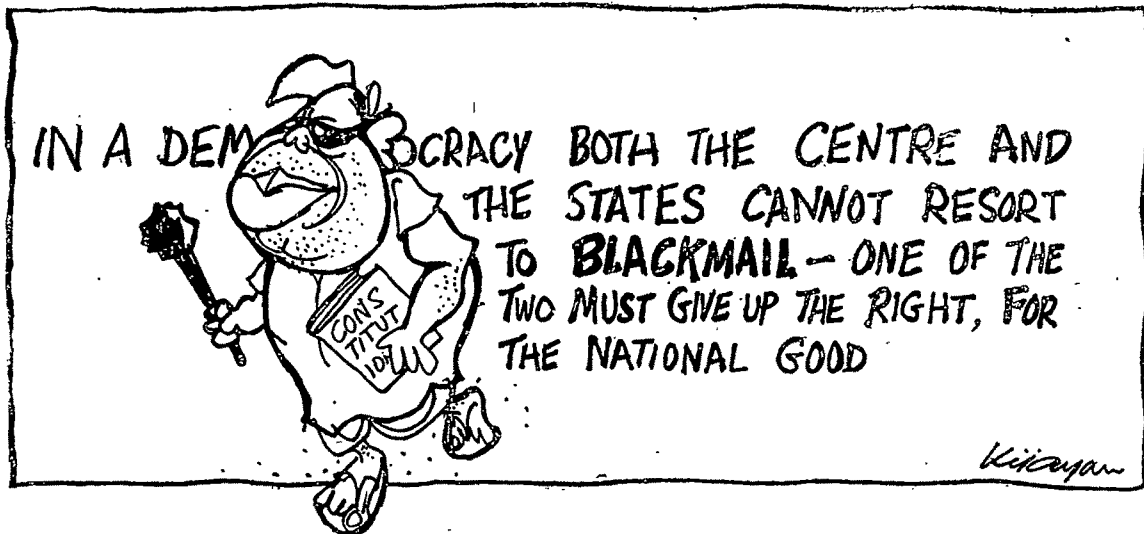
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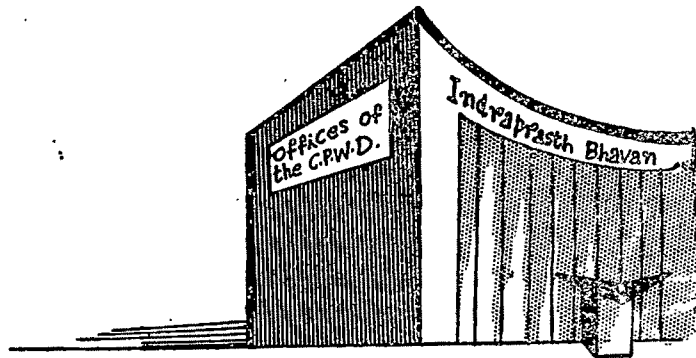
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From Cartoonist's Diary

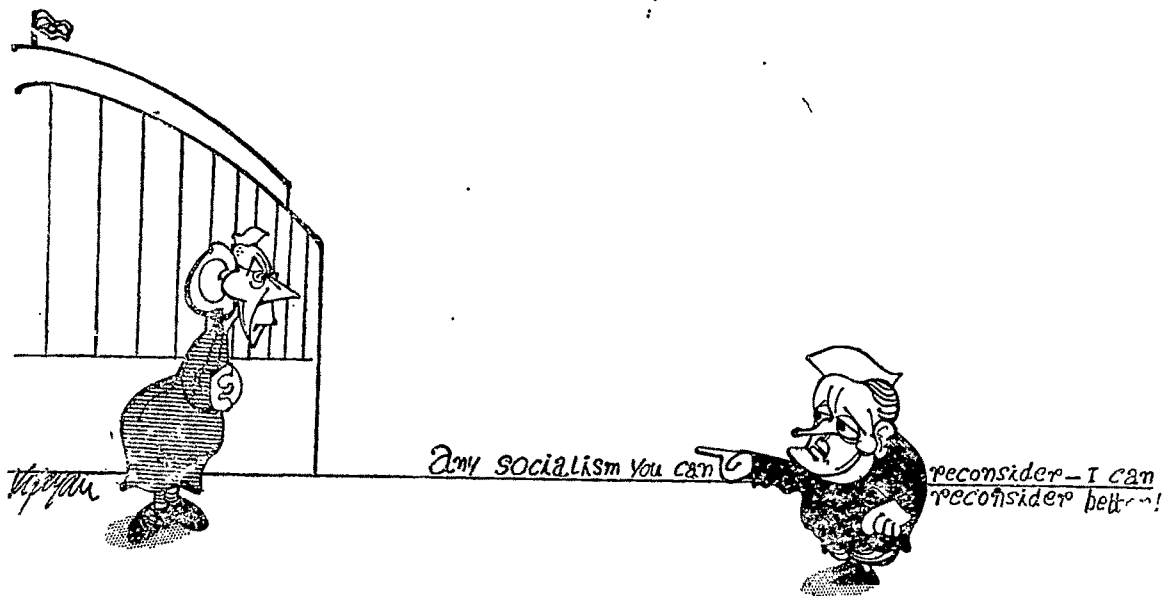
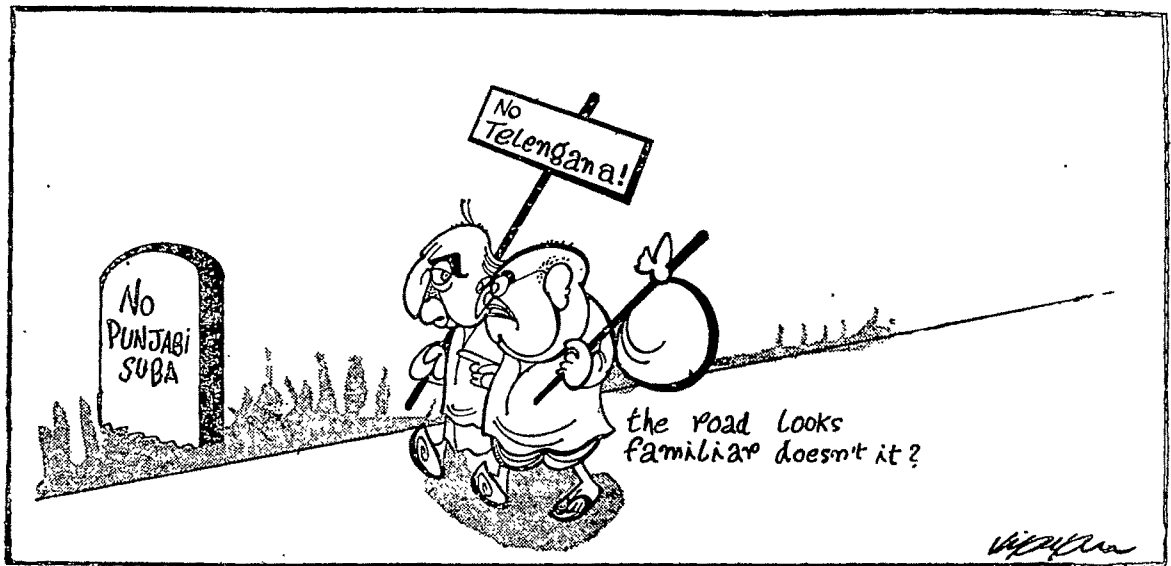
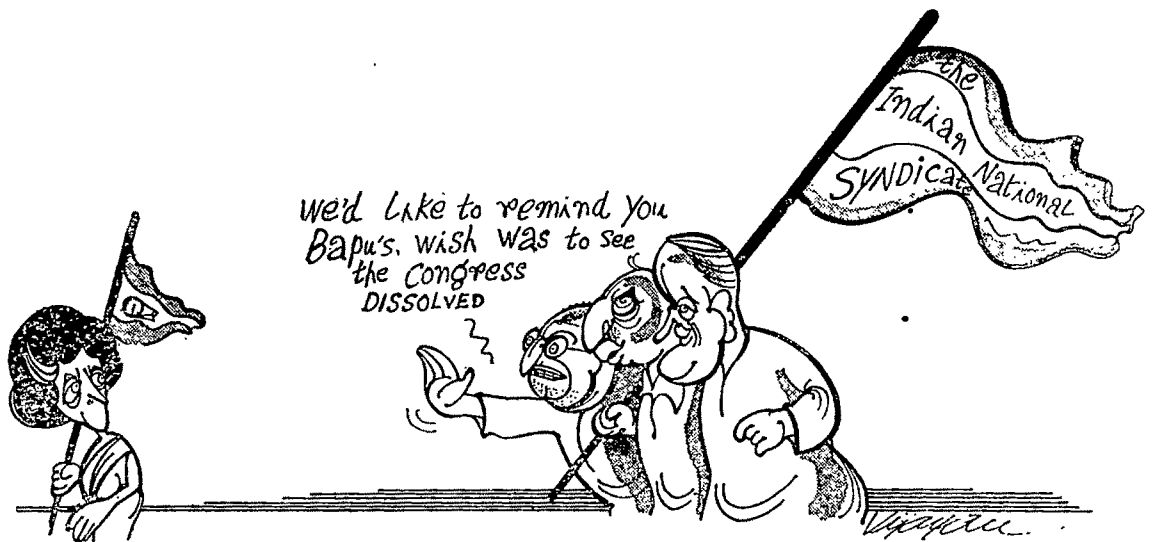
Here are five pieces by well-known cartoonist, Vijayan, taken out of his rich harvest of last one year, spotlighting some of the major national issues during this period. They are reproduced here by courtesy of Shankar's Weekly.



Raigat! It's just a grenade-throw from here...



Vijayan



Abortion : A Social Realist's Viewpoint

V. R. KRISHNA IYER

MALTHUS warned mankind of the menace of uncontrolled population increase. Marx taught mankind that human resources are the real wealth of a nation. With modern science available as a social tool, why should war, pestilence and disease—the nostrum prescribed by Malthus—work as a cruel population corrective?

With a democratic government aiming at the goals of a welfare State, surrender to socio-religious obscurantism should be replaced by a dynamic population policy. India, for that matter any other country, should not be slave to blind biological processes and injurious sociological compulsions in the demographic field.

Having deep concern for the torrential increase of our population, a national policy, aimed at limiting the numerical size of the nation and reducing the rate of increase, has been evolved and is being gradually implemented. Already the programme has begun to make a mild impact. In the long run, when the transformation of our backward economy into a first-rate industrialised society is achieved—a consummation devoutly to be wished—the population of India may cease to be a burden and become an advantage. But under conditions existing at present, a programme of control is inescapable.

Any such programme has to be worked out against the background of social and economic facts and religious and ideological

opinion. Fifty years ago, John Maynard Keynes wrote:

“The time has already come when each country needs a considered national policy about what size of population, whether larger or smaller than at present, or the same, is more expedient. And having settled this policy, we must take steps to carry it into operation”.

In India, Pakistan and even China the dreadful burden of population considerably hampers socio-economic progress and reduces the quality of the human resources.

Planned parenthood is the scientific panacea, which begins with birth control measures and extends up to liberalised abortion. Immediately the question arises: “Is birth control immoral? Is abortion criminal?”. The morals and the concept of criminology in society rest on what society at a given stage of its development regards as good for the welfare of its people. They are man-made and can be unmade as the times require. Pearl S. Buck pleading for birth control has said:

“If we are not able to live under the codes of our forefathers it is not because we do not want to, but because life has changed so that we cannot, and we want help”

A practical American expressed the same idea more piquantly in reply to the charge that birth control was immoral. He said: “Of course, it is immoral, but it

is socially useful. Therefore, we propose to make it moral.”

What applies to birth control applies to our prejudices about abortion. Religious objections also must give place to social compulsions. ‘Sati’ regarded as very religious was suppressed by law. So also untouchability. Other instances can be multiplied to establish that man is not for Sabbath but Sabbath is for man. Dr S Chandrasekhar, in one of his books, on the population problem has exploded the objections of Christians, Hindus, and Muslims. God shall not fail man and even the Pope, it is to be hoped, will, some day, help. Coming back to the point, abortion is one of the weapons, though rarely used, in the family planning armoury.

The Soviet Union handled the subject of abortion as social realists would, adapting their attitude and technique to social conditions as they obtained from time to time.

After the October Revolution, the question of the right to abortion was forced upon the attention of the Soviet Government by the women themselves. When the working woman became aware that she was living under a Government which claimed that it not only believed that women should share equal rights with men but would, to the best of its ability, help women to become men's equals, one of the first things she asked was the right to refuse to give birth to children that she did not want. The question was discussed at great length and the women almost universally asserted that they could never be socially or economically independent so long as they had to bear continually recurring pregnancies. The doctors knew that abortion could cause harm to the health of the mother but were faced with the undeniable fact that the Russian women, like women elsewhere in the world, would continue illegal and underhand abortions so long as they were faced with unwanted pregnancy, particularly in the case of the poor women with children they were unable to support. The medical profession, ultimately, took the logical view

that the best way of fighting abortion was to fight it openly and this could be best done by legalising abortion under strict medical control. Legislation was made enabling women to seek abortion by licensed surgeons in hospitals or abortariums established by the State. In such institutes no doctor may refuse to perform the operation, and no charge would be made from women for it.

Instructive Experience

The experience in the Soviet Union is instructive. It is reported that, of the pregnant women who entered clinics for examination, about one-sixth desired abortion. But about one-half of these could be dissuaded from it. The result was that the actual number of abortions performed was a small percentage and was done under safe conditions. Legalisation of abortion saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of women in the Soviet Union, because otherwise illegal and fatal abortions would have continued in larger numbers.

Dr Gens, the Director of the Department for Abortion of the Moscow Institute for the Protection of Mothers and Infants stated in the thirties: "In the Soviet Union, in spite of legislation, there are relatively few abortions. We are the country in which abortion is least practised".

By 1936, conditions in that country changed. Birth control pills became available and other contraceptive measures became practicable. The general economic hardship in the country disappeared and adequate provisions by way of maternity hospitals increased. The Soviet woman was capable of maintaining economic and biological freedoms without recourse to abortion. A remarkable instance of the realism with which the Soviet authorities responded to this social change is found in the repeal of the permissive law in 1936 and making it an offence to cause abortion except in cases where the continuance of pregnancy threatened the life or seriously undermined the health of the woman or in which there

was a danger of serious diseases being passed on to a new-born.

Recently when I was in the Soviet Union I checked up with sociologists and hospital authorities and they confirmed that when abortion was prevented by law it went underground till at least the prohibition was withdrawn. Today under the policy of "consentuous motherhood" woman enjoys the right to have a child by choice, not by chance. She can demand—I verified this, even in remote, rural hospitals—abortion in any hospital free and without reasons, provided, of course, her health can stand it. Birth control pills and devices are sold in State shops.

Second Line of Defence

In India also, our economic adversities and social backwardness justify legislation to liberalise abortion, for the present. I emphasise 'for the present', because nobody can by eternally for or against abortion. It is interesting to read what was written by a member of the Central Legislature in 1934. In a Foreword to a book on Birth Control, B. V. Jadhav, MLA wrote:

"In these days very few, except the orthodox among the Hindus and the Roman Catholics among the Christians, speak against birth control. But even those are convinced of its necessity, to avoid unwanted pregnancy. But many a time plans of men fail: sometimes the means of prevention are not at hand, or the sexual act is against the will of an unfortunate woman, and undesired conception may take place. On such occasions she should be allowed to get rid of the foetus. So the right to abort is just complimentary to the right to prevent conception. The latter is not complete without the former. The two together are necessary to avoid unwelcome motherhood. When birth control fails, abortion is the second line of defence".

This daring legislator had introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly in the thirties, a Bill to legalise abortion at the hands of qualified medical practi-

tioners—it was not passed into law. Now, thirty years later, the argument in its favour is invulnerable.

In my humble view, whether we like it or not, we must realise the ugly truth that tens of thousands of unfortunate women with unwanted pregnancies are dying at the hands of quacks practising abortion and those who pretend, with a moral pose, to oppose liberalisation of abortion must share criminal complicity in the murder of these countless women in India. "To lessen abortion, legalise abortion" is the slogan which succeeded in the Soviet Union and will succeed in India.

There are three alternative courses available to a social planner on the subject. Allow abortion, whenever wanted by the woman or man-and-woman; allow the operation only where otherwise the life of the woman will be in peril; lastly, allow the option where the woman desires abortion and is able to stand it without serious harm to life—in an approved hospital. The third alternative is acceptable in the present conditions of Indian society. Of course, when India progresses and women in our country improve their economic and social status, many changes will take place, whether there is law or not in that behalf.

Social Realism

The task of today is to meet the challenge of the population explosion which inflicts pain and poverty, disease and death, misery and degradation on the whole nation. In the name of the unknown mothers and the unborn infants and in the name of the noble aspiration of the present generation to bring up a healthier and happier Indian humanity, I plead for a liberalisation of abortion as an act of social realism.

In the name of God, is it not more religious to inhibit live birth of babes in numbers who will be condemned to slow death for certain? There is a relativity in human affairs which must govern social policy.

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Gappa in Blunderland

A. RAGHAVAN



How many of us can pronounce Siddavvanahalli Nijalingappa without a snarl? And for that reason who will not be grateful to the one who helped us with a shorthand version of his name? Pakistan Radio uses only this standard version, and most journalists in Delhi, too. We wonder whether his tongue-twisting name has anything to do with his tongue lashing. All the time, Sri Nijalingappa bubbles and gurgles like an over-boiled kettle of water. The outcome is vapour, mere vapour.

Those who seek meanings in his pronunciamento are a gullible lot, more native than the oracle on the Nandi Hills. They will be as disappointed as the Hippies, who sought peace in Mahesh Yogi's retreat in Rishikesh. Gappa makes no sense to any one endowed with any sense. At Begumpet airport, in the course of his retreat from Jantar Mantar after that fateful Working Committee meeting, he attacked the personality cult around Smt Indira Gandhi. And when questioned about it on his landing at Bangalore, he cooed: "Why should people read meaning into what I said and construe it differently?" That is the point we are trying to make here: why should people read a meaning into what Sri S. Nijalingappa says!

Everything about Sri Nijalingappa as the Congress Chief is *sans* meaning. Sri Morarji Desai as politically a corpse but Sri Nijalingappa blabbers that he is very much alive. Height seems to have something to do with his mental working. He only remembers about Sri

Morarji Desai either at Dalhousie or on Nandi Hills. Nandi, the bull, seems to propel him into a bull fight with the Prime Minister.

Again, his mind works like the Delhi Electricity Supply Company. It is on and off. He was very much in at the temple town of Tirupati at the foundation meeting of the Syndicate. And now, six years later, the over-grown baby asks Bangalore Pressmen the whereabouts of the Syndicate.

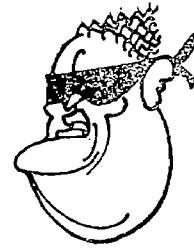
Cowardice is a dominant trait in Sri Nijalingappa's political make-up. He waxes eloquent over discipline, shouts loudest for the prosecution of the Prime Minister on breach of discipline. Is he consistent? What has happened to the disciplinary action proposed against Sri Hanumanthayya at the Goa AICC session? There Sri Hanumanthayya had brought a non-official resolution for a judicial inquiry into the charges of corruption levelled against Sri Nijalingappa while he was the Chief Minister of Mysore. An irate Working Committee ordered disciplinary proceedings against the accuser. But within days Sri Nijalingappa ran away from it all. He quietly called it off and even today Sri Hanumanthayya goes about saying that he has yet to receive the show-cause notice.

The same sordid story repeated itself in Parliament early in the last Budget session. The appointment of Sri Nijalingappa's son-in-law as the Mysore Government's Trade Agent at London had come up for blistering attack in the Rajya Sabha. The Congress rebel, Sri Chandra Shekhar, could not

repress himself. He made his own contribution to the denigration of his chief. Sixty Congress MPs demanded of the leader disciplinary action against Sri Chandra Shekhar. Smt Gandhi set up a 6-man committee for the inquisition. Chandra Shekhar gleefully welcomed the move but again Sri Nijalingappa beat a hasty retreat. He quietly asked the Prime Minister to drop it, and she did drop it.

Sri Nijalingappa indulges in double-think and double-talk. And it would appear from the mantle of child-like simplicity he wears on his face that he is not aware of it at all. A charitable explanation is that he is a simpleton. Last week, at Bangalore, he had the gumption to pontificate that the latest AICC resolution on economic affairs was some way towards socialism but "we are beyond that." Contrast this with the letter he wrote to the Prime Minister on his return from a manipulated visit to Japan late last year, complaining that foreign investors had lost faith in our Government by our reckless economic policy. That was not all. At Faridabad he called a halt to public sector expansion. And he made himself a laughing stock when he told the Rotarians in Delhi (the Syndicate's only audience anywhere in India) exactly 48 hours before the Banking Ordinance that the Government would not nationalise banks "in a hurry." And since then he has been declaring that bank nationalisation was a creed with him.

Now we realize the full meaning of what we read in an official profile of Sri Nijalingappa
(Continued on page 91)



Rise and Fall of Atulya

SANJOY CHOUDHURY

THE meteoric rise of Atulya Ghosh in West Bengal Congress began on a stormy night.

This was a night towards the end of 1947, when a couple of hundred persons, claimed to be Congress workers from several districts assembled at the small town of Memari, about 60 kilometres from Calcutta on Grand Trunk Road. The purpose of this conference of Congress workers was not very clearly publicised beforehand, excepting that some decisions were expected to be taken on the reorganisation of the then Bengal Congress.

It was then Bengal Provincial Congress, even though Partition had separated the two wings of Bengal from each other some months ago. The Provincial Congress had taken no decision till then on reorganising the Congress on the basis of Partition for the Working Committee had not till then been able to find out how the reorganisation of the BPCC could really be done without sacrificing those Congressmen who came from that part of Bengal which came to be known as East Pakistan.

The Memari Conference was the turning point. It was held on an open piece of land covered by a not-too-impressive pandal. A rostrum was set up without much of glamour. And when the Conference began in the evening, much of the pandal had come down in the storm, and most of the ground where the delegates were to have assembled had been flooded with knee-deep water. Even then, as announced earlier, the Chief Minister of West Bengal Dr P.C.

Ghosh did not fail his engagement, and arrived there much before the Conference was to have begun. Dr Ghosh had been invited to inaugurate the Conference, hardly knowing why the conference had been convened at all by the group of Congressmen, known then and thereafter as the Hooghly group.

By the time, Dr Ghosh had completed his inaugural speech, the pandal was half empty, for it was raining heavily, and it was hardly possible to keep the head dry under the pandal. Having done his duty, Dr Ghosh left for Calcutta, and it was very clear then that not much of a serious discussion was possible in such inclement weather. Hurriedly a back-stage consultation took place between some of the leaders of the Hooghly group, and soon after Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen moved a resolution urging the Working Committee to rename BPCC as West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, and to reorganise the WBPCC with representatives from districts covered by the new State of West Bengal. Behind Shri Sen was standing one of the Hooghly group leaders wearing dark glasses. And that was Sri Atulya Ghosh.

There was nothing of a debate, nor any discussion on the resolution, and in a matter of minutes, the resolution was declared to have been carried unanimously.

That was the beginning of the era of Sri Atulya Ghosh in West Bengal Congress. But he was then just one of the many others in the Hooghly group, and not the man in the group. There were for instance Sri Dhiren Mukherjee (who died a broken heart several

years later), and others who constituted the brain trust of this group, which some time later 'captured' the Congress renamed West Bengal Congress.

The transition from BPCC to WBPCC was not quite an easy task. Nor was it very peaceful either. Dr P.C. Ghosh, a member of the Working Committee, was not happy with the resolution adopted at the Memari Conference; and his opposition to partition of Bengal Congress was too well known. It was not quite an easy job for the Working Committee to accept the decision of the Memari Conference, nor was it possible any longer to ignore the post-partition realities.

To implement the Memari decision, the Hooghly group went all out to capture both the Congress organisation and the seat of power at Writers Building. It was at this stage that Sri Atulya Ghosh, Sri P.C. Sen and Sri Dhiren Mukherjee started working out the entire plan of seizure. Practically every night, they met for dinner at the Chowringhee Road residence of Sri Mukherjee and work out the details of the plan. The broad decision was (1) to force out Dr Ghosh from Chief Ministership, and (2) to take physical occupation of the BPCC office, then located in an old unimpressive building near Moulali. The second part of the plan was not a very difficult one; for, one afternoon Sri Bijoy Singh Nahar (who is now known to be a strong opponent of Sri Atulya Ghosh's leadership) led a group of Sevadal volunteers to the BPCC office, and carried away some of the furnitures. The

(Continued on page 92)

IN the agricultural sector, the Fourth Five year Plan has set two main objectives. The first objective is to provide the conditions necessary for a sustained increase of about five per cent per annum. The second objective is to enable as large a section of the rural population as possible, including the small farmers and cultivating tenants, to actively participate in agricultural development and share its benefits. The creation of the conditions necessary for a five per cent agricultural growth is basic to the approach of the Fourth Five Year Plan.

It is in this context that land reform, assumes a special significance, being a major factor contributing to agricultural development. At this stage of technological advance in agriculture, when the green revolution is very much in evidence in certain parts of the country, it becomes necessary to create necessary tenurial arrangements and holdings so that optimum socio-economic results are obtained and the impediments to further advancement are removed.

Tenurial Reforms

In this connection, reference may be made to the remarkable advance in agricultural production in Japan which was made possible due to tenurial reforms undertaken after the last war. Intensive cultivation requires constant use of labour and supervision of agricultural operations. The architects of the Japanese land reforms therefore created conditions under which no absentee land-owner could retain any land and presence of the landholder on the fields became inescapable. The resident owner could retain self-cultivable land from 7.5 to 12.5 acres. This was the aggregate area which all the members of a family could hold, an extent of area sufficiently arable and development of which was within means of an ordinary farmer. Only the small resident owner with less than 2.5 acres could retain tenanted land but even in such cases the tenants enjoyed full security of tenure

Land Reforms and New Agricultural Strategy

ANNASAHEB P. SHINDE

and no resumption was permitted.

The effective implementation of this programme of land reform in Japan paved the way for agricultural development and smooth working of cooperative organisation. It also reformed the distribution structure of agricultural incomes, with the result that the disparities were reduced to the minimum and conflict between land-owners and tenant-farmers was avoided, thereby stabilising the agrarian relations. Special emphasis has been laid in the successive five year Plans in India for implementation of land reforms, and it would be no exaggeration to say that never before has there been so much legislative action, with such wide social and economic ramifications as witnessed in the field of land reform in India since independence. The progress towards the ultimate goal of "land to the tiller" has been slow but certain. Intermediary tenures such as Zamindaries, jagirs and inams, which prevailed in respect of about 40 per cent tenants have been abolished. About 20 million tenants of former intermediaries have come into direct contact with the State and become owners of their holdings. Considerable areas of waste land and forests have vested in the State out of which, during the last 15 years, over 10 million acres of cultivable waste land are reported to have been distributed. Provision has been made in a number of States conferring substantial rights on tenants and enabling them to come in direct contact with the State and acquire ownership.

As a result, some three million tenants and share croppers have acquired ownership in respect of

approximately seven million acres. Laws imposing ceiling on agricultural holdings have also been enacted in almost all the States. According to available reports, over two million acres have either been declared surplus or actually taken possession of by the Government for redistribution to small tenants, uneconomic holders and the landless agricultural labourers. Programmes of consolidation of holdings have been under way in a number of States. During the Third Plan, the consolidation target of 28 million acres was fully achieved. Farming practices and land and water management have consequently improved, leading to better yields per unit of area.

Shortcomings

However, there have been shortcomings in several directions. The National Development Council constituted a Sub-Committee for reviewing the progress of land reforms in different States and suggesting measures for speedy implementation. This Committee reviewed the position in each State and the review was presented to the National Development Council at its meeting in August, 1966. The main features of the land legislation, its state of implementation in respect of each State have been set out in the review. In brief, the findings and suggestions are :

1. In some States, such as parts of Andhra, Assam, Bihar, Punjab, Madras and West Bengal, existing provisions for security of tenure are not adequate.

2. Most ejectments take the form of voluntary surrenders :

several States have yet to adopt suggestions made in this regard.

3. The right to resumption widens the scope of ejectments. In view of the period that has elapsed, there should be no further right of resumption.

4. In Andhra, Jammu & Kashmir, Madras, Punjab and West Bengal, rents have yet to be brought down to one fourth of the gross produce or less. Besides, produce rents have yet to be abolished and replaced by fixed cash rents in these and several other States. This is necessary so that uncertainties arising not of annual fluctuations in rents may be eliminated and the tiller assured of the full benefit of his investment.

5. Several States have yet to provide for conformant of ownership on tenants and in some others where the provisions exist, active steps have not been taken to implement them.

6. Security of tenure for the tiller is crucial to the whole scheme of tenancy reform. Experience has shown that it is difficult to ensure security of tenure and effective enforcement of rentals, unless landlord-tenant bond is broken. It is necessary, therefore, that immediate steps should be taken to break the landlord-tenant relationship, the State interposing between landlord and tenants, to collect fair rents from tenants and pay them to landlords after deducting land revenue and the collection charges.

7. Although legislation for ceilings has been adopted, steps for dealing with the problem of transfers have yet to be adopted in several States.

8. Administrative arrangement for enforcement and supervision were often inadequate and public opinion has not been sufficiently built up to quicken the pace of reforms.

9. Records of tenants which are essential for effective implementation of land reforms do not exist in several States, and are often incomplete and out of date even where they exist.

10. The economic condition of tenants, even where they have been conferred permanent rights

still continues to be weak. They should have the rights to make improvements and get timely agricultural credit from co-operatives and governmental agencies to carry out improvements.

These recommendations have been brought to the notice of the State Governments with the expectation that they will take suitable action.

The various shortcomings in land reform measures in the context of high yielding varieties programmes, particularly in relation to (a) extension of irrigation facilities; (b) use of fertilisers and pesticides; and (c) access to agricultural credit, came up for consideration at the Chief Ministers' Conference held in July, 1967. There was undoubtedly a keen awareness that measures for ensuring security of tenure, regulation of rent, conferment of ownership rights on tenants, distribution of land to the landless agriculturists and consolidation of holdings could brook no delay.

Following the Chief Ministers' Conference, the Union Minister of Food and Agriculture, in consultation with the Planning Commission, wrote to Chief Ministers, individually, emphasising the need for strengthening land reform administration and pin-pointing the measures which called for immediate action.

Subsequently, the Working Group on Land Reforms, set up in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation, to formulate programmes of agricultural development relating to land reforms under the Fourth Five Year Plan, reviewed the progress made in the implementation of the land reforms and made specific recommendations with regard to regulation of rent, prevention of ejectments, ceiling on land holdings, consolidation of fragmented holdings, distribution of surplus land after ceiling, and of Government lands to landless people. The Working Group Report has been forwarded to the State Governments for their consideration. In the Draft Fourth Five Year Plan, although the recommendations made by the Working Group have not been

mentioned in detail sufficient emphasis has been laid on the expeditious implementation of land reform.

Agrarian Unrest

These measures have assumed still greater importance in the context of the growing discontent in the rural areas. As a result of the new strategy in agriculture and adoption of the package programme, there has been a marked increase in the productivity of land. In the wheat-growing areas of Punjab, it has been observed that the wheat yield has increased from 16 to 40 maunds per acre (average for Ludhiana district) and on many individual farms, 50 to 60 maunds. Land values have consequently soared inducing absentee landlords, whose interest was earlier confined to whatever rents could be obtained by leasing of such lands, to personally resume lands from tenants.

Even where the tenants are permitted to continue, due to their weaker bargaining power, they are compelled to pay exorbitant rates of rent—much higher than the statutory rates prescribed by law—in some cases upto 66 to 75 per cent of the produce.

While in view of the technological break-through, the landlords, particularly the absentee-owners residing in towns, are resuming land from tenants many of whom have no adequate legal security, on the other hand, in many cases, the tenants who formerly used to submit without any grudge to the dictates of the landlords when the lands were hardly able to provide a bare subsistence, are now resisting such resumption. They are becoming conscious of the fact that if they can stick to the land they cultivate, there is possibility of quick economic gains; the alternative being their being reduced to the status of landless agricultural labourers.

In such a situation, agrarian unrest has been increasing, leading sometimes to localised tension and conflict. This conflict is particularly visible in States where adequate protection has been given to tenants. Even in

areas where statutory provisions have been made for imposition of ceiling on holdings, little has been done to enforce them. The landless agriculturists and uneconomic holders are naturally clamouring for redistribution of land.

Increase in land values has not only attracted absentee landlords to resume land from tenants but also acquire land from socially backward and economically weaker sections of the rural community.

It is more than ever necessary that steps should be taken for

legislative and administrative action in each State in respect of the following measures :

(i) Declaring all tenancies 'non-resumable' and preventing landlords from taking forcible possession of land from tenants;

(ii) Pending conferment of ownership on tenants, giving them the right to mortgage their interest in land for obtaining institutional credit for agricultural development ;

(Continued on page 65)

These are no mean achievements and any people can be proud of this record specially so because we have been able to implement this programme without any element of coercion. On the food front we have succeeded in achieving breakthrough and can look forward to the future with confidence.

A democratic Government can be run well only if its thinking is communicated to the people and their reactions are transmitted back to the Government. In a democracy which presupposes governance by consent the reaction of the people to Government's thinking helps to formulate the ultimate policy which can be implemented with the agreement of the largest number of people.

At present, unfortunately there is a crisis in communication which has occurred because of various reasons. Mass media has become very expensive due to the introduction of modern scientific techniques. It has become beyond the reach of a political party which does not have very large funds at its disposal. In addition, the channels of communication between the Government on the one hand and the people on the other are choked in certain cases. The growth of monopoly press is one such example.

One of the most important things in the process of communication is the qualitative impact made by the mass media.

This qualitative impact can come only when our communicators are committed to the basic ideology by which we stand.

In the days of freedom struggle there were a large number of newspapers and journals which were printed in various languages which fought for freedom. After the achievement of independence there is no one single great cause which our communicators can own. It, therefore, becomes incumbent on the party cadres to go out and carry the programme to the people and communicate with them face to face. This is one of the aspects to which the Party must pay attention if it wants to reach the masses in the country.

Information Services In Democracy

I. K. GUJRAL

AN informed electorate is the pre-requisite of democracy, which is based on adult franchise. Direct democracy of the type we have in this country has roots in the people. Thus it becomes necessary to inform people constantly about the achievements, limitations and even failures of the Government. The final accountability of the Government is to the electorate.

Whereas it is important that the people should be informed about the governance of the country, the effort to involve people in the programme that is being implemented is absolutely essential for its success. In a country of the size of India any effort to raise the standard of living of the masses can succeed only when the people accept the programme, and having accepted it are willing to help in its implementation.

Today, we have a commitment to social transformation. We are moving towards the establishment of a socialist society, in which all will be equal partners. Achievement of this goal calls for concerted action and emotional involve-

ment on the part of the people.

The role of information services in creating awareness and receptivity to the programmes of the Government is vital. No people in the world can be enthused to put in a massive effort of the magnitude called by our development activity without proper knowledge and information.

In the past two decades we have completed three plans at a sizable cost in terms of financial investment and effort. Gigantic investments have been made in public sector. The country can now boast of capacities that can be used to manufacture capital goods ; the mother machines. For instance, we have a complex at Ranchi that can give us a steel mill with a capacity of one million tonnes a year. With the public sector undertaking in the sphere of Heavy Electricals we can now double our electric generation within the course of a Plan. India can now undertake steel fabrication, building of transmission towers, wagons and allied heavy engineering works on turnkey basis.

Mainstream invited the leaders of both the Communist Parties—CPI and CPIM, to write on the present political situation as they view it. Two leaders representing the two parties have kindly responded to the Mainstream invitation—Sri A. K. Gopalan, Member of Politbureau, CPIM, and Sri Bhowani Sen, Member, Central Secretariat, CPI. Their contributions bring out interesting points of agreement and disagreement between the two Communist Parties on the evaluation and approach to the current political developments.

Present Political Situation : How CPI and We See it

A.K. GOPALAN

CPI leaders claim that from the beginning they have been saying that there is a progressive group inside the Congress, and that this is now proved to be true. They pose as though we have not foreseen that any differentiation would take place within the Congress even leading to a split. This is false.

Our Party Programme has visualised differences arising among various sections of the bourgeoisie on different occasions. We have recognised that inside the bourgeois class as such, there is a big bourgeois section. We have said that our main target in the worker-peasant alliance is the big bourgeois section. There is another section within the bourgeoisie which in the long run will be hit by big bourgeoisie and imperialism, and that is the non-monopoly section. We have also said that this non-monopoly section at present is part of the bourgeois class as a whole and is also part of the bourgeois state. We have further stated that depending upon the depth of the crisis and its impact, and depending upon the correlation of forces shifting in favour of worker-peasant alliance, and the intensity of the powerful mass struggles, it is not the differentiation between the monopoly and non-monopoly section is bound to take place leading to a split.

Present Differentiation

Present differentiation within the Congress leadership, however,

should not be confused with the differentiation and splits envisaged in our Party Programme. When crisis deepens and in face of the rising movement, differences and fights between various sections of the bourgeoisie is bound to take place *as to how to deal with the situation*. The outspoken champions of the monopolists in the leadership of the Congress, assessing that after 1972 general election they may not be able to carry out their counter-revolutionary manoeuvres against the people and the democratic movement through the new Parliament, wanted to put one of their own henchmen in the post of Presidentship right now itself, and manipulate their own line through the present Parliament itself. That is the crux of the present differences.

Two platforms have not emerged from the present differences for, there has been no differentiation between monopoly and non-monopoly sections. Yet we utilise one section of the bourgeoisie to fight and oppose the game of the outspoken champions of the monopolists.

Lenin said, about the conflict between the Labour Party and Liberals in England at that time, 'Join hands with Labour Party to defeat the Liberals'. He said, 'We must see that Hendersons defeat Lloyd Georges'.

Divide the enemy and fight, is our position. That is why, in our Resolution we called the "unity" moves between the two sections of the Congress leadership as "opportunism". It is precisely

because of this reason that the bourgeois press, almost unanimously pleaded for 'unity', in their editorials, since they were afraid that the continued fight might compel one section to rely on democratic forces outside the Congress in its struggle against the other. We should not forget that popular intervention against the anti-peoples policies of the Congress, through the results of the last General Election, mid-term elections, the activities of the two United Front Governments and expanding mass struggles, with all their limitations, had yet played a major role in bringing about the present differences and fight inside the Congress leadership. It also showed the impact of the independent strength of the democratic forces.

Our assessment and approach to the present differences inside the Congress is distinct from that of the CPI revisionists. It is not incorrect totally with one section of the bourgeoisie if that leads to the accentuation of crisis for the enemy class. What is impermissible is subordination of the interests of the working class to one section of the bourgeoisie in the name of allying with that section to accentuate the crisis. It is this subordination which the CPI revisionists are resorting to, and creating deep illusions among the masses about nationalisation and about Indira Gandhi. And if we do not demarcate ourselves from this, our class, when they become disillusioned about Indira Gandhi, will attack

us as well for having misdirected them.

Differentiation and Differentiation

Mere nationalisation of Banks or of imports, by themselves are not sufficient to show that economic differentiation has taken place. But the difference between the two groups as to whether to ally with Jana Sangh and the Swatantra, or to ally with democratic forces including the Marxists, is a political differentiation. In class terms, this differentiation means that a section of the bourgeoisie, *for the time being* instead of relying on the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra, is compelled by events to rely on democratic forces including the Marxists. This may be a temporary phenomenon. Yet it means they are compelled to break away for the present, from reactionary alliance and rely on democratic forces. Which of the two situations do we consider better for the advance of the democratic and revolutionary movement the Congress as such allying with the Jana Sangh and Swatantra reactionaries, or a position in which the Congress is split and one section being compelled to rely on democratic forces? If the battle is left to the two groups themselves without independent mass intervention, it will lead to compromise. On the other hand, if the masses intervene in strength, it will lead to accentuation of the inner conflict and advance of the democratic movement, while securing certain concessions as by-product.

The difference between the two sections is also as to how to save the Congress, relying on whom etc.

The question is asked, how will the present conflict culminate? The CPI revisionists say that stage by stage it will lead to the evolution of the National Democracy of their concept. This is a line of total class collaboration in the name of distinguishing between groups among the bourgeoisie.

We treat the bourgeoisie as a whole without differentiation for the purpose of elimination as a class only in the stage of Proletarian Revolution. Our present

stage is of People's Democratic Revolution. We are concentrating on the big bourgeoisie—and against those who ally with big bourgeoisie, landlords and imperialism—which is leading the state. In doing so we mainly rely on the mass revolutionary movements and the United Front, and not on the Indira Group as such. But as the ruling class in disintegrating, we utilise it to the advantage of the movement and to advance it on its set direction at a faster pace. By our independent mass movement and mass struggles, we must prevent this section (the Indira Gandhi group) going back, as otherwise the crisis will peter out.

The question is asked that Giri was Indira's candidate, and as such were we correct in supporting him. We are aware of these things. But in the Presidential election, he appeared in the eyes of the people throughout the country as a symbol of the fight against the Syndicate. Our Party Programme has made it clear that the President's powers must be curtailed. But today when the Parliament itself is unstable, the President assumes the strategic position from which he can manoeuvre to bring about a fake majority. And 1972 is a vital year. With the Presidential post in the hands of Syndicate—in league with Jana Sangh and the Swatantra—they could even block the holding of General Election in 1972, if they so desired. In fact the Tatas have been demanding 'Presidential form of Government'. So, who should be the President, assumes much importance in today's situation.

The CPI revisionist mistake lies in their contention that consistent progressive differentiation has been taking place inside the camp of the bourgeoisie. As such, their slogan is 'Rally round Indira'. This amounts to not only disarming the proletariat from proceeding along the path of independent revolutionary movement, but hitching our class to the bandwagon of Indira Gandhi. In so far as a section of the bourgeoisie is compelled to rely on the democratic movement, we see it as an opportunity for the working

class to get more weight in Indian politics, and as such we should not miss this opportunity. Lenin said, 'Watch your ally as you watch your enemy'. This saying of Lenin is apt for our present situation.

The Indira Gandhi Government cannot take progressive measures without powerful mass intervention through extensive struggles. The main guarantee for utilising the present situation for advance is the sum total of the existing United Fronts and their activities and our Party's independent mass activities. So, unless you strengthen the United Front and the democratic forces, you cannot utilise the situation and advance.

Can a United Front be formed at the Centre with 'tried' democrats? The United Front in the States is directly related to the masses. In the Centre, it is not so. So the question amounts to asking whether there could be a 'Non-Congress bloc' is possible at the Centre? How is this possible with parties with differing foreign, defence and other policies and approach? Who are the 'tried democrats' in Parliament to form a bloc with the CPI revisionists? They are tailing behind the bourgeoisie at Centre and aligning with—the Syndicate in the State (Kerala) to throw us out. In fact, our functioning as a merged bloc with them in practice in Kerala has landed us in the present position in Kerala. To form a bloc with them is suicidal.

The question is put that since our Politbureau put that differentiation between the openly aggressive reactionary group and the other group led by Indira has taken place and that the former is trying to oust the latter's Government has our characterisation of the Government as one of bourgeois-landlord headed by the big bourgeoisie changed? Otherwise, how should we characterise Indira's government to-day?

There is no change in the class character of the Indira Gandhi government. Our party Programme has not characterised the Central Government as exclusively of the big bourgeoisie.

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Trend of National Political Development

BHOWANI SEN

THE result of the Presidential Election marks the beginning of a new period and a new correlation of forces in the country's political set-up. It was not an accident that the election of the President became linked up with the exit of Sri Morarji Desai from the Ministry and nationalisation of 14 big banks as an anti-monopoly measure.

This combination symbolised the confrontation between the combined forces of Right Reaction on the one side and the forces of the Centre and the Left on the other. Nationalisation of the banks followed by the victory of Sri V.V. Giri in the Presidential election signified a defeat of the ultrareactionaries within the Congress, collectively known as the Syndicate, allied with the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party. It also signifies the advance of national democratic forces composed of Communists and some other Left groups outside the Congress as well as those within the Congress who are against Right Reaction. It is a big blow to the monopolies and their allies.

The specifically unique character of this year's Presidential election as distinguished from those of the past consists of two political developments. Firstly, two powerful political alliances came into being almost openly and came face to face against each other. One of them is the alliance of the Syndicate with the Jana Sangh and Swatantra Party directly representing the interests of the monopolies and all that is backward and retrograde in our national life.

The other development consists in the march of all democratic forces outside and inside the Congress together to defeat Right Reaction and the beginning of a turn of the Government policy to the Left.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's bold stand in snatching the Finance portfolio from Sri Morarji Desai and nationalisation of 14 banks undoubtedly alarmed the Syndicate and other Rightists who represent the most reactionary wing of the bourgeoisie—the 75 families who appropriate the bulk of the national wealth. But they were discomfited by the combination of all forces against the Right both inside and outside the Congress which dealt a severe blow to the Right reactionary combination so that the Rightist conspiracy became still-born. The resounding victory of Sri V. V. Giri in the Presidential Election and the defeat of Sri Sanjiva Reddy the nominee of the Right reactionaries, has demonstrated that the forces of the Right can certainly be routed if all the Left and democratic forces both inside and outside the Congress unite, fight the monopolies and serve the interests of the people. It is the disunity in this camp and the Congress policy of appeasement which had enabled the Right Reactionaries to grow and attack all that is progressive in our national economy and political life. It is the absence of this democratic unity that enabled Right reaction to succeed in shifting the Government's policy to the Right continuously from 1959 to 1969. Emboldened by their success they

began to hatch the conspiracy for a Right coalition at the Centre.

As a matter of fact, the debacle of the Congress began in 1967, its electoral defeat in a number of State being the manifestation of people's anger provoked by the growing crisis in the national economy, a crisis which was characterised by the Communist Party of India as the natural outcome of the capitalist path followed by the ruling party.

The three Five Year Plans tried to build up a State capitalist sector but the concession given to the big bourgeoisie strengthened the private monopolies. Having grown economically stronger than the State capitalist sector, the private monopolies began its offensive on all the progressive policies like planning, the extension of the State Sector and expansion of heavy industries. Naturally the Right reactionaries inside the Congress began to attack all the democratic forces both inside and outside the Congress.

In its programme adopted in 1964, the CPI had detected the contradiction between the monopolies and the rest of the bourgeoisie and predicted that the crisis of the capitalist path was bound to develop and produce a split in the ranks of the national bourgeoisie—setting the general bulk of them against the monopolies. Such a split is bound to have its repercussion inside the Congress so that a section of Congressmen would be faced to fight the Right and thereby come closer to the Communists and other Left forces outside the Congress. Such a development would ultimately give birth to a National Democratic Front against imperialism, remnants of feudalism and the Indian monopolies. Based on the contradiction between these forces and the whole people, the National Democratic Revolution was visualised as an intermediate stage for the country's transition towards socialism or as the precursor to the socialist revolution.

This concept of National Democratic stage of revolution as the transition between dying
(Contd. on page 94)

FREEDOM of the Press. A part of the mythology of reaction. Not a symbol of total truth, but of the chaotic and the haphazard. Pages spewed out of machines, by no means advancing culture "by provoking a free play of mind over stock opinions and prejudices." Rather, "a question of amusing, touching, or seducing men's minds." A flood of stereotyped, imitative, banal, boring print. Above all, boring.

Marshal McLuhan, described as "pop Guru" by Tom Wolfe, another pop writer, has pronounced: "People don't actually read newspapers. They get into them every morning like a hot bath." Barring, of course, a few masochists, who cannot get out of their life-long addiction, and the strange breed of cats, the professionals who live by newspapers. The most case-hardened masochists, even masochist professionals, have begun to complain that the hot bath has, in recent months, turned very cold.

Whispered Word Power

I am as much a McLuhanite as a piece of moon rock. But I do think his view of a pre-literate society being ear-oriented applies to us. Being among the Johnny-come-latelies to reading, most Indians pick up all information about what is happening outside their field of vision by hearing about it. Perhaps this is the explanation of the power of the whispered word and the political potential of rumour. Besides, rumours and whispers are interesting, exciting. Newspapers are not.

The recent, firm, deliberate, confirmed habit of boredom in our newspapers which used to be somewhat livelier, I understand, is, by some strange contortion of the thought process, attributable to that fearsome, capitalist bugaboo-competition. The pronounced, unadventurous uniformity of the newspapers, was setting in a trend of diminishing circulation. India is a land of paradox. Just as we could have Inflation and a Recession together, we could have a diminishing circulation and increasing

A New Birth of Freedom

G. N. ACHARYA

advertisements together. Hence, the news holes between the solid columns and pages of advertisements were also shrinking. For these and, may be, some more muddled reasons, the newspapers—the English ones at any rate—decided to go in for more pages.

Quantity, greater *raddi* value, was the Indian newspaper barons' brilliant conception of competition. If a product is not selling, dump more of the same thing in the market! Who has psycho-analysed the minds of newspaper controllers? Experiment, adventure, risks, the quest for quality, the search for talents are barred. We get the work of driven staff hacks, of males and females reeking with respectability, saddled with status, companions of convivial cocktail evenings, performing in the Press on matters of vintage conformity, of sentimental religiosity, or of snob value. Result: Boredom.

Drycleaned Views

Occasionally there may be a screwball, a safe, conformist screwball, say someone like Nirad Choudhury—to mention the best of that *genre*—offering entertainment. That is the exception that proves the rule. For the rest nobody dares to indulge in any censorable hanky-panky; just plain, standard pancake. News is conditioned to the phoney standards of prevailing prejudice, or honest, un-

ashamed publicity. Views are drycleaned, discoloured, camouflaged to suit the whims of ignorant editors and the interests of greedy proprietors.

Newspapers are not free to mirror the tragedy of the daily lives and miseries of the poor and dispossessed. They don't voice men's longings and women's yearnings—except for fashion and divine devotion, and some rare excursions into a bed-free version of love.

The readers are guinea-pigs, goddamn guinea-pigs, brainwashed to become a part of the Establishment, the confirmed, contemporary community. Enterprising, self-made industrialists, newsprint merchants who cannot cast off their fixed trade minds when they begin to deal in news, and their bankers make money. Millions of lowly people, seeking knowledge of their environment, are "given what they want." Democracy in smooth operation. Freedom of the Press assured, guaranteed by the Constitution, enforced by the Supreme Court.

Ten Pegs Later

Freedom of the Press. That is what the big guns of the Delhi Newspaper world practise when they go off duty over the weekends. That is no new thought. The Scots poet John Burns said long ago: "Freedom and Whisky gang thegither!" A man who has had five pegs may see things he has never seen

before ; a man who had ten may see things nobody has ever seen before. That may be how one votary of the Free Press saw the policies of the Prime Minister being dictated from the Moscow Kremlin. Over the hot line.

Freedom of the Press, Hen's teeth. Sri Y. B. Chavan, Sri Satish Gujral, all the ancient, liberal, chatter-box rhetoricians ; hiring editors of illiterate owners, talk in pompous accents of the Freedom of the Press. No, no, no, we will not, repeat *will not*, nationalise newspapers like the banks, because we have too much respect for the Freedom of the Press. Craps.

Who wants nationalisation ? And what has that got to do with Freedom anyway ? Don't you know the case of Anatoly Kuznetsov ? Poor chap, he couldn't get his stuff published in the Soviet newspapers. But just to mention a case of which I have personal knowledge, do you know how many things G.N. Acharya couldn't get published at all, or published in obscure, non-circulating journals ? Here, in the land of the free, though not so brave. Who cares ? There are plenty of chaps going around, authors of unwritten articles and books. Unwritten, because there is no publisher in prospect. But they are free ; their opinions are free. We are a democracy ; and bloody proud of the fact. May be, they couldn't see their stuff in print because they didn't have well-oiled knees for geninflexion.

Small Doses of Freedom

Nationalisation is no answer to that. A revolution in attitudes, transcending laws, legislatures and courts, may be a near answer. You can't get that on order. Meanwhile, we could make do with a few modest doses of simple freedom, legalised, institutionalised regulated freedom. Not that we want any control or direction ; not even that of the Press Council. Control is bad ; ineffectual control is worse. Just as prescription can only follow diagnosis, injections of institutionalised freedom can only follow a proper understanding of the

state of Unfreedom of the Press.

Humanity has been shaped by the means used in this and earlier ages, to deliver information. The most important means so far invented—though it faces a threat of supersession by Radio and Television in the advanced nations—is the newspaper press. Our Press is working with depleted efficiency because of its ownership and its unusual price pattern. News sells below production costs. The difference is made up by advertisements. On the principle that he who pays the piper calls the tune, it is the advertisement industry that enjoys exclusive Freedom of the Press.

Things they Make

Thanks to the common, complex kinship-business-linkage, the same persons appear in different garbs. Most newspapers have their fingers in the advertisement pie. Controllers of advertisement agencies hold newspaper shares. They also own syndicates which sell the stuff that fills enlarged spaces. The left-over space is given to other groups of friends of businessmen—such as gods, dead and alive, saints, astrologers, purveyors of aphrodisiacs disguised as Ayurvedic physicians. Above all, the same people who make newspapers, in different *avatars* make cars, shoes, cement, nylons, cosmetics *et all*. They are all advertisement kings. Newspapers are subject to their indirect rule.

The price-page schedule suggested by the Press Commission was a panacea. Only in the advanced state of the disorder (aggravated by prolonged neglect) a dose of higher potency may now be needed. A price-page schedule will introduce some sense of realism in the cost-price relationship. It will reduce the stranglehold of the advertiser. It will damp down the unfair competitive capacity of the big papers. It might reduce the near impossibility of starting new and effective units. It might expose the existing units to the risks of qualitative competition. It will kill their complacency born of

their near total security. The attempt to reach a wider readership, may force them to reflect the interests and sentiments—however inadequately—of the new readership. The quest for the wider readership, if pursued with some persistence might well change the cost structure of our newspapers.

Equality of Unequals

But then the Supreme Court has said "No." It would. We are still ruled by legal concepts as interpreted by our erstwhile Anglo-Saxon Masters. Though the British Privy Council has now denied the sanctity of precedents, we still swear by them. We have few precedent-making judges, few who will declare their freedom from past precedents, and be guided by first principles.

The principle of Equality before the Law, as interpreted by Anglo-Saxon courts, is intended to preserve the advantages of privilege. It ignores the principle that there can be no equality between an elephant and an ox. It overlooks the Aristotelian dictum that equal treatment of unequals is as much an injustice as unequal treatment of equals. Our courts are unconcerned with social consequences. They are engrossed with the *letter scripta* of the law. The principle of non-discrimination has to be reinterpreted so as to deny protection to the *status quo* of entrenched privilege.

As *National Herald* pointed out in an editorial (August 4), "Freedom of Expression was held by the Supreme Court to include freedom of the Press, but it is untenable to hold that the industrial and trade aspect of the Press is so inextricably intertwined with freedom of expression that they cannot be separated." I am not sure if this view was even presented to (or adequately pressed before) the Supreme court.

Inflexible Legalism

The minds of our legal specialists are cluttered up with a lot of rules, precedents, proprieties and other *impedimenta* that pass for experience. Like

Other specialists, the lawyer carries his legalism with him as a snail does his shell. The brand of legalism that rules the Secretariat, the Lok Sabha and the Supreme Court alike, the legalism whose primary concern is with property and the numerous rights attached to it, must yield place to something more flexible, more in tune with the needs of democratic progress and of social justice.

Still, we do want precedents. The catch with our love of precedents is that we don't catch up soon enough. Here are some recent events. In May, the London *Mirror* hired the trade union leader Clive Jenkins to do a weekly column at £100 a piece. (Rs. 1,800. Don't mention the figure to an Indian editor. He may throw a fit, collapse and pop). The members of the *Mirror* chapel turned their thumbs down and the copy was blacked out. That is pure trade union action; and no British court would dream of issuing an injunction, a writ of Mandamus or other appropriate writ as the legal flourish has it.

There was a strike which forced *Le Figaro*, France's oldest and most prestigious daily to suspend publication. The journalists protested against the owner gaining control from the Editor on the plea that this would affect their freedom of expression. The details of the incident and the journalists' demand, not confined to that paper alone, were set out in a speech by Jean-Louis Servan-Schreiber (brother of the more famous Jean-Jacques, publisher of *L'Express*, the French News Magazine). Jean-Louis is the publisher of the Magazine *L'Expansion*. The speech is adapted and published in *New Statesman*—June 20, 1969.

Some Recent Examples

French journalists are not alone in demanding a right of veto over the choice of a publisher, the right of the employer to sack an editor, and a share in newspaper stock so that "they can have a veto right on vital decisions affecting the papers." The 1.8 million

circulation German Magazine, *Stern* has now a seven-man staff council "which has the right to stop the publisher from hiring or firing the editor-in-chief." There is a system of staff participation in management and policy control in *L'Express*. In Italy, according to Servan-Schreiber "the editor of a publication is protected by law in such a way that it is very difficult for the publisher to change him. Even in the US the limit of the publisher's power has been sensed when, for example, the publisher of the *New York Times* was not really able, because of editorial opposition, to change the head of the Washington bureau."

In the light of this, the suggestions put forward by the President of our own Federation of Working Journalists, in his letter to the Prime Minister, cannot be regarded as extreme. Sri V. N. Bhushanrao has demanded, among other things, that "all major newspaper combines should be converted into trusts with the representatives of working journalists and employees being associated with the management of newspapers." He also wants newspaper employees should be given shares "so as to

enable them to participate in the control and administration of newspapers."

I might have described this as a species of social control, but for the fact that the expression has become discredited—degraded by the withering touch of Morarji Desai. There may be other ways of bringing about the desired result than by converting employees to shareholders with a vested interest in profits. The main thing is to free the newspapers from the stranglehold of property laws evolved for other commodities.

News and views are totally unlike other commodities. The products of the knowledge industry cannot be dealt with in the same way as other manufactures. This calls for a mental revolution. All talk of Freedom of the Press is unreal, as newspaper ownership rights are governed by the same, old, musty outmoded laws, principles and modes of thought, that apply to other species of property. There can be no property rights over the minds of men and women. The Press is Unfree because of these property laws. It can be made free only by freeing it from the power of property and profit.

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Our Sick Universities

V.B. SINGH

I

Symptoms of Sickness

OUR Universities are sick because our society is sick, of which they are a limb. The twenty-second Independence anniversary message of the Acting President contains a painful reference to the symptoms of this sickness—loot, arson and resort to force by the students. Agitations are not bad by themselves. Organised agitations are often means for ending a decadent order and laying the foundations of a new and better society. But is it the perspective before our students? Our academic sessions seem to be divided into admissions, agitations, examinations and vacations. Nobody seems to be satisfied: whether he is a student or a teacher or a guardian. The student activities are gradually demonstrating an unconscious belief in nihilism. Why?

The answer consists in the fact that the Universities are not what they should be. The Education Commission recalls the following words of Jawaharlal Nehru on the functions of a University: "A university stands for humanism, for tolerance, for reason, for the adventure of ideas and for the search of truth, it stands for the onward march of the human race toward ever higher objectives. If the universities discharge their duties adequately, then it is well with the nation and the people".

With a view to translating these ideas into action so that education may be transformed into an instrument for social, cultural and economic change, the Commission thought that education should (i) be related to productivity; (ii) strengthen social and national integration; (iii) consolidate democracy as a form of government; (iv) help the country to adopt democracy as a way of life; (v) hasten the process of modernization; and (vi) strive to build character by cultivating social, moral and spiritual values.

If the Government both of the Union and of the States are serious about implementing these objectives, a number of immediate steps have to be taken, such as the redrafting of the courses of study; their

effective teaching and examinations. And all this with the help of committed teachers; creation of an institutional framework in which the teachers and the students develop a sense of belonging to the institution. But we are far away from this normal (not ideal) situation. The fact is that generally the courses are out of date, the work load is light and rarely directed to practical ends. The object of education as it is imparted is not to effect a social transformation, but to create a group of educated individuals who are divorced from the masses and seem to have no sense of purpose. The children of the weaker sections of society are virtually discriminated against instead of being helped to compensate, through better personal attention for the absence of a proper literary background.

The demands of the students, in their various agitations, is not to change the educational system, but to grant them concession within the system. (The system could not have produced a better lot!), The 'full-time' students have a lurking suspicion against the working students, as the latter are better equipped to grasp the lectures and answer the question papers. The working students rightly plead that the lectures should be fewer but better. Under political pressure, a section of the authorities are considering the question of students' participation in academic administration; while every successive University enactment after Independence, has ensured increasing teachers' *de*-participation in academic administration.

Both the Radhakrishnan Commission and the Kothari Commission Reports have used high platitudes about the role of teacher without relating it to the day-to-day needs of academic work. A host of Western commentators, including John Kenneth Galbraith, have reminded us, again and again, about the impractical nature of our teaching of even a lively subject like Economics. In his *Asian Drama* Gunnar Myrdal complains that critics of the West including Communists and fellow-travellers in India "are eager and proud to place the emphasis of their teaching on the latest abstract and formal growth models developed at Cambridge or Yale, and whose ambition is to write articles resembling those in the Western journals and hopefully to publish them there". There is nothing wrong with these aspirations as today the standards are international; but the attainment of these standards should be accompanied by the teaching and research being related to the needs of our social and economic transformation.

II

Constitutional Framework

THE constitutional constraints on reforms in higher education are too heavy today. By and large, the University education in India is a State subject. Under item 66 of the Union list of the VII Schedule, the Government of India has the power to determine and maintain standards. Consequently, under a

Central Act, the University Grants Commission has been created for "the promotion and coordination of university education for the determination and maintenance of standards of teaching, examinations and research in universities" (Section 12). For the pursuance of these objectives the University Grants Commission is empowered to "recommend to any University the measures necessary for the improvement of university education and to advise the University upon the action to be taken for the purpose of implementing such recommendations" (Section 12-D).

In the famous Gujarat University *versus* Shri Krishna case, the Supreme Court of India, ruled in 1963 that under item 66 the Union Government (therefore the UGC) has wide powers including "the power to legislate for preventing the occurrence of or for removal of disparity in standards."

It is against this background that the Education Ministry was advised that the Union Government had adequate powers to regulate and maintain standards and it was not necessary to amend the Constitution to put education on the Concurrent List.

To interfere in the sphere of University education may not be constitutionally barred, but surely in the context of the post-1967 political scene, it is politically barred. Even otherwise, it was necessary that the Union Education Minister should be not only an educationist but a person who could take the party (or parties) with him for effecting any change or reform. This has not been the case with the appointment of Union Education Ministers after Maulana Azad. Educational reforms have practically no place in Election Manifesto ; and in the deliberations of parties.

The Union-State relations in the educational sphere have degenerated to mere fiscal relations. Now a time has come when the advice of the UGC is easily discarded not only by the State Governments but also by the Universities. The State universities, generally speaking, are dominated by the State bosses. From the appointment of a Vice-Chancellor to that of a janitor is made with the consent of the State bosses. Dozens of departments that had traditions of research and solid academic work have been ruined by presiding officers who have been appointed because of their pull with the powers that be.

The newer Universities, mainly of examining type, are coming up because of regional and sub-regional pressures. Expenditure on university education is not today an investment in human capital, but a demonstration of prestige and power.

All this calls for radical reforms. Let us be clear at this stage that whether our universities improve or decay is a question which is directly related with the state of the political and economic health of the country. Those who are eager to improve educational and scientific standards in the country cannot afford to stand on the fence in the political and economic struggle for the democratic transformation of the country. The effort to reform education is also an effort to help the democratic processes going on in the country.

III

Direction of Change

THERE are two types of changes : academic and administrative. In the first category is included the modernization of syllabuses and purposive and planned research so that the contents compare with the best available from the more modernized countries.

So far as the humanities are concerned, the reorganised courses should create a positive sense of patriotism. This is all the more necessary in view of the fact that 37 universities are imparting instructions, fully or partially, in regional languages.

Further, for creating social and national integration as well as for training cadres for nation-building, it is imperative that identical syllabi and textbooks are available in different regional languages. A reorganisation of the courses of studies will remain a farce, unless the new contents are reflected in teaching as well as in examinations.

This implies a radical change in the methods of our teaching and examination also. So far, by and large, education has been regarded as consumer goods ; now it should be directed to the skill formation of various types, for nation building.

On the institutional level, if one of the aims of university education is to inculcate a sense of democracy, it is necessary that the universities must themselves be organized on democratic principles. At present the caste-hierarchy prevailing in the society dominates the classification of university teachers ; bulk of whom are denied the opportunity to participate in the administration of the University on any level. University autonomy has come to be identified with the autonomy of a syndicate or caucus, whether consisting of politicians from outside the campus ; or of the teacher-politicians or a mixture of both.

The demand of democracy requires that power and functions be decentralized. The basic unit of a University is a Department. Therefore, its democratization is a *sine qua non* of a democratic university life.

Following the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission a University Department should be organized as the basic autonomous organ of which all teachers and fellows of the department are members. This autonomous unit, functioning under the democratized faculty and the academic council should undertake all the planning of teaching, research and examination in the department.

There is also a growing consciousness and demand that the head of a university department should not be permanent. Apart from other reasons a permanent headship for a professor involves so much of administrative work that after a few years of headship he is a lost to the profession. This is too high a price for being the head.

Sometime back this writer discussed in these columns the role of students' unions in organizing extra-curricular activities, which are an integral part of University education. These activities should be jointly organized by the teachers and students, but the main burden on the operational level, should fall

on the shoulders of the latter.

It is not enough to have a democratic constitution of students unions : there should be in-built mechanism to ensure that they function democratically. Most of the students' unions still retain patrons—a relic of feudalism. Hardly do the students know that even today one of the meanings of the word 'patron' is "a master of antiquity who frees his slave but retains some rights over him".

IV

Instruments of Change

THE question is, who will bring about these changes? Our answer is the government, teachers and students, backed by public opinion.

In spite of the growing centrifugal tendencies in the country, the Union Education Minister and the UGC are widely respected and exercise influence over the academic world. The institutions of State Education Ministers' and Vice-Chancellors' conferences have been evolved to discuss various issues which came up from time to time.

But these conferences are formal and undemocratic. They are formal because generally, the opinion of the Union Government is accepted (and rarely implemented). They are undemocratic because they do not represent the broad constituents—the teachers and students—of the University.

Therefore, these conferences may succeed upto a point in mooted certain reforms, but they can never implement them. A few years back the Vice-Chancellors' Conference decided to recommend to the Universities to form joint teachers-students committees. They were rarely formed. Once again this item is about to emerge on the agenda of a proposed Conference.

These conferences can succeed only when their deliberations are in the context of the current thinking of the academic community. Therefore, it is necessary to give form and shape to the social forces represented by the academic community.

Most of the colleges and universities have their unions. These unions may be confederated and the apex organization should voice the opinion of the Indian student mass on vital matters of educational and allied reforms. In fact the representatives of this apex organization should be consulted by the authorities and they should also be invited to participate in the discussions of those items of Education Ministers' and Vice-Chancellors' conferences which directly affect the students.

Practically, all the Universities have their teachers' associations. The central objective of these associations is to improve the social, cultural and economic status of teachers. The Teachers' Associations of the Universities of Allahabad and Lucknow have been holding a joint convention to which have been invited fraternal delegates from sister Universities in the State. This convention has been discussing not merely the conditions of service of the university teachers but also the broad problems related to teaching and research, university governance, students welfare and allied problems. The convention has

succeeded in initiating various reforms (for instance the two-grade system) and getting them implemented through amendments to the Acts, Statutes and Ordinance.

The Delhi University Teachers' Association has come out with a booklet outlining its proposals on educational reforms.

The last spring witnessed the State-wide agitation of the university teachers in the State of Bihar, centering round Dearness Allowance, Provident Fund, House Allowance, Medical benefits, Gratuity etc. The agitation led to the imprisonment of hundreds of teachers ; but resulted in success.

But what the university teachers are missing is the formulation of all-India demands and a common platform to get them implemented. In fact, the creation of the UGC itself provided the ground for an all-India Teachers' Association. But in heterogeneous conditions like those prevailing in India, it takes time to forge unity of purpose ; and create an organization to fulfil it.

Now it seems that with wide regional disparities in the conditions of service, educational standards and increasing occupational hazards, the time has come for the formation of an all-India body. When efforts are made to form such a body it should not be forgotten that for stopping brain-drain from the educational and scientific sector to those of administrative (and also private) sector it is essential to have not only parity in the pay-scale of these two sectors, but also the introduction of the one-grade (of salary) system in the universities.

Further, for the growth of talents and a sense of participation and belongingness the University life has to be democratically reorganised. Once an All-India University Teacher's organisation has come into being, its major responsibility should be not only to fulfil the traditional trade union functions, but to give a lead in the planning of higher education as an integral aspect of social and economic planning.

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EDUCATIONAL facilities have been with greatly expanded in the country after Independence, to cope the national problems—social and economic. A country cannot progress if its people remain largely illiterate or uneducated.

In 1951, only 17 per cent of India's population were literate; in 1961 the literacy rose to 24 per cent, and now it stands at about 33 per cent. The 'educated' constitute about a tenth of the literates, defining (as we do) 'educated' as those who have passed matriculation or equivalent examinations. In 1940, our schools turned out nearly 100,000 matriculates, and now they produce about 1,500,000 annually. The trend is on the increase. The annual outturns at school, college and university levels have gone up by more than six times since 1950.

Educated personnel have the responsibility to build up the nation. The country has to plan for their utilization in the nation build venture. While educational planning for number and quality has to take note of the nature of demands, the manpower planners must recognise the number and the quality of personnel actually available. We cannot wait for what we do not have, nor can we afford to waste what we do have.

We have now about 15 million matriculates, two million graduates in arts and humanities, and one million scientific and technical personnel with degrees and diplomas.

The educational bodies are concerned with curriculum and training that should be useful to the nation's requirements. There is a cultural content as well as a functional content in education. We, however, generally consider the functional content in the context of demand and supply of educated personnel. Even though reforms of curriculum and training have made from time to time, people (including educationists) think that these have not been undertaken well enough to suit the needs. The question may, however, be raised whether our industrial and other operational sectors have clearly indicated their needs as to the number,

Manpower Planning and Education

KAMALESH RAY

and specially, of the quality of personnel that they want. There have been some vague allegations in some quarters that the students are not adequately prepared for industries. Such a sweeping remark is not constructive for re-formulating educational programmes.

The increasing unemployment among the educated is said to be due to the lack of adequate economic growth of the country. To this has been added another factor, namely, 'inadequate edu-

cation and training' as the cause of educated unemployment. None of these appears to be a correct assessment. I shall explain the point later on.

The planners cannot escape the fact that education will expand and there will be more educated personnel in the future. To restrict education, in order to reduce the number of educated unemployed, is surely not a solution. The trends of growth of educated manpower are shown in the following Table :

TREND IN ANNUAL OUT-TURN

Exam Passed	1950	1960	1965	1968 (Estimated)
Matric or equivalent	240,589	571,877	913,717	1,450,000
B.Sc.	9,628	22,693	38,150	50,000
B.A.	19,212	58,452	94,257	115,000
B.Com.	4,878	12,923	18,170	25,000
M.Sc.	1,425	5,382	9,526	12,500
M.A.	4,556	16,574	26,180	31,000
M.Com.	1,000	2,136	2,864	4,000
B.E./B. Tech.	2,918	5,703	10,281	16,800
Dip. Engg.	2,478	7,970	17,544	25,900
M.B.B.S.	1,557	3,387	5,387	8,500

The number of educated personnel will grow either because of competition in the employment market, or because of social demand. The manpower and economic planners have, therefore, to arrange for their utilization according to the proficiency and competence that they have acquired through education and training.

Planning for Quality

There cannot be two opinions on the point that the quality of education should be improved continuously. Is there an absolute norm for the quality of education? While there is no limit to refinements in quality, it becomes a theoretical question if we take education in isolation. The practical goal is to gear education to the present and foreseeable future needs. This assumes a harmonious interaction between the educational system and the users of educated personnel. Is there such an interaction in this country? Have the users indicated their requirements as to the quality of education that they want to see in their employees?

No industry seems to have pointed out that certain subjects or courses are missing from the curricula of the students due to which the educated personnel cannot be accepted for employment. If the users could point out such lacunae, the educational authorities would surely include such subjects in the curricula.

No university can possibly educate and train a person to suit a particular job. Training for a specific job has to be given or to be acquired on the job itself. All that an educational institution can do is to give the intellectual preparation which would enable the person to handle a specific job with the basic preparations which he has received. For instance, a mechanical engineer can be taught the principles of the engineering which can be applied to various trades or jobs coming within the purview of this branch of engineering. The mechanical engineering industry covers thousands of different types of

specific jobs and operations in which they cannot be trained through the institutions. In a recent survey, the engineering industries responding expressed that the universities and the polytechnics should give the students a sound grounding in engineering, and it is not expected of the institutions to train them in specific jobs. The industrialists want, as they expressed, intelligent and well-educated engineers who can adjust themselves to the specific needs of the specific industry. This is the right approach.

Job-oriented Education

There has been of late a lot of talk about job-oriented education. I do not know if anybody has been able to spell out the meaning of it. Education essentially helps developing intellect and knowledge. If this is done, it prepares them to face any practical situation. This is the purpose of education.

While we are talking about education in general we have to think of 'job-oriented education' not only in terms of engineering and technology but also in terms of science and medicine, as also history, philosophy, mathematics, economics and language education. What are the meanings of job-oriented education in respect of each of these disciplines? A scientist has to learn science and learn it well. If he has learnt it well, he should be able to handle any problem that requires science in the field in which he has been educated. A historian has to learn history, and a mathematician has to learn mathematics.

The primary requirement is a good education. It is not difficult to orientate their sound education to the services of any particular job assignment. All jobs have their own peculiarities which can be readily mastered on the jobs by properly educated persons.

While we are experiencing the high incidence of unemployment among the educated, "lack of job-oriented education" is becoming a catch-word to shift the responsibility. It is merely a form

of escapism. Further, is there a guarantee that when the students who receive so-called "job-oriented education", will find employment? Is employment solely dependent on the nature of education? Is the employment situation not dependent on economic and planning factors?

Good education prepares a person to do his job well, but good education does not create jobs.

Surplus

The large number of unemployed apparently indicates a surplus of educated personnel. Even engineers and scientists are unemployed. It is said that our low economic growth rate cannot support all educated personnel or all scientists and engineers. An economic growth rate of about six per cent a year is being planned. Educated personnel including engineers and scientists are increasing at the rate of 10 to 12 per cent per year.

It is not correct to tie up employment of educated personnel with the actual economic growth rate. At the growing stage of an economy, the employment of scientists, engineers, economists, social scientists, mathematicians and others has to be in a much higher proportion in order to prepare our future programmes on a rational basis, and for better performance and productivity. Employment of trained personnel is an investment, and not an end-product of an economy.

Numerical Requirements

There is no correct forecast of numerical requirements of educated and trained personnel. Wherever such projections have been given, they show surpluses in many disciplines for the coming years. Such projections are generally based on our old norms and orthodox thinking.

Our entire work-force consists of approximately, three per cent educated, 24 per cent literate and 73 per cent illiterate persons. It is a tragedy that although the labour participation of the educated is only three per cent, we have still to worry about educated

unemployment. The anomaly is further extended. Labour participation of engineering and science personnel is as low as 0.4 per cent of our total labour force. And yet we have a large incidence of unemployment among our engineers and scientists. The proportion of scientific and engineering personnel in the total labour force in advanced countries are generally between one and three per cent.

Our old norms and orthodox thinking will say : (a) we are a poor country, and therefore we cannot afford to employ all our educated (also scientific and technical) personnel ; and (b) the rate of their employment will depend on our economic growth rate.

But let us take a rational view ; (a) Employment of educated persons will result in better productivity and better quality of work. If we do not accept this, we virtually discard the basic benefits of education ;

(b) Employment of scientists and engineers will energise our national economy. The projections showing surplus of scientists and engineers in the near future, have apparently failed to accept this point and have computed the demand on the old norms in the name of 'realistic' situation. All old norms and values are not necessarily realistic or applicable today.

If we admit the economic benefits of larger labour participation (employment) of educated and technical personnel, there is no reason why we should hold on to the old norms and formulas in the projection of manpower demand, and show the apparent surplus as "real" and "inevitable". The scare of 'surplus' has led some authorities even to consider curtailment in students' admissions !

Cost of Employment

The question will be : how are we going to get funds for higher rate of employment of educated and technical personnel ? Can our poor economy support them all ?

This negative approach comes apparently because we consider

the potential employees only as consumers, and not as producers of wealth. Let us not forget that all are consumers, whether they are employed or unemployed. The better alternative, therefore, is to give them opportunity (employment) so that they can produce more than they consume. It is thus more economical to provide them with productive employment than to maintain them idle. Besides, the ill-effects of unemployment on the society has also to be taken into account.

The cost of maintaining idle engineers, scientists and other educated personnel is heavier than employing them. There is no dearth of work that has to be done for economic growth and social stability of the country.

Drain on Economy

Though we find it difficult to support our engineers, scientists and educated personnel through providing gainful employment, we subsidize research, industry and labour force of foreign countries quite heavily. This happens in an indirect way, and often escapes our notice. The foreign-exchange requirements in the Fourth Five Year Plan is estimated at Rs. 10,050 crores which is about 40 per cent of the Plan outlay. All the goods, services and technology that we buy go to support foreign industry and personnel. Indirectly, therefore, we are supporting foreign personnel while keeping our educated, technical and other people unemployed.

We have a small number of geologists (about 6,000) in the country but a good proportion of them are unemployed. We have entered into foreign collaborations for explorations of minerals and ground water. We have arranged collaborations for various items—from ready-made garments to steel plants. Repetitive collaborations have been entered into for water meters, foundry, electrical goods, tile manufacture, steel plants, and a host of others. Naturally, our people have very little work to do, and they are unemployed. Such foreign collaborations do generate 'secondary' employ-

ment which is neither enough nor challenging.

Planning Gainful Work

There is no dearth of economically gainful work in this developing country. Our Plans must accept available educated and technical personnel as primary resources for investment for our economic development. In that case, all the indigenous know-how and intellectual energy would be utilized.

We need a job-oriented Plan, a Plan that seeks to utilize our educated and trained manpower resources in order to get a high rate of economic return, and build our national economy from within. These persons are capable of doing varied degrees of intellectual work according to their educational attainments. We need to perform a large number of important preliminaries before we can effectively prepare our industrial, agricultural and health programmes. Such work includes research and development, resources survey, preliminary designs, techno-economic survey, study of economic feasibilities, obsolescence studies, economic and industrial problem identifications, and so on. Such work have great significance in our planning and action. Investment on such work is relatively low but is essential for putting our economy on a sound footing.

Students' Role and Responsibility

So far I have discussed manpower planning and education, keeping in view the planners and the educationists. We must not forget that students are also in the partnership, and have their role to play. I have indicated earlier that all that matters is "good education." Good education comes through an enlightened educational system, but it can produce results only if it is absorbed by the students. All countries constantly try to improve their educational system. Our country is also trying to improve it ; no doubt, more needs to be done.

Even in the present system,
(Continued on page 61)

Social Welfare for Journalists

CHANCHAL SARKAR

NOT very long ago Professor Gunnar Myrdal wrote two stimulating articles in an Indian newspaper on what social democracy means to Sweden. He described how the ordinary Swedish citizen and his family's problems are taken care of. Problems that either chance or time frequently bring—like unemployment, the need of support in old age, illness, accidents and so on.

How these problems and others (like the burden that descends on a family when the breadwinner dies, education for the young and housing) are cushioned usually measures how socialistic a country is.

How much of the responsibility for social security the trade unions should accept depends on how much of the check the State and the employers pick up. Journalists write often about socialism and social security but they must do better and see that journalists as a class are looked after in old age, unemployment and illness. In countries like Sweden, Hungary or Britain the State might shoulder almost the entire burden, usually after taxing or deducting contributions from journalists and all other workers and also from employers. In other countries, like the United States, it may be the employers and unions who agree on benefits, contributory and non-contributory. In some countries unions operate pensions and sickness benefit schemes.

In a country like ours State benefits will come slowly, even

though we are pledged to Socialism. This is because of the shortage of resources when pitched against the immensity of needs. As for employers, they often do only what the law compels them to. Also, many of them seem to want to give more to those who already have a good bit. And so we must, in the case of journalists, ask ourselves what the Unions can do.

If we take a look at the balance-sheet of Britain's National Union of Journalists, we find that in fifty years till the end of 1957, the Union had paid out about £ 400,00 (which is about Rs. 72 lakhs) in cash benefits.

The money went in Unemployment Benefits, Benevolent Grants, Death Benefits, to those victimised for doing union work, to the Widow and Orphan Fund and to War Distress grants. The largest amount (about Rs. 58 lakhs) went to the Widow and Orphan Fund.

Some 140 widows receive grants every year and the capital of the NUJ's Fund is about Rs. 63 lakhs the target being Rs. 90 lakhs. The NUJ and the Institute of Journalists have now amalgamated and so the Fund must have increased still more.

In Britain, the State pays out grants to the unemployed and so there isn't quite as heavy a charge on the Union as there used to be.

In Italy a body called the INPGI (The National Institute of Assurance for Italian Journalists), operates a pension fund for journalists and 2,700 Italian

journalists are insured with them.

In Hungary the Journalists' Association trains journalists, operates a school for journalists in Lake Balaton, and raises its funds not only from subscriptions from members but also from a lottery and, among other things, an annual exhibition football match between journalists and actors.

In West Germany, the Journalists Union paid out grants to 550 aged colleagues, widows, and orphans in 1965. That year it paid 1.37 m Marks (that is about Rs. 32 lakhs for additional pensions. The Berlin Press and Radio Ball and the "Day of the Open Door" have become famous as fund-raisers for benevolent purposes. The Union also grants scholarships to young journalists and gives donations for study trips to all parts of the world.

The Austrian Journalists' Union gives strike and lockout aid, emergency aid for aged and disabled pensioners and to the family of the dead and, of course legal aid. Those whose pensions are above 1,500 Austrian shillings a month (Rs. 440) don't get emergency aid but get a Christmas gift and the next of kin are given a funeral grant. I've seldom seen anything more impressive than the Journalists House in Israel's Tel Aviv.

The Japanese run holiday homes for journalists and also a conference and seminar house outside Tokyo.

In Finland, where the State looks after old age pensions, medical insurance, annual leave and so on, the Union's social security programme looks after financial support in long illness and compulsory unemployment and gives relief subsidies to bereaved families.

The Journalists' Club of Oslo in Norway gives housing loans to its members. The Delhi Union of Journalists has got land for a cooperative housing colony in New Delhi.

I haven't given the list in order to show that other countries are more go-ahead. Rather I want to suggest what unions in any country can do if they feel

for their members. The amount of money spent is no index. The British NUJ, for instance, now pays out Rs. 5.3 lakhs a year to journalists' widows but in 1911, the year after it started, it paid out Rs. 280. If you visited Sabarmati Ashram today with its huts and simple tiled buildings you would never imagine that it could have brought about the kind of revolution it did in the mind of Indians. The points to be made are :

(a) That Unions have the primary responsibility of looking after their members in old age, illness and unemployment, and of looking after the families of members who die young or without providing for the families.

(b) That even where the State or employer's contributions look after the basic minimum, the Unions can supplement, give emergency aid and help in cases which the law does not expressly provide for.

(c) That, beyond satisfying primary needs, there are projects like training journalists, running seminars and refresher courses, running holiday homes, giving scholarships for young journalists, welcoming and training journalists from less developed countries or less developed sections of society which Unions should take up.

(d) That many voluntary contributions can be raised for treatment in illness, housing, vacations etc. for which the Unions need seek no help from the State, the employer or from anyone else, and

(e) That, given the will and

enterprise, money can be raised from the members and from the public in many ways.

The IFWJ (Indian Federation of Working Journalists) has grown and taken on the responsibility of fighting for better wages and conditions of work. As time goes on all forward-looking union movements must travel beyond wages and conditions and, while continuing to fight for them, must simultaneously work out constructive programmes. In India it is the State units of the unions that must start doing this.

They ought to get down to discussing the possibilities and problems of (a) setting up a fund, however small, for widows and orphans; for funeral grants and for emergency aid, (b) starting a contributory health scheme for members and their immediate families, (c) renting a house in the hills or by the sea where members could take their families for short vacations, and (d) starting and keeping going training and refresher courses.

There are countries like Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan or areas like Manipur, NEFA, the former princely State regions of Orissa where newspapers and periodicals must start and grow. Why can't we start by making it possible for even a handful of people from there to learn the craft of journalism with the support of the state units of the unions?

Of course these schemes will cost money. But, provided there is compassion and organisation, money can always be raised for a good cause. There can be film premiers, football matches,

dramatic performances, lotteries and raffles, music recitals and many other ways. For schemes like housing or gratuity payments bodies like the Life Insurance Corporation of India can often help and cushion the risks. If employers are so callous as not to insure journalists who go out to cover wars or civil disturbances the Unions must come forward and do it.

Part of the trouble is that we don't know, perhaps don't even want to know, the magnitude of our problem. How many journalists are there in India? How many in dailies, how many in periodicals? How many in each State? The Press Commission made a guess in 1954. The Press Registrar's report is vague about this, the Small Newspapers Enquiry Committee didn't even attempt a guesstimate. Somewhere we must make a start.

The quality of the education and of the general intellectual alertness of journalists in India, when set against what ought to be expected of them in a developing and complex society, gives cause for concern. I am saying this after having visited many newspaper offices in every part of India. A good formal education in a country where opportunities are not strictly equal is still pegged to the finances of one's parents. But self-education is a matter for the individual. And however good his formal education, for a journalist it is the continuous self-education that matters. In this the unions must help. As I said, a start must be made.

MANPOWER, PLANNING AND EDUCATION (Continued from page 51)

our top-ranking students are quite up to international standards. This indicates two things: our educational system is not really that rotten, and secondly, that a great deal depends on the individual efforts of the students. It would however, not be right to depend entirely on the system or entirely on the efforts of the students. Both need to work, improve and accommodate. The students will also have to develop their inner resources to face the

future and not depend entirely on State assistance.

A rational approach to the academic problems is the need of the day. Systematic discussions in campus groups, and occasional larger conferences, would go a long way in charting the proper direction. Economic and industrial situations are also to be taken into account. The 'generation gap' in the academic and research sectors is a matter to worry about. However, I firmly

believe that this difficulty can be overcome. A modern and mature atmosphere has to prevail in the campus and in our social and economic life.

(This contribution was presented at the National Seminar on Reforms and Democratisation of Education, sponsored by the International Union of Students and the All-India Students Federation, held in Calcutta in July 1969).

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AN event of more than usual politico-economic significance—the Jute workers' general strike from August 4 to 11—will not, it is hoped, pass unnoticed by the protagonists of democratic causes in this country and abroad.

The jute industry is one of the "classics" of the Indian industrial scene along with tea and coal, the original economic media for Britain's colonial domination and plunder. The first jute mill at Rishra, 13 miles upstream from Calcutta, was established two years before the 1857 war of revolt, by George Acland. He was the precursor of the long line of Scotch Sahibs who forsook Dundee for the banks of the Hooghly and reared a great industry of world monopoly dimensions on a foundation of dirt-cheap Indian raw jute fibre and labour.

Profits were astronomical for roughly nine decades until partition of the sub-continent into India and Pakistan cut off the main sources of the golden fibre from the mills. During this period, the industry grew to embrace 65 companies managing 92 mills with nearly 66,000 installed looms. On the eve of Independence, a work-force of 3.1 lakhs represented one of the highest concentrations of labour anywhere in the world.

With British ownership overwhelmingly predominant, and the bulk of mills' output catering to the overseas market, the drain of wealth out of the country was enormous. Besides, most jute companies after paying dividends at fabulous rates of super profit, were able to amass reserve funds several times in excess of their paid-up capital.

The unique advantage of the jute companies has been that they combined the dual role of monopoly sellers in the world (especially US) market, and monopoly purchasers of raw jute from the peasants. Since Partition and the subsequent growth of Pakistan's own mill industry, the first advantage has been eroded to some extent in a diversified market; the second advantage, on the other hand, has been fortified since export of raw jute

Settling Accounts with Jute Magnates

INDRAJIT GUPTA ·

from India is prohibited and the grower has no one to sell to but the mills.

The pattern of ownership of the industry has also substantially changed over the years. The natives of Dundee are all but gone now, their directorships and shareholdings transferred to more familiar names like Birla, Bajoria, Sahu Jain, Goenka, Dalmia—a tribe which has proved itself even cannier than the Scot.

The jute industry still occupies a position of strategic importance in the scheme of India's planned development. It still sells 70 per cent of its production in foreign markets and earns approximately Rs 250 crores annually in foreign exchange. At the same time, domestic consumption has risen sharply with economic activity and is approaching the half-million tonnes mark. Central and State taxes and duties garner Rs 70 crores from Jute. Nearly four million farm families depend on jute cultivation for their livelihood. Forty per cent of cargo shipped out of Calcutta port is jute manufactures.

The process of adjustment to new conditions has been carried through over the last two decades, largely at the cost of the workers and jute growers. Rationalisation and modernisation have accounted for over 100,000 jobs, the present average complement in the West Bengal mills being slightly under two lakhs. Productivity has risen by about 35 per cent. Wages have been proverbially low, lacking any scientific base, and largely geared to piece-rates. They have acted as a drag on the general level of industrial wages in West Bengal. Prior to 1963 the jute workers were strangers to either

bonus payments or sliding-scale dearness allowance linked to the cost of living.

Seventy five per cent of the labour force in West Bengal's jute mills comes from other States, with traditional village moorings, and has an unsettled, unstable character, which has been aggravated by the primitive condition of recruitment and service. The vicious *Badli* system is consciously designed to keep down labour costs while maintaining a reserve army of unemployed or semi-employed workers as a standing threat against job security and higher wages.

Thus, from labour's point of view, the jute industry has been a depressing backwater. The uprooted poor peasant and landless labourer of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and, to a lesser extent, of Orissa, Andhra, and Madhya Pradesh, has always far outnumbered the Bengalis in the mills. But the "minority" complex always operates away from home, breeding timidity and fear of unemployment, and aggravated by feudal inhibitions including barriers of caste, religion and language. The process of really proletarian development in the industrial sense has been an arrested one in jute, and never to this day could a really effective mass union be organised.

Only twice in history, prior to 1969, did the jute workers resort to centralised mass action against the ruthlessly exploiting machine known as the IJMA (India Jute Mills Association). Once in 1929 and again in 1937. The issues were retrenchment and wage increase. These strikes were fought with a heroism born out of sheer desperation, but they

were only partially successful and had to face severe repression. Even so, the significance of a working-class challenge to the citadel of British monopoly capital in those days was not lost on the Congress Working Committee which, under Nehru's leadership, hailed the strike as a "major national event" and expressed its support to the workers (Allahabad Session, April 1937).

Historic Breakthrough

So the recent general strike was the first in 32 years. And for the first time in a hundred years, the IJMA has been well and truly humbled. Not only for the jute workers, but for the entire trade union movement of West Bengal, this denotes a truly historic break-through.

The victory achieved by this massive eight-day struggle—so united, disciplined, and peaceful that it evoked universal admiration and praise—has to be assessed against the historical back-

ground of wage movements in the industry since independence.

The first ever Industrial Tribunal to be appointed for jute awarded an increase of Rs 12.50 per month in 1948; a second Tribunal in 1951 awarded Rs 4.87; a third, in 1955, Rs 3.12; and the Wage Board in 1963, Rs 8.33 plus variable D.A.

Thus, over a span of 16 years, the minimum wage could rise only from Rs 46 per month (pre-independence) to Rs 74.82, that is, by Rs 28.82. Between 1963 and 1969, thanks to the variable D.A., the total pay packet went up to Rs 142 p.m. but this was still way behind the level of other industries like engineering, steel, coal or textiles.

The August strike compelled the owners to agree, at one strike, to a straight increase of Rs. 30 p.m. in basic wages of all workers purely as an interim relief, pending final revision of the complicated wages and rates structure through a tripartite machinery. This represents an additional wage bill of approximately rupees

nine crores per annum. It was also conceded that only permanent hands would man permanent posts henceforth, and the permanent complement for each mill would be fixed by tripartite decision. Fulfilment of this part of the agreement will remove the basic evils of the *Badli* system.

Favourable Circumstances

Victory came to the workers, not of course solely due to their own strength, but as a culmination of a remarkable combination of favourable circumstances. It is not most important to note this.

Firstly, the United Front Government provided a decisive weapon on the workers' side. This was the first Ministry ever which stood firm against the IJMA's pressures and threats, which publicly declared its support for the workers' demands, which itself campaigned for a minimum price of Rs. 50.00 per maund for the jute growers in place of the Central Government's

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Rs. 40.00, which conceded the trade union demand for a Commission of Inquiry to make a comprehensive probe into the working of the industry from purchase of fibre to sale of gunnies, and which openly assured the workers that the State's repressive machinery would not be used against the strike. The impact on the workers' morale was electric.

Secondly, the 200,000 jute workers discovered a new internal source of strength in the all-inclusive unity of their unions, and particularly of the AITUC and INTUC affiliates. For the first time, the Congress-minded workers from UP and Bihar who traditionally held aloof from struggles sponsored by the Red Flag, found the barrier removed by the INTUC leaders' full-throated call for a united strike. Of course, over the years, the AITUC union has become the strongest single force in terms of mass influence and organisation, but without INTUC's participation, there was no possibility of a total close-down of the mills, no unleashing of the inspiring spectacle of the two flags flying together on the mill gates and the joint picketing by volunteers of both unions.

The AITUC union leaders and cadres who shook off sectarian inhibitions of the past deserve as much credit for this achievement as does Sri Kali Mukherjee of INTUC who firmly combated anti-Communist prejudices among his followers as also in the top echelons of the INTUC hierarchy, not excluding Sri Gulzarilal Nanda himself.

Thirdly, for once, the Central Government discarded its discredited role of guardian of IJMA's interests, and made a positive contribution to the outcome of the strike. Ministers Hathi and Bhagat publicly declared their support for the workers' demands and their cooperation with the UF Ministry in evolving a settlement. This development completely disarmed the IJMA, long accustomed to Delhi's servility. No doubt, Sri Hathi and Sri Bhagat could not avoid the

compulsions of the anti-Syndicate convulsion then shaking their Party and Government. In fact, IJMA's final capitulation was reportedly hastened by the Prime Minister's personal intervention behind the scenes.

One would like to think that the Central Government, too, had perhaps a sneaking desire to get its own back on employers who have systematically robbed the country of foreign exchange by resorting to large-scale under-invoicing in the past!

Fourthly, the effectiveness of the strike had a devastating and immediate impact on the IJMA itself. On the second day, its "unity" and prestige were shattered by the defection, of the powerful Bird-Heilgers group (managing six major units) which resigned from IJMA in protest against too rigid an attitude towards a settlement, and joined hands with the non-IJMA mills in advocating some concessions to the workers.

This is also something unprecedented in IJMA records. Of course, contradictions had

long been developing among its members on business considerations, since those mills which have installed a higher proportion of broad looms than others have been minting profits out of sale of carpet backing cloth to the USA, and are, therefore, reluctant to accept IJMA 'restrictions' on output. It is employers of such mills who saw disaster in a prolonged strike and were eager for settlement.

Thus the bankrupt plea of "financial incapacity" to pay higher wages was blown sky-high by the internecine rivalry of the bosses themselves. The IJMA furious at "betrayal" by Bird's, was forced to its knees by the unbreakable and militant solidarity of the workers.

The jute strike of 1969 will go down in history as a qualitatively new "big leap" forward for the Indian working class. But democrats everywhere must also recognise and hail it as an integral part of the mighty anti-monopoly battle which is today assuming new and heroic dimensions in our country.

LAND REFORMS IN THE CONTEXT OF NEW AGRICULTURAL STRATEGY (Continued from page 46)

(iii) Restrictions governing sale of land held by agriculturists belonging to the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes should be amended to provide for :

(a) review of all sales alienations made so far and restoration of possession to agriculturists belonging to Scheduled Tribes Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes ; (b) Special safeguards for ensuring preventions of unauthorised alienation; and (c) right of simple mortgage in favour of cooperative institutions & government controlled companies and corporations specially set up to provide credit to cultivators.

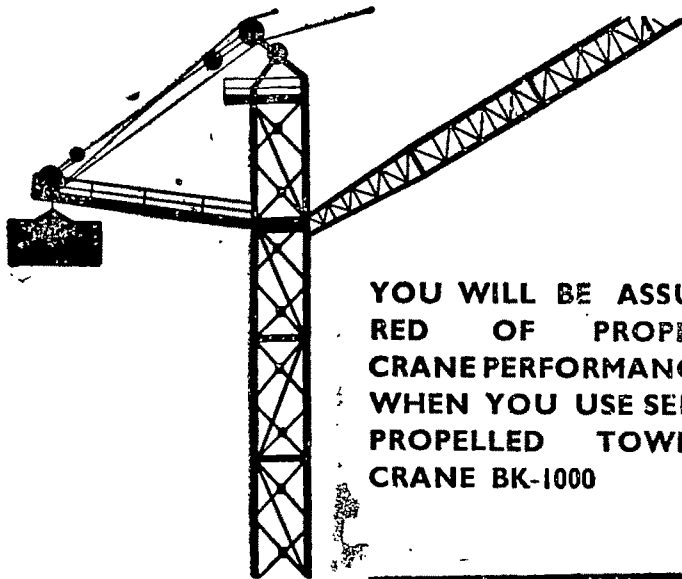
(iv) Enforcing the ceiling provisions in the State laws and systematically distributing the surplus land to landless agriculturists with adequate supporting measures ;

(v) Programmes should be drawn up for systematic distribution of Government waste lands and lands held by gaon-sabhas.

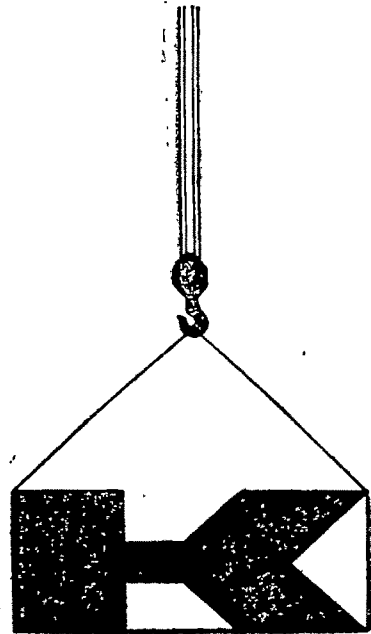
(vi) Special attention should be given to ensure credit and other inputs to small farmers and cultivating tenants.

One of the impediments to expeditious and effective implementation of land reform measures has been inadequate arrangements for preparation of records and for setting up requisite administrative machinery. The existing administrative structure often has the conventional revenue-collecting bias and looks upon the implementation of land reform legislation from purely legalistic angle. It is therefore desirable to associate representatives of the beneficiaries with the process of implementation.

The special importance given to land reform in the Prime Minister's note recently considered by the AICC at Bangalore is expected to give stimulus to expeditious and effective implementation of land reform programmes by mobilising public opinion and creating political climate in favour of such reforms.



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SSSRMOSHVA MACHINOEXPORT

THE emergence of Marxist ideology and organisation of a political party of the working class in India are closely linked with the unprecedented rise in the mass movement of workers and the national liberation movement between 1918 and 1922, and the great hope held out by the success of the October Revolution in Russia for the real emancipation of the toiling millions of the East also had its impact on it. In the changed situation which prevailed in India in the post-war years the efforts of British colonial administration to isolate the Indian people from any contact with the new ideology were doomed to failure. The more consistent fighters of the national movement began to be interested in Marxism.

In the long and tortuous history of the efforts for organising a revolutionary party of the proletariat in India, there are several episodes about which fuller information is not yet available. As is well-known, there were various attempts at organising a party of the Indian working class in India as well as abroad. Communist groups began to be formed in leading Indian industrial centres. By 1923 there were groups in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Kanpur and Lahore—Abroad, Party groups were formed by Indian emigrants in Tashkent, Moscow and Berlin.

For purposes of this article we will confine ourselves to the episode of organising a 'legal' Communist Party at the First Indian Communist Conference held in Kanpur on December 26, 1925, concurrently with the annual session of the Indian National Congress. The Conference was held at the initiative of Satya Bhakta. An old man of 73, Satya Bhakta is at present residing in Mathura.

At a time when the Communist International had taken some steps towards establishing

The article is based on private papers of Satya Bhakta, documents from the National Archives of India and contemporary Indian press. —Authors

First Indian Communist Conference at Kanpur (1925)

DEVENDRA KAUSHIK and L.V. MITROKHIN

direct contacts with the revolutionaries in India and when some Indian Communists were in 1923 making preparations to hold an All-India Conference to co-ordinate the activities of the different Communist groups in the country, the British authorities arrested Shaukat Usmani, Muza-ffar Ahmad, Dange, and Nalini Das Gupta and staged in 1924 the so-called Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. With the leading Communists in jail, the initiative for founding a 'legal' Communist Party came from the side of Left Congressmen like Satya Bhakta, Singaravelu Chettiar and Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

Satya Bhakta (real name Chakan Lal) came from Bharatpur State. While still a school boy he had attracted police attention due to an explosion which occurred when he was experimenting with some chemicals. His early contacts were mostly with Hindi writers and journalists. He was a close friend of Radha Mohan Gokul, who edited a Hindi Weekly *Pranvir* from Nagpur. During the absence of the latter (Radha Mohan Gokul had been imprisoned by the British for nationalist activities), Satya Bhakta edited his paper for some time.

Satya Bhakta had come into contact with Gandhi much earlier. He had met him first in the Kumbh Fair at Hardwar in 1916. He stayed at the

Sabarmati Ashram between 1918 to 1920, leaving it on account of his differences over the creed of non-violence.

In 1923 Satya Bhakta came to Kanpur and began to work among the workers. He took a keen interest in the Kanpur Case. During the trial, he recalls, a young man who came from Calcutta to make defence arrangements for one of the accused stayed with him. Satya Bhakta also conducted a vigorous campaign in the Hindi press for the release of Communist prisoners. He wrote in the *Pratap* (a Hindi daily of Kanpur edited by Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi) of July 20, 1925 about the illness of Nalini Das Gupta and through Narain Prasad Arora MLC who was his personal friend, he raised a question inquiring about the health and whereabouts of Communist prisoners implicated in the Kanpur Case, in the UP Legislative Council on August 24, 1925.

Satya Bhakta concluded from the Kanpur Case that to advocate communism was not in itself illegal and that a communist Party could exist without engaging in activities which the government could regard as treasonable. The Indian Communist Party was started by him on September 1, 1924. The birth of the ICP was announced through the *Bande Mataram*, an English daily of Calcutta as also *Pratap* a Hindi daily of Kanpur

and *Aaj* of Banaras. By June 1925 he claimed to have enrolled 250 members "from every province in the country". In the "Future Programme of the ICP" published in his name from Kanpur, Satya Bhakta asserted that his aim was "to establish the right of forming a Communist Party in India openly." This programme of the ICP was also published in the *Hindustan Times* of June 28, 1925 under the title "Communism in India, A Cawnpore Manifesto". The paper gave "No Violence If Possible" as the heading of the section which dealt with the question of means.

But despite this publicly proclaimed 'open' and 'peaceful' character, the Indian Communist Party of Satya Bhakta could not save itself from troubles at the hands of the British authorities. We learn from the *Leader* of July 16, 1925 about a police raid on the Kanpur office of the Party on July 7. The police seized a number of books on Communism from the Socialist Bookshop run by Satya Bhakta. Earlier by a notification in the UP Gazette of October 11, 1924 the Government had declared a leaflet "Bhartya Samyavadi Dal" (Indian Communist Party) published by Satya Bhakta in Hindi as seditious literature and forfeited the publication. Satya Bhakta protested against this action of the Government in *Forward* of October 22, 1924 and invited the Government "to declare the Communist Party unlawful in unfaltering terms."

Satya Bhakta wrote: "If it does so at all, I am the first and foremost member of that Party to avow my unshakable allegiance to the principles and rules of the Indian Communist Party. Let there be no mistake about it. I respect and preach these principles and, if the Government takes up the challenge and proceeds against me, here I stand with my bare breast."

The search of the Communist Party Office and seizure by police of communist literature were the subject of a number of questions in the UP Legislative Council on August 24, 1925. The *Leader* reported that the Home Member was heckled with sup-

plementary questions by members like Babu Sita Ram, Babu Narayan Prasad Arora, Thakur Manjit Singh Rathore and Shafat Ahmed Khan.

From the documents contained in the National Archives of India it appears that the British authorities estimated as insignificant Satya Bhakta's importance and influence. Sir C. Kaye, Director, Intelligence Bureau, dismissed him as "a man of no weight whatever." According to his information Satya Bhakta had 500 membership forms printed but "obtained 5 recruits only". Kaye opined that his party "would be nothing but a name."

But another study by British intelligence—*Communism in India, 1924-1927*, Calcutta, 1927 (with a foreword by D. Petri, Director Intelligence Bureau), described Satya Bhakta as "a professed communist of Cawnpore who, if of no great importance, was at least tolerably wellknown in India". (p. 75)

From the above-mentioned work we gather that M. N. Roy became interested as early as 1924 in seeking further information about Satya Bhakta's organisation. In one of his letters he asked for information about Satya Bhakta, the "writer of some bombastic letters to our British Comrades." Obviously, Satya Bhakta's correspondence with Shahpurji Saklatvala, British Communist MP (an Indian by birth) was quite disturbing to Roy who treated the Indian Communist movement as his exclusive preserve. Roy's important lieutenant in Europe Muhammed Sepassi wrote to Maulana Hasrat Mohani in October 1925 to obtain information about Satya Bhakta's Party. In November 1925 Roy sent Jotin Mitra to India to find out everything about this Party which Roy and his followers regarded with suspicion. They had even gone so far as to suggest that it was possibly a ruse of Government to attract people of Communist tendencies in order to worm out their secrets." (*Communism in India*, p. 104)

We learn from the handbill dated October 12, 1925, circulated by Satya Bhakta that a

meeting of the Party held on September 20 decided to hold the Conference at Kanpur in December along with the Congress session. The same meeting elected Maulana Hasrat Mohani as Chairman of the Reception Committee. Mohani was a radical Congressman who became famous as the mover of a resolution for complete independence at the Ahmedabad session of the Congress in 1921. He had been very active in the Khilafat movement and also became the President of the All-India Muslim League.

Shahpurji Saklatvala was requested to preside over the Conference. It was estimated that the expenditure to hold the Conference would amount to Rs. 3,000 which might go up by another Rs. 2,000 in case Saklatvala's travel expenses were to be met by the sponsors.

The handbill informing about the Kanpur Conference also reveals Satya Bhakta's position in relation to the Congress. It described the Congress as "a well-established and influential institution" which ought to be reformed in the "best interests of the country". The members of the party were requested "to become also members and delegates of the Congress with the intention of changing it into an instrument of service to our people."

The Indian Communist Conference was widely publicised by Satya Bhakta in several leading English and Hindi dailies. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of September 1, 1925 and the *Forward* (Calcutta) of September 2 carried notice about the meeting of September 20 at Kanpur to form a reception committee for the Conference. It invited all members and sympathisers to attend this meeting and send "necessary proposals and suggestions".

There has been some confusion about Satya Bhakta and his Party's attitude towards the Comintern. It is true that he did not for the time being favour formal affiliation with the Comintern and thus wrote in his 'Future Programme of ICP':

"No doubt we want to change the present system of Indian Society and Government accord-

ing to Communistic principles, but only with due regard to the conditions and mentality of Indian people."

But his opposition to affiliation with the Comintern appears to be based more on tactical grounds of avoiding British repression than on nationalist principles. Although he proclaimed his ICP as an "absolutely independent body", he also maintained that "our relations with the Communist International is of the nature of friendship and mutual sympathy as followers of the same principle." Satya Bhakta even asked "why should the ICP alone be deprived of its rights" when other Communist Parties in the British Empire were entitled to have connections with the Comintern? "We will continue our fight with the Government for this right", he said, "and hope that final victory will be ours." Satya Bhakta reiterated this view in one of his letters published in the Hindi daily *Aaj* of Banaras of July 5, 1925.

The Socialist Bookshop run by Satya Bhakta in Kanpur sold Comintern literature which was

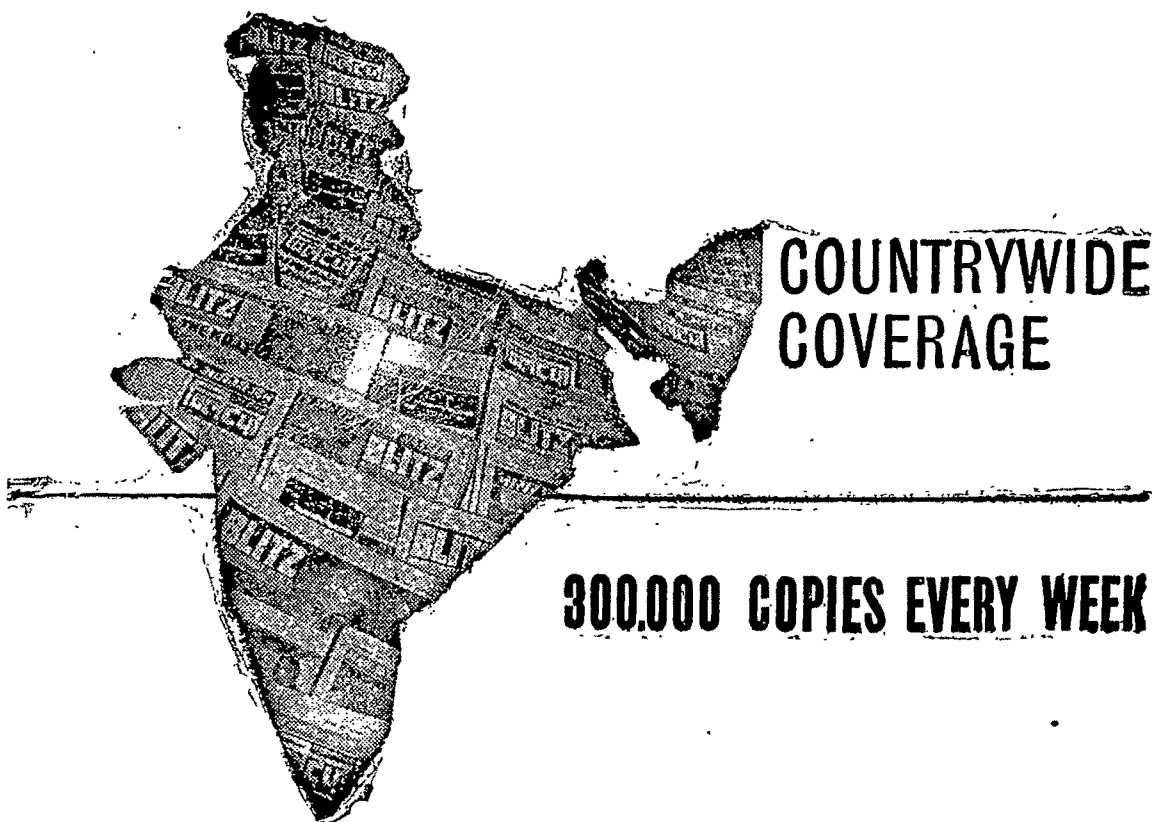
not allowed by the British Government to enter the country legally. The printed list No. 1 of this Bookshop listed such official Comintern publications as *The Fourth Congress of the Comintern* and *The Comintern From the Fourth to the Fifth World Congress*.

The object of the ICP as printed on the membership form was "establishment of Swaraj (complete independence) with the system of the society based upon the common ownership and communal control of the means and instruments of production and distribution of wealth by and in the interest of the whole community of India."

From the above it is clear that Satya Bhakta did not advance the notion of Indian peculiarity as a cover to water down the universally applicable basic principles of Scientific Socialism. A similar position was taken by Singaravelu Chettiar who presided over the Kanpur Conference in the absence of Saklatvala and Maulana Mohani for which they were taken to task by Roy's paper *Masses of India*.

It may be recalled that later on in May 1927 (when Satya Bhakta was out of the picture) the Bombay Communist Conference passed a resolution on the question of affiliation with Comintern without indicating categorically its intention to apply for formal affiliation. It said: "The CPI looks up to the Communist Parties of the world as well as the International for lead and guidance in the work undertaken by this party." Naturally they were concerned about further prosecutions by the Government. When Dange after his release from prison declared that he was an "Indian Communist" not a "Bolshevik", Roy's paper *Masses of India* railed against this remark. The paper only demonstrated its lack of a proper realistic understanding of the Indian situation.

The notes made by one of the participants of the Executive meeting of the CPI held at Calcutta in December 1928 which were referred to in the Sessions Judgment in the Meerut Conspiracy Case show that Indian Communists had not fully accept-



ed the Fourth Comintern Congress formulations about an "illegal" party. It was recorded in these notes that "possibilities of an open party were to be tested" and the sixth Congress thesis was "to be taken as basis for work and changed according to the conditions in India."

With regard to the issue of nationalism and internationalism which was being very keenly debated and discussed in the period preceding the Kanpur Conference, it is interesting to refer to a document *Communism and Nationalism—A Statement of the CPI*, dated January, 1, 1925. The authorship of this remarkably realistic and undogmatic document is not known but it appears to have been drafted by the Foreign Bureau of the CPI in Europe most likely with the active participation of the British Communist party. It attributed the "little interest" the nationalists took in the Kanpur "conspiracy" Case to ("apart from natural class prejudice of the upper classes") other factors as "the successful attempts of the Government to misinterpret our programme and activities with the object of terrorizing the Nationalists. The prosecution counsel had informed the High Court that "the government Roy wanted in India was of the Russian kind" and that Communists were not only against the British Government, but preached a wholesale confiscation of property.

The statement of the CPI re-assured that they did not advocate for India "at this period of our history, Dictatorship of the Proletariat, wholesale of confiscation of property and violent suppression of the upper and middle classes." The realisation of our ultimate goal demands the evolution of the Indian people through successive stages of political and economic progress. The first of these stages is the liberation from the exploitation of foreign capital.....The establishment of a democratic national state, free from all outside domination, will mark the attainment of this preliminary stage." The "identity of interests between the Nationalists and the

Communists" was stressed in this document which declared that the "Communists were as much interested in the immediate question of national freedom and democratic government as the nationalists".

The slogan given by the above Statement of the CPI was "National Democratic Government...with as much protection as possible for the working class." "Futile acts of terrorism" and "an immediate armed revolt" were ruled out.

The abolition of landlordism which the Communists advocated was explained as no abolition of property but only a replacement of an antiquated form of landholding by a new form—"No Bolshevism", the statement asserted.

Saklatvala's message to the Kanpur Communist Conference faithfully echoed some of the above ideas. Saklatvala gave a very useful advice to Indian Communists to properly harmonise their class task with the national task and "remain friendly to the national aspirations of the Indian people". He warned them against the "trap" which the English press in India was laying for them by trying "to drive a wedge between them and the Swarajists."

A somewhat similar approach was recommended by Singaravelu Chettiar in his presidential address to the Kanpur Conference. M. Singaravelu Chettiar presided over the Kanpur Conference in the absence of Saklatvala who could not come on account of "pressure of business". Singaravelu was described by C. Kaye 'as a dangerous agitator, who is conducting the legal cover of an admittedly illegal revolutionary programme with ability'. Singaravelu and Dange had attended the Gaya Congress where Singaravelu was appointed to the Committee formed, to carry out Congress Labour Organisation. While addressing the Kanpur Conference Singaravelu said about the Swarajists: "It stands to the credit of the Swarajists to have brought the bureaucracy to a halt in its triumphant career." But he cautioned them that they could not "bend the bureaucracy

unaided". "Nothing short of completely paralysing the bureaucratic administration will bring the bureaucracy to its legs" and to achieve this "active cooperation of the organised labour is necessary."

Singaravelu exhorted the Communists "to take up the greatest share in the great struggle for Swaraj which is now in progress throughout the country". But he enjoined upon them a duty "to be vigilant enough to see that future form of Swaraj does not essentially become bourgeois, but substantially becomes proletarian".

Singaravelu's presidential address had a full section on Marxism-Communism. He declared that Indian Communism was not Bolshevism and that Bolshevism was a form of communism which the Russians had adopted in their country and "it may not be needed in India". Despite this reference to Indian communism, Singaravelu proclaimed that "we are one with the world communists". Spelling out the ultimate communist ideal, he said "it aimed at ending domination of capital, eliminating wars, wiping out boundaries and frontiers and bringing real fraternity and freedom". The immediate aim, he explained, was "winning of Swaraj for the masses and preventing exploitation of workers and peasants." The motto Singaravelu prescribed for Communists was "No life without Swaraj and no Swaraj without workers".

As regards means, he said, "we hope to achieve this through persuasion, through propaganda, and when necessary in co-operation with other political organisation in the country." In the course of his address the expression "peaceful" was used thrice. "We Communists should believe that by gradual and peaceful application of the principles of Communism a better life can be brought about in India."

Singaravelu also commended the Soviet experiment of Communism to Indian Communists. "We have to watch the progress of communism in the only country where it has been adopted and the great transformations that

are in progress in the life of the people there."

The Amsterdam International was called by him "another bourgeois enterprise to throw dust in the eyes of unwary workers of the world." The address was also critical of the League of Nations and the Locarno Pact which was called a "camouflage."

In his presidential address Singaravelu expressed his profound sympathies for "those three of our noble comrades" who still languished in prison (the Kanpur Case prisoners) and for "those Britishers who have suffered in the great communist hunt." He stood in "mute reverence" in memory of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht and paid rich tributes to Tilak and C.R. Das. Lenin's death was described by him as "the greatest loss which the world communists have suffered during recent times."

Quoting from his paper *Labour Kisan Gazette*, he said: "The Workers' world is today poorer by the passing away of the great Teacher and Redeemer." Out of the ten printed pages into which his Presidential Address runs, almost one entire page is devoted to a homage to Lenin.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani in his welcome address, forcefully rebutted the common criticism of communism, that it advocated violence and bloodshed. He said that non-violence was not acceptable to Communists as an immutable creed for all times and under all conditions, but they were not opposed to its adoption as a policy suitable for a particular time.

The Conference met on December 26 at 7 p.m. According to the information given by *Samyavadi* (Kanpur) of January 1, 1926, some 50-60 delegates besides 1,500 observers participated in it. Prominent among those who attended it were Muzaffar Ahmed, S. V. Ghate, K. N. Joglekar, K. S. Iyengar and R. S. Nimbkar. Ghate and Begerhotta were elected General Secretaries and Ahmed and Iyengar secretaries for their areas. Later on it was discovered that Begerhotta was an agent of the

British. The Executive was also elected which held its first meeting on December, 28. It was decided to shift the Central Office of the Party from Kanpur to Bombay which was a more advanced centre of the working class.

The Conference proceeded smoothly except for one small untoward incident which took place when some delegates from Ajmer who were also Congress delegates, were refused entry into the Congress session. The *Hamdard*, an Urdu daily made a long story out of it. The *Hindustan Times* also wrote an editorial which was critical of the Presidential Address.

Satya Bhakta soon broke with the Party formed at Kanpur. His differences were over the method of work and affiliation with the Comintern. For sometime he tried to keep alive his ICP, but lacking resources and following, he gave it up to return to his old field of Hindi journalism. He was working for Hindi magazine *Chand* and *Bhavishya* published from Allahabad upto 1947. He

started a third weekly of his own called *Satyug* which came out rather irregularly upto 1950.

Despite his disagreements with other leading Communists, Satya Bhakta never gave up the cause for which he had made pioneering efforts in 1925. He continued to popularise it through the medium of Hindi journalism. He is the author of small biographies in Hindi of Marx and Lenin which he wrote in the thirties. Even while working for his ICP he seldom entered into polemics with other Communists. The issues of his *Samyavadi* a Hindi fortnightly from Kanpur (January 1926), contained popular articles on Marxian Socialism by Singaravelu. The number from January 1 carried a long article on the life of Lenin under the title *Lenin—the Redeemer of the Poor* along with a large picture of Lenin in eternal sleep. There were also articles on the economic and cultural developments in Soviet Russia and the life and teachings of Karl Marx in this paper of Satya Bhakta.

Ireland : The Unfinished Revolution

SCHOFIELD CORYELL

"**W**E are fighting for the right to work anywhere in the city. We are fighting for basic democratic rights, and we cannot get them under the present regime in Belfast, which is violently sectarian and based on the domination of the Protestants over the Catholics. All we want are the things everyone wants: decent jobs and homes and the opportunity to make our voices heard."

With these words, a spokesman

of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association—just back from the barricades of Derry last week to raise funds for his cause in London—expressed to me what the struggle in Ulster means to the common people who are fighting for elementary justice and freedom.

Protestant Power-Elite

The outbreak of violent conflict this past week in Ulster

—the Northern part of Ireland which, since the settlement of 1920, has remained a semi-colony of Britain—springs from the systematic denial of fundamental human rights to a minority, the Catholics, in a state ruled by a Protestant power-elite that plays on religious prejudice to maintain its supremacy, much as the racist politicians of the US play on colour prejudice.

In this context, the concept of "Protestant Ascendancy"—of which the fascist Rev Paisley is the die-hard champion—is the equivalent of "White Supremacy" in the USA.

Over the past week, the major cities of Ulster were in flames as the Catholics—mainly the most impoverished section of the working-class—battled for their rights against the combined forces of the deeply partisan Protestant police forces and the civilian fascist volunteers.

But the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and the dreaded "B-Specials" the (violently Protestant auxiliary Police force recruited from Rev Paisley's extremist followers) could not "establish order" in Derry and Belfast, and the shaky Ulster regime called desperately upon London to send in British troops to the rescue. Now British troops, armed to the teeth, patrol the trouble spots and the tanks and armoured cars of the British Army roam the streets of the cities. Nothing could better illustrate the complete bankruptcy of the Belfast Government, and its inability to impose its authority on a rebellious population.

Devlin's Demand

Under the circumstances, the militants who fight for the rights of the Catholic minority are calling for the end of the present fascist regime. The radical Bernadette Devlin, recently elected to the British Parliament as a spokesman for the workers of Ulster, has raised the demand for a Constitutional Convention to establish a wholly new form of Government, in which all people would have a chance to live and work on a basis of equality. She is also demanding the disbanding

of the "B-Specials". These are the basic immediate demands of the civil rights movement.

Meanwhile, Ian Freeland, the Commander of the six thousand British troops now in North Ireland, has warned that the current superficial "honeymoon" between his soldiers and the people of Ulster may be very short-lived indeed. There are bound to be further clashes and continuing strife unless the Wilson Government in its negotiations with the intransigent, stiff-necked Ulster Premier, Chichester Clark, manages to persuade the Belfast regime to make some significant reforms giving the Catholic minority a larger share of government responsibility and diminishing the blatant discrimination against them.

Thus, the flames of the unfinished Irish Revolution have been rekindled by the repressive acts of the regime and the intensified militancy of a persecuted—but sizeable—minority in Northern Ireland.

Bitter Legacy

The current situation is the bitter legacy of the Anglo-Irish compromise settlement of 1920, which followed the heroic but cruelly repressed Nationalist Uprising of 1916 in Dublin, and the ensuing years of revolutionary guerrilla warfare against the troops of British Imperialism's hated "Black and Tan."

That settlement led to the present division of Ireland into a predominantly Catholic autonomous South, and a Northern portion (Ulster), consisting of six predominantly Protestant counties linked closely to Britain which controls Ulster's defence, foreign affairs and finances. From that settlement—an application of British Imperialism's traditional strategy of "divide and rule"—spring the problems of today, which are probably insoluble so long as the state of Ulster remains in its present form.

The result is a bitterly sectarian regime in the North, where the real power resides in the ancient Orange Order—so named because it defends by force of arms, economic pressure and

political influence the "Protestant Ascendancy" definitively established by King William of Orange in the seventeenth century, consecrating the centuries-old domination of the area by the English and Scottish settlers who had taken over the lands of the original Irish Catholic inhabitants.

In Ulster, the Catholic minority—about 40 per cent of the population of 1,500,000—is strictly confined to the slum ghettos and the lowest paid jobs. It constitutes the bulk of the unemployed. To perpetuate this situation—which benefits only the industrial and landed ruling-class, although it is generally approved of by the Protestant workers—the Catholics have even been effectively deprived of adequate representation in the municipal governments by the property qualifications attached to the right to vote.

Against this discriminatory and tyrannical system a new brand of radicalism has sprung up over the past year, especially among the Catholics. An expression of this is the success and popularity of the Peoples' Democracy Movement, which has added its influence to that of the more moderate Civil Rights Association. The Catholics are now in a particularly militant mood, and there is a strong Protestant "backlash" as well.

Constabulary's Attack

The latest flare-up in the streets was provoked by the Government itself, its police and the followers of Reverend Paisley, the fascist Protestant Pasteur. But the real direct provocation was not—as many British liberals and much of the London press claim—the loud insulting traditional parade of August 12 in the predominantly Catholic city of Londonderry, commemorating the 1690 victory of King William of Orange's Protestant forces over those of the Catholic James II. The real provocation occurred rather when the forces of the RUC—supposedly to "keep order"—tried to invade the Catholic slum neighbourhood of Bogside, where the people had prepared for the inevi-

table, by building barricades and organizing for self-defence.

In the ensuing struggle, the Bogside's held their own and successfully defended their quarter, using stones, clubs and home-made fire-bombs against the poison-gas and bludgeons of the hated RUC. Their resistance was a model of organization and collective courage. A Citizens' Defence Committee coordinated and led the united struggle at the barricades, directing the division of labour, the disposition of forces, the procurement of food and supplies and first-aid treatment for the wounded.

The youths at the front-lines were backed up magnificently by the entire community and the people displayed amazing ingenuity and inventiveness, devising home-made weapons and new means of counter-acting the effects of the poison-gas. Among the leading elements of the Citizens' Defence Committee were revolutionary socialists like the young Eamon McCann. French and German leftist students on the scene acknowledged that they had much to learn from the Irish.

In the face of all this, the Ulster police, despite their brutality, soon found themselves at the end of their rope. It was then that the Premier called on the intervention of British troops who took up their positions near the embattled areas, but did not dare attack the barricades.

The Bogside's remained on the alert behind their home-made battlements, and Bernadette Devlin, who was in the thick of it, declared: "Bogside belongs to us." By their resistance, the people had proven the regime's inability to govern. The reality of the situation was clear: Only the might of Britain's arms and money keep the Ulster regime in power, whatever qualms the Wilson Government may have concerning the flagrantly anti-democratic methods used by the fascist rulers.

B-Special Vandalism

But no sooner had an uneasy calm returned to Bogside at the end of last week than in Belfast

—the largest city of Ulster and the seat of the Government—the regime provoked another escalation of violence by letting loose uniformed fascists, the "B-Specials" (auxiliary police), who proceeded to lay waste the Catholic neighbourhoods, opening fire with rifles and machine-guns against crowds and buildings, setting fire to the Catholic houses, leaving entire blocks in shambles.

In the midst of this reign of terror, the Ulster Government significantly did *not* call the British troops onto the scene, although further units were on hand nearby waiting for the signal to move. Finally they were brought in after the police and armed thugs had done their dirty work.

This unleashing of the B-Specials meant to the Catholic minority that nothing decent could ever come out of the Chichester-Clark regime, and Chichester-Clark himself, in a press-conference, made it abundantly clear that for him the fighters for civil rights were an enemy to be crushed. He put all the blame for the recent outbreaks on the Catholic population of Bogside and Belfast, and actually praised the brutal police and ruled out the idea that the Catholics should have a larger share in Government responsibilities. Then he proceeded to call a so-called "Peace Conference" consisting of various groups supposedly meant to represent so-called "moderate tendencies on both sides", but significantly did not invite the spokesmen of the civil rights movement.

Eire Reaction

In the face of this pogrom in the North, conservative Catholic regime in Eire (where 95 per cent of the population of 4,200,000 are Catholics) found itself under strong pressure from its own public opinion to "do something about it". Fearing to lose the initiative to the illegal, clandestine but still very much alive, Irish Republican Army—the civilian people's force which waged the independence war fifty years ago—Premier Lynch made the spectacular demagogic gesture of bringing the Ulster question be-

fore the United Nations, while setting up a few field hospitals near the Ulster border, calling up some reservists and mobilizing some units of the official Army.

But as an Irish Revolutionary put it to me: "If Lynch really wanted to help the people of the North against the Paisleyites, he would open up the arsenals of the Irish Republic and arm the population, so that we could go North to the defence of our people there." This is the sentiment which is swiftly gaining ground in Eire, as is evidenced by the spirited demonstrations in Dublin, especially those before the British Embassy and before Army barracks.

The fact of the matter is that the Dublin Government—despite its unconvincing "militant" stand—has no real desire to interfere with the fascist regime in Belfast. As a reporter for the conservative London *Evening News* put it, "They absolutely do not want to rock the boat. They want basically what the Northern Government wants—a capitalist oriented economy integrated into the European rich man's league; lots of nice foreign lolly; lots of tourism; lots of industry."

At the same time, the Protestants of the North—have been saying for years: "Home Rule is Rome Rule"—can point with alarm to the Dublin regime which, under the powerful influence of the Catholic Church, prohibits divorce and the use of contraceptives and imposes a strict literary censorship that outlaws the writings of Oscar Wilde, Bernard Shaw, (himself an Irishman) William Faulkner, Jean-Paul Sartre, James Joyce (another Irishman), Ernest Hemingway and many others.

The rebels against injustice and discrimination in Ulster—most, but not all, of whom are Catholics—are not looking for inspiration to the hide-bound Dublin Government, but rather towards the ideal of a truly just society to replace the existing sectarian and oppressive regimes both in the North and South. Like James Connolly—the honoured martyr of the Easter Rebellion of 1916—they are coming to the conclusion that only the Workers'

Republic will give Ireland back to the people who live in it.

Such, I have been told by an Irish Revolutionary, is the view of the leaders of the IRA who have just announced—to the dismay and irritation of Dublin that they have sent several of their armed units North to help the freedom-fighters of Ulster.

London Declaration

Against this threatening background of sharp struggle and heightened crisis, the Ulster Prime Minister and Harold Wilson, meeting in London, issued a joint declaration, which pleased neither the militant civil rights fighters of Ulster nor the Protestant extremists of the Orange Order. According to this Declaration, the British Army is to take over all responsibility

for the maintenance of law and order in Northern Ireland for the time being. This implies, according to the London *Times* a slow phasing out of the hated "B-Specials". The declaration also affirms, in vague terms, that reforms will be instituted to guarantee "full equality of treatment to all citizens"—something which the Ulster ruling class is unlikely to implement, to say the least! To appease the protestant extremists, the agreement states unequivocally that the state of Ulster, in its present form, will remain undisturbed as an integral part of the United Kingdom, so long as the people of Ulster want it that way, and that "the border (between Eire and Ulster) is not an issue".

The fist reactions came in rapidly from all sides. Only the

"moderates" seemed pleased. The fascist Reverend Paisley emphatically denounced the agreement as a "capitulation to the Roman Catholic Church, the Civil Rights Movement and the IRA." Civil rights leaders expressed keen disappointment that nothing was said definitely about the immediate disbanding of the "B-Specials", or about the elimination of the present regime. Bernadette Devlin—whose earlier call for a Constitutional Conference was ignored in the Declaration—said that the battle has not yet been won and that the people of Bogside must remain at the barricades.

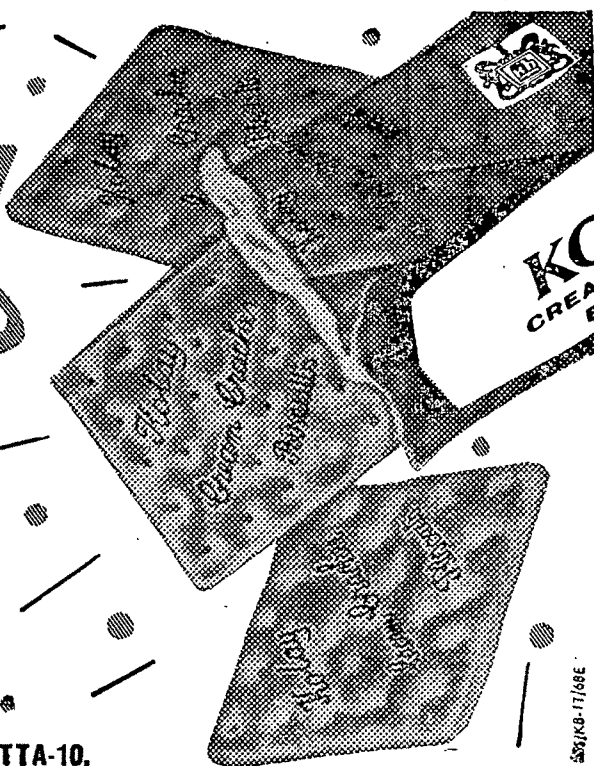
Meanwhile, the British troops—symbols and instruments of a hated Imperialism—patrol the streets of Northern Ireland!

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INDIA has entered the twenty-third year of Independence. Economic development since Independence speaks of the growth of monopolies in urban centres and rich farmers in villages.

The official Monopoly Commission discovered the hegemony of 75 top business houses in the national economy. Tatas and Birlas together own 44 per cent of the paid-up capital and 47 per cent of the assets of the companies excluding government and banking companies. This explains monopolists' control on the economy and the phenomenon of black money. The working class and the lower middle class have to bear the brunt of price rise, problem of housing and transport in cities. On the one hand is seen a small class residing in posh colonies built with black money, a class possessing all sorts of luxury items and means of transport; on the other hand are the miserable multitudes who eke out their livelihood with great difficulty.

In rural India the picture is no less agonising, it is rather more tormenting in several ways. Land is monopolised by a microscopic minority of landlords and rich farmers. Poor peasants owning less than five acres constitute over 70 per cent of the total agricultural households. According to 1961 Census the total number of cultivators was 99.5 million and that of agricultural labourers 31.5 million. The type of life the poor peasants and landless labourers lead can be visualised from the following Table furnished by a survey of the National Council of Applied Economic Research published in the year 1965 :

Average Daily Income (Per Head)

Lowest 10 million people	27 paise
Next 50 million people	32 paise
Next 50 million people	42 paise

The limited space here does not permit a detailed study of the class structure in the village community but it suffices to state that it is a community with a microscopic minority of rich kulaks at the top leaving the bulk

Revolution Without Tears ?

D.R. CHAUDHRY

of the population at the base, with a sprinkling of middle class in between. Bottom consists of poor peasants, landless labour and Harijans. Their utter dependence on the uppermost class and their consequent dehumanising misery cannot be imagined by a man who has never been to countryside. Their pale and sickly children continue to be clad in tatters roaming in the streets, deprived of the facilities of medical treatment and education. Not even a single new brick has been added to their mud-hut dwellings for the last decade or so. They live in these hovels, make love and breed children. Humanity marches on but it marches with a stranglehold round its neck. There is no ray of hope for them in the present set-up.

What can be done to reverse the roles of the exploited and the exploiters followed by their assimilation into one class in the long run? Progressives of all shades ranging from the votaries of violence to the devotees of the parliamentary road to socialism agree to bring socialism in the country but they differ on the tactics to effect the change. This led to a split in the Communist movement in 1964 and now we have a further split leading to the Naxalbari movement. Split in a movement is not always an evil in itself. In this connection Lenin observes, "At all events a split is better than confusion,

which hampers the ideological, theoretical and revolutionary growth and maturing of the party, and its harmonious, really organised practical work which actually paves the way for the dictatorship of the proletariat." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31 p, 107). It is to be seen whether the split in the Communist movement in India would crystallise the issues or it would add to the confusion and make it worse confounded.

Mainstream has been rendering a remarkable service in this connection by carrying on a discussion in its columns on "Extremism and Left" for the last four months. Some contributors have referred to the pitfalls of parliamentary road to socialism while others have emphasized on it and denounced Naxalbari movement as a symptom of adventurism and petty-bourgeois revolutionism. One contributor points out that CPI is not opposed to violence on grounds of absolute principle. But he contends that CPI goes a step further. After posing the question whether civil war is inevitable in India or not, he remarks, "To this question the answer of the CPI is that civil war is not the inevitable form of revolution in India. There is a possibility that in India the form of revolution will be that of peaceful transition." Then he quotes extensively from Lenin's Works to point out the necessity

of various forms of struggle in the mass movement. But does Lenin's emphasis on various forms of struggle lead to the concept of peaceful transition to socialism? No doubt Lenin is all for various forms of struggle, necessity of working in reactionary trade unions and bourgeois parliament with a view to furthering the mass movement. He stands for compromise dictated by objective conditions. His treatise on *Left-Wing Communism—an Infantile Disorder* is a matter stroke of genius in this regard.

Working for reforms through bourgeois institutions is fully justified if the aim is to make the masses aware of the limitations of these institutions. But if the approach leads to reformism, the very purpose of the movement is sacrificed. In this connection, Lenin states: "Unlike the anarchists, the Marxists recognise struggle for reforms that is, for measures that improve the conditions of the working people without destroying the power of the ruling class. At the same time, however the Marxists wage a most resolute struggle against the reformists, who, directly or indirectly, restrict the aims and activities of the working class to the winning of reforms. Reformism is bourgeois deception of the workers, who, despite individual improvements, will always remain wageslaves, as long as there is the domination of Capital". (*Collected Works*, Vol. 19 p. 372).

According to Marx, the State is an organ of class rule. The super-structure of a bourgeois state is supported by three pillars—the bureaucracy meant for running the state, the police for protecting it in its day-to-day working; and a standing army kept as a reserve force to be used in emergency. On the apex of all this is the owning class which uses state as an instrument of exploitation.

It is difficult to imagine that this class would willingly surrender its instrument through the parliamentary game of counting heads. It has not happened so far anywhere in the world. There are numerous instances of peaceful change-over of power in the

world but in each case power was transferred from one group to another in the same ruling class.

In India, there can be a possibility of building the mass movement on such a scale as to make it feasible for the representatives of the toiling masses to be in majority in the Parliament and most of the State Legislatures. In such an eventuality, what will be the attitude and role of the owning classes? Will they gracefully accept the people's verdict and bow before the popular will? To think that they would do so is to misunderstand the basic characteristic of the bourgeoisie. In this connection Lenin states, "...the bourgeoisie will not make peaceful concessions to the proletariat and at the decisive moment will resort to violence for the defence of its privileges. In that case, no other way will be left to the proletariat for the achievement of its aim but that of revolution." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 4 p. 276).

At the decisive moment in India when bourgeois democracy is at the point of changing into people's democracy through an intelligent use of the adult franchise, the owning classes, actively assisted by certain imperialist powers and a network of their subversive agencies, would be left with three alternatives: recourse to violence; winding up the show of democracy; taking help of the army to instal a weak civilian leadership to carry out the old policies. But in the wake of such a development, it can be argued, the people would start an armed struggle leading to victory.

Things are not as simple as that. In case of a crisis, masses can definitely start armed struggle provided there has been a consistent programme to prepare them for this eventuality. It is idle to expect the people to take up arms and fight the class enemy to the finish when their energy and militancy have been consumed in the struggle for the reforms and relief within the existing system relegating the necessary indoctrination and preparation for armed conflict in the background. People are not a wash-basin fitted with cold and

hot water taps to be used according to somebody's wish and convenience. Masses are both efficient and material cause of revolution. No revolutionary theory, howsoever radical or moderate it may be, can afford to ignore this vital fact.

What is the way out then? Take up guns and start shooting! "Power grows out of the barrel of a gun." It is painful to note a gross misuse being made of Mao's well-known saying by some of his admirers as well as detractors. It simply means that power can be captured through the use of force by the masses in order to give birth to a new society. Does not Marx mean the same thing when he says that force is the mid-wife of every old society pregnant with a new one? There is no occasion to poke fun at Mao's saying as is done by some progressive intellectuals. Nor is there any justification to stretch it to a cult of violence as is done by some of his admirers who tirelessly flaunt this quotation. Mao does not stand for spontaneous mass upsurge leading to armed revolt. Mao himself worked in the Kuomintang party as a Communist in the early phase of the movement in China and advocated the efficacy of the united front in certain situations.

What we need in India is a theory of revolution which admits of flexibility in tactics. A detailed study, based on the Marxist-Leninist principles, of the class structure of Indian society, class origin and class affiliation of various political parties is needed. This is the task which needs immediate attention of the progressive movement in the country. The Congress Party, despite all its claims, has never been a progressive party. The latest event of Bank Nationalisation, definitely a progressive step in the present situation, is an out-come of infighting in the party to a great extent. The real character of the move will depend upon its implementation.

It is not enough to lay a socialistic economic base; it must be accompanied by a corresponding socialistic super-structure. This was the lesson Marx learnt

from the fall of the French Commune which tried to initiate radical reforms while keeping the old bureaucratic apparatus intact.

The vocal radical wing in the Congress wants to bring about socialism without disturbing the existing set-up. PSP has proved to be a slur on the name of socialism through its consistent retrogressive attitude and conduct. SSP is all militancy. But militancy devoid of a revolutionary theory is madness. This it is gradually becoming a 'dharma' party. There is a split in the Communist movement. But in spite of the split, the Communists of all shades and hues are convinced of one thing: socialism is not possible within the existing order. They differ on the means to smash the present set up.

Lack of ideological clarity and split in the Communist movement is cashed on by reactionary parties like the Jan Sangh, Swatantra, BKD etc. in furthering their class interest. The Jan Sangh has built its base by fanning the flames of communalism with the help of its sword-arm

RSS shock troopers. It has been consistent in its dual game of exploiting the ignorance of people in the name of Hindu Sanskriti and strengthening the trading community. Its President Sri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has characterised Bank Nationalisation as 'anti-people'. It is amusing to see the President of a rabid reactionary organisation talking in Marxist terminology. What have cow-protection and Hindu-Sanskriti got to do with Bank Nationalisation? Accumulation of wealth by a few in society is against the fundamental tenets of Hindu ethics. The Jan Sangh is the epitome of political imbecility in the country and it would lose its appeal gradually unless it undergoes a radical transformation.

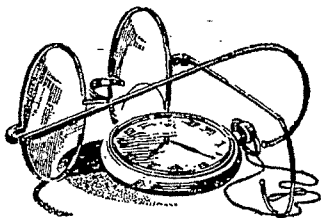
A more serious note should be taken of the Swatantra Party which champions the cause of free enterprise, princes and feudal lords. This party has the means and capability to lure in a section of opportunistic intelligentsia to furnish it with theoretical trappings. Analysis of its attitude to

the Communist movement is of utmost importance. It has been most consistent in its demand for a ban on the Communist movement, lock, stock and barrel.

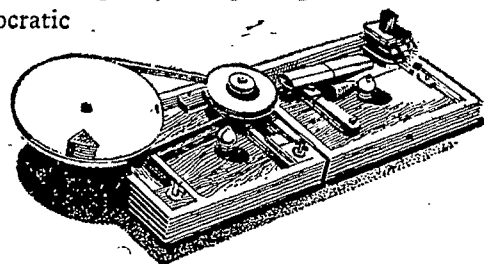
The National Executive Committee of the Swatantra Party at its meeting in Madras on June 22-23 passed a resolution: "The Swatantra Party has always held that the Communist Parties be they of the Left, Right or the Naxalites should be outlawed. There is not much to choose between these three parties, except as regards their strategy since all of them have as their aim the destruction of Indian democracy....."

Another aspect of the Swatantra strategy is an attempt at unity of the rightist forces. Prof M. Ruthnaswamy in an article in *Swarajya* dated June 21, 1969 has given a call: "Parties of the Right, unite, you have nothing to lose but your conceits." How true the slogan sounds! What separates these parties is nothing but their conceits; they all agree on the fundamentals: fight for free enterprise, princes and feudal

One nation: One people



"There is so much in common between people in the same State, under the same flag and owing undivided allegiance to it... that those who believe in India as a nation can have no minority or majority question. All are entitled to equal privileges, equal treatment... The state of our conception must be a secular, democratic state; having perfect harmony between different units."—Mahatma Gandhi



INDIAN OXYGEN LIMITED

ANNUAL NUMBER, 1969

lords and fight against 'communist menace'.

An attempt at unity has already been made. There is no possibility of a complete merger in the near future but they can form an effective alliance any time to pursue their common aims. The Rightist wing in the Congress, the Syndicate and its followers too can be brought in if the process of disintegration in the party gains momentum.

The progressive forces must formulate a strategy to meet the offensive to be launched by the Rightist parties as and when the political and economic crisis deepens in the country. This demands a comprehensive study of objective conditions in India on Marxist-Leninist principles. At present there is a tendency to imitate foreign models. Petrograd was not repeated in Peking, nor Peking in Havana. Progressive intelligentsia can play a very important role in evolving a model suited to the Indian situation. Here university teachers can be very effective since they have sufficient time to have access to libraries and mass movements in order to understand the complex problem.

But where do the progressive teachers in our universities stand? Some of them feel that the mission of life has been attained with the getting of a job and they bask in the sunshine of smug security. They are all for revolution but a Revolution without Tears, a Revolution with Comforts. Others hanker after the high-ups in the university for personal gains ranging from a free trip abroad to examinership in the university.

This process has bred a new species of progressive intellectuals, a pseudo-progressive, in reality a man with opportunistic kernel with a thin coating of progressive ideology. Every age has its idiom and our age is an age of progressivism. It has become a fashion these days to call oneself progressive and Marxist. Why not to swim with the current and fish into waters, troubled or calm? Such a 'progressive' dons a three-piece suit and smokes pipe or some imported brand of king size cigarettes at the cock-

tail parties, but in coffee house he is seen smoking Char Minar and breathing revolutionary fire. Sometimes he manages to go abroad on some sort of scholarship or fellowship. He comes back with a TV set, tape recorder, other luxury items and a reasonably handsome bank balance. Then he settles here comfortably, abuses rapacious capitalists at home, American war of genocide in Vietnam and sings glories of Marxism.

On the issue of joining hands with some group other than the teaching community for a certain cause, he raises the question of teacher's dignity. What is dignity in a society like ours? It is a hand-maid of money and power. Cultural corruption, a derivative of capitalistic economic base, perverts the concepts of values.

Three chief values of capitalist society are: money, power and prestige. The last is a by-product of the first two in most of the cases. Thus in a village a

merchant or a patwari is a more impressive figure than a school teacher. In a city, a man holding some executive post commands more power and prestige than a scholar in the university. Any greedy dullard who can carve out a place in the system will have more money and influence than a university dean.

It is high time that this game of opportunism and petty-bourgeois pretensions being played in the name of the Marxism, stops. The crying need of the hour is that the people genuinely interested in the cause of socialism go to the realm of theory and practice to understand the dynamics of revolution. Importing of foreign models will not do. What we need is the creative application of Marxist methodology to the Indian situation leading to the formulation of a theory of Indian Revolution. Foreign models and experience will serve as fertilizer to the soil where would grow the plant of revolution.

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Cross Currents in Bengal's Culture

SUMANTA BANERJEE

THE other day someone observed: "The Bengalis are the most discussed community in India." They are either admired—seldom though—or derided which is most often the case.

But what is generally ignored, is the fact that when people discuss the controversial "Bengali", they have in mind only the Bengali educated middle class or the "bhadralok". They are oblivious of the other segments of the Bengali community perhaps naturally, since they are hardly distinguishable from their respective counterparts elsewhere in India.

The Bengali peasant for instance, barring some variations in the economic status, does not differ much in outlook from a peasant of Bihar or Andhra. The Bengali industrial worker which is a comparatively recent phenomenon and an offshoot of the middle class, has yet to assume an identity of its own. The Calcutta "boxwallah" in his denationalized facelessness shares common characteristics with his brethren in Bombay or Delhi.

That leaves the Bengali "bhadralok". He stands out in sharp contrast with the educated middle class in other parts of India. He is a curious amalgam of irreconcilables.

The word "bhadralok" invokes hoary chestnuts bandied about the European clubs concerning Babu English. It also recalls associations of fine achievements in several cultural fields.

Elite Conflict in a Plural Society: Twentieth Century Bengal by J. H. Broomfield
(University of California Press, 1968, 349 pp) 50 shillings.

Perhaps each middle class has its own peculiar nastiness which it usually inherits from the class which went before. With the Germans, it is militarism and Statism; with the French, chauvinism and intellectual metropolitomania; with the British, shameless observance of status and obsession with a spurious gentility. With the Bengali it is a peculiar hotchpotch of conformity and radicalism. He has inherited the tradition of his 18th and 19th century aristocratic ancestors—a tradition marked by a cold pursuit of self-interest and an impervious extravagance with life and money, rank opportunism and furious outbursts at the slightest encroachment on his rights and privileges.

Yet, this class played a decisive role in the struggle against the British rulers and from the early decades of this century till 1947, its strength and weakness continued to influence the course of the Indian national movement.

The interaction between the Bengali bhadralok and the national leadership, the crosscurrents in the relationship between the two, have been remarkably traced and analyzed by Mr John Broomfield, a member of the History Faculty and an Associate of the Centre of South and South-East Asian Studies at the Michigan University, in "Elite Conflict in a Plural Society: Twentieth-Century Bengal."

The author's main concern is with the struggle of the Bengali bhadralok to reconcile its ambitions with the needs of the Indian national movement. He uses the word 'bhadralok' in the sense of a status group following Max Weber, and not as an economic

or occupational class. "A man did not become a bhadralok simply by achieving a given level of wealth or securing certain employment. Nor did impoverishment or unemployment automatically deprive one of bhadralok status, provided certain values were maintained and certain social properties observed."

According to Broomfield, the agitation against the partition of Bengal in 1905 stimulated the political ambitions of the Bengali bhadralok and brought to the fore the widening gulf between the Moderates and the Extremists. To this event also he traces the sharpening chasm between Hindu middle class and the growing Muslim educated class—a trend which was to plague Bengal's political life henceforward.

The insularity of the Bengali bhadralok was not only in relation to the rest of India, but also to the detriment of the community, from the other sections of the Bengali population, particularly the rural peasantry. Broomfield relates the defeat of the Bengali bhadralok to maintain its power to its isolation from the peasantry, the majority of whom were Muslims and who subsequently fell victims to the manipulations of Muslim communalism. The author reminds the readers in this connexion that the Hindu upper-caste bhadralok being a landowner was bound to alienate the Muslim and low-caste cultivators who worked on his fields.

Most of the book is taken up with the dilemma of the bhadralok—hesitating between participation in constitutional reform and resorting to violence. Gandhi's

emergence on the political scene after the First World War made things more difficult for them. Gandhi's stress on mass participation upset the plans of the bhadralok community which till now cherished the dream of occupying power on its own, without bothering about the dumb masses.

According to Broomfield, the domination of the Bengal legislature by the Muslims in the late twenties marked the end of an era in Bengal. Roughly comprising three decades since the end of the last century, the era was rich in many aspects. Broomfield recaptures the colour of those days. Although well documented, the book seldom oppresses the reader with a mass of unfamiliar and uninteresting data. The quoted material only enriches "a lively story well told."

Moving in and out of the story are well-known characters like Surendranath Banerjee, C.R. Das, Fazlul Hug, Gandhi, Subhash Bose and a host of minor leaders of contemporary importance. Broomfield has a sensitive eye for the human details in the fate of these characters, particularly Surendranath Banerjee and C.R. Das. The portrayal of the rise of the former in the days of the anti-partition agitation and his gradual fall in the estimate of his countrymen makes a pathetic reading. He epitomizes the failure of the Moderates in Bengal. His place is taken up by the Extremist Chittaranjan Das whom we find fighting with Gandhi for the leadership of the national movement and forcing the Mahatma for sometime at least to virtual retirement. But a timely death perhaps saved the Deshbandhu from an ignoble fate. Finding his group ridden with dissensions and let down by others, towards the end of his life he was forced to seek constitutional concessions from the British.

As one moves through the fascinating stages of the political movement in Bengal, as narrated by the author, one is bound to find a curious parallel with some recent trends in West Bengal politics.

To begin with, Broomfield points out the uneven development, both economic and political, in India, as a result of which Bengal assumed at one stage a privileged position, and later became a victim of discrimination by the Centre.

An elaboration of this point in Broomfield's book would have been interesting, since the entire problem of the Bengali intelligentsia could be traced to this lopsided development of Indian political life.

The Bengali bhadralok's origins are the same as elsewhere in India. Bengal followed Surat and Madras as the main centres of Indian commerce and it produced wealthy merchants—the 'Babus'. When the East India Company came upon the scene, the Babus became compradores and middle men. Later through the Permanent Settlement, they became land-minded and formed a new landlord class. "The same bhadralok families who were in receipt of rent supplied sons to Government service and the learned professions."

As Broomfield points out, the British through extension of trading activities in Bengal and later involvement in administration, had to recruit increasingly large number of Indian associates. It might be added in this connexion that the motive behind the introduction of Western education in Bengal was to create a stream of clerks to feed the insatiable need of the growing bureaucracy.

But Macaulay's policy was a dangerous experiment. An important consequence of the policy of English education seems to have escaped the notice of the Anglicists. It not only led to reform movements but the political philosophy of 19th century England also had its effect. The educated Babus began to feel that they had a right to share in the administration of their country. Thus was born a nationalism, doomed forever to be both stimulated and irritated by contact with the West.

The choice of Bengal, through several factors, as the first province for the educational experiment, sealed the fate of the Bengali middle class. Although other provinces followed in the wake,

the lead gained by Bengal prompted the bhadralok to rear ahead of others, earning Gokhale's famous compliment in the past and the much bandied about accusation of 'Separatism' today. In fact, the suspicion about the Bengali bhadralok had started much earlier. As Broomfield shows, the partition of Bengal by Curzon in 1905 was prompted mainly by the desire to "cut short bhadralok nationalist attempts to find allies in other communities."

When later the bhadralok's political aspirations took the form of demand for more responsible government, the Government of India insisted on keeping every province regimented. "Bengal was ready for an advance to Responsible Government by 1914, but, because of the Government of India's insistence that no province should be allowed to get out of step with the rest, it had to wait until 1921, with serious consequences for the liberal ideal in bhadralok politics."

A section of the British realized that the Bengali bhadralok's political aspirations should be accommodated somehow. Percy Lyon, a Senior Member of the Executive Council felt, according to Broomfield that "certainly Bengal was out of step with the rest of India, as the Government of India complained, but the moral was not to try to bludgeon it back into line, for that was to invite political disorder."

By a peculiar irony of circumstances or may be because it had always been in the tradition, a similar pattern seems to be developing today in West Bengal-Centre relations. The demand for more autonomy, for more say by the State in her own affairs, is met by a stubborn refusal by the Centre. The pattern has assumed a sharper perspective in the other part of Bengal—East Pakistan. The Ayubshahi intransigence invited the "political disorder," which united Bengal experienced several decades ago.

In its relations with the all India Congress leadership too, the Bengali bhadralok had to experience similar difficulties. In an extremely clear analytical style Broomfield traces the causes of

friction between the Bengal Extremists and Gandhi, although in doctrine they "appeared to have much in common." Apart from the most obvious reason of Chittaranjan Das's being a rival to Gandhi, the other factors were illuminating. The first was Gandhi's insistence on a strong central authority under his control. Reacting to it, Bipin Pal said: "Blind reverence for Gandhiji's leadership would kill people's freedom of thought and would paralyse by the deadweight of unreasoning reverence their individual conscience." Gandhi's belief in non-violent passive resistance also did not cut much ice with the Bengali bhadralok. "Passive resistance no doubt had its value as a last resort for suppressed majority communities, but the bhadralok were a dominant minority with a position to maintain and their politicians demanded a form of action which enabled them to exert themselves against their adversaries, the British, and at the same time reinforce their social and political ascendancy. These requirements were met by terrorism and legislative politics....."

The anti-intellectual strain in Gandhi's philosophy was also resented by the Bengali bhadralok, proud of his culture, Rabindranath was the spokesman of this trend in the revolt against Gandhi. He said: "The mind, surely, is not of less account than a length of cotton thread spun on the wheel!"

There were other reasons too, "less unimpeachable," according to Broomfield and he refers to the reluctance of the bhadralok to give up a good life to take up the way of living practised by Gandhi.

He also refers to the fear of the bhadralok that a call to the masses, as given by Gandhi, would lead to violence and "violence against the foreigner might quickly change to violence against the socially privileged." One is however hesitant to accept Broomfield's verdict on Gandhi: "Gandhi was not simply offering a fight against the Government. He was also calling for an attack on the devils in Indian society." Among the devils, Broomfield

mentions untouchability. But Gandhi's struggles against such devils were always half-way measures; he seldom followed them to their roots. He praised the untouchables as Harijans, but refused to do away with casteism, which was at the root of untouchability. He pleaded for Hindu-Muslim unity, but failed to fight the obscurantist beliefs in both the communities which kept them apart.

The Bengali bhadralok's distrust of mass action and obsession with its own elite society were in a sense retrograde steps. But Gandhi's call for mass action proved in reality to be a limping half-step. A study of the resolution on non-cooperation adopted by the Congress session in Calcutta in 1920 would reveal that the immediate measures were those of boycott to be adopted by "the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented public opinion", i.e., the middle classes. The only role for the masses was the constructive task of "hand spinning and hand weaving." The active participation of the masses, through non-payment of taxes, like no-rent campaign was reserved for later. When later at the peak of the movement, districts approached Gandhi to begin a no-tax campaign, and Guntur in Andhra began it, Gandhi sent immediate notes to the Congress officials to see that all taxes were paid by the due date.

The resolution did not also suggest such forms of militant mass action as the industrial workers' general strike. And this was at a time of massive labour unrest in the wake of the post-war economic crisis. Within the first six months of 1920, there had been 200 strikes in India involving 1½ million workers.

Finally, Broomfield's argument that the bhadralok was reluctant to accept the non-cooperation movement out of fear for having to give up an affluent life is negated by the very facts which he cites later. "In the early months of 1921, the students and lawyers of Bengal responded magnificently to the Congress call to join non-cooperation. Strikes involving five colleges in

Calcutta were followed by similar demonstrations in all but three districts of the province....." Broomfield admits that the movement even outstripped the boundaries set to it. "Spinning, learning Hindi and labouring among the villagers, activities by which Gandhi set great store, had no attraction for sophisticated bhadralok youths, and there was growing dissatisfaction among them at the lack of opportunity for more heroic means of demonstrating their patriotism."

Not only that. The non-cooperation movement in Bengal, led by the bhadralok, was able to incorporate real mass action, by linking it with industrial strikes. There were 101 strikes in Bengal during January and October, 1921. Broomfield admits: "The great advantage of this trade union work for the non-cooperators was that it enabled them to stand forward as leaders of a mass movement." Gandhi's reaction to the strikes was revealing. He wrote on February 16, 1921: "I don't deny that such strikes can serve political ends. But they do not fall within the plan of non-violent Non-cooperation." (Young India.)

Thus, the Bengali bhadralok, after its initial hesitation—a hesitation born of its class character—rose to the occasion and carried out the non-cooperation movement beyond the limits set by Gandhi by embracing the industrial proletariat and using the militant mass action—strike.

But perhaps more interesting is Broomfield's piercing insight into the failures of the Bhadrlok in the legislature, which he traces from the days of Surendranath Benerjee to Chittaranjan Das. The history may have a relevance for today. In many ways, the Leftists in West Bengal are facing a similar problem—the problem of working within the framework of an unsatisfactory constitution and reconciling it with mass movements often taking extreme forms.

Broomfield gives a vivid picture of the Moderate Ministers in the Legislative Council of Bengal, during the non-cooperation movement. The Government enforced repressive measures to

curb the movement. The repressive laws offended their nationalist sentiment, but how could they voice their anger without appearing to be merely spokesmen for the non-cooperators? Surendranath Banerjee who was known as "Surrender Not Banerjee" during the anti-partition agitation was now described as "Sir Surrender" in the nationalist press. "The effect of this attack on the Ministers—and this was true for all the Moderates—was to force them on to the defensive from the beginning. When all their energies were required for the problems of initiating the reforms, they were obliged to devote time and effort to the profitless business of self-justification."

We are tempted to compare the fate of Chittaranjan Das in the Council in 1924 with the Marxist Communists in the West Bengal Legislature today. An ardent extremist and taking an equivocal stand regarding violence at one time, C.R. Das towards the end of his life had to publish a renunciation of violence

realizing that "he had to curb the tendency toward political and communal extremism if it was not to lead Bengal to disaster." He also sought constitutional concessions from the British by offering to work with the constitution instead of obstructing it.

It is a pity that Broomfield chose to squeeze the history of the two important decades before August, 1947, into one chapter — an epilogue called the "Tragic Decades." Broomfield traces in this chapter the Hindu bhadralok's loss of faith in liberal constitutionalism. "Popular opinion favoured the overthrow of the British by terrorism or a revolutionary uprising, and communal organization — including organized violence if need be — to protect Hindu bhadralok interests against the Muslim onslaught."

The author's assessment of the so-called terrorist movement in Bengal seems to be based on misinformation. A distinction should be made between the philosophy of armed revolution

in the first decade of this century and that in the thirties. While religion, particularly the Kali cult, played a prominent part in the activities of the revolutionaries during the anti-partition agitation in 1905, the wave of armed violence in the thirties had a secular character. Besides, the armed revolutionaries of this era sought to create some sort of mass base instead of resorting to individual acts of courage. The experience of the Chittagong Armoury Raid and of Bhagat Singh's Hindustan Socialist Republican Party deserves notice in this connexion. Broomfield has failed to understand the distinction as evident from his tendency to equate armed revolutionaries with Hindu communal forces.

It is precisely because of the politically advanced character of the armed insurrections in the thirties that many of the participants in the later days came over to Communism. This brings us to an important lacunae in Broomfield's book. He has given us an anatomy of Bengali middle class

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over the first half of this century. But nowhere does Communism as an effective influence, whether external or internal, ever appear.

Communism, whether one likes it or not, has become an inextricable part of Bengali middle class life since the last war and the modern bhadralok of Bengal cannot be understood without a reference to Marxism.

In a sense Communism has been present, since the early 20th century as the opposite pole to the orthodox Right wing in the minds of the British. Anti-Communism has been the main means by which imperialism has sought to isolate the Left. Broomfield would have been able to find this out had he cared to look up contemporary newspapers when he collected materials to describe the Gandhi-C.R. Das debate on Council entry in December, 1922. British newspapers made much of a letter sent at this time by M.N. Roy to C.R. Das on the programme of the Indian National Congress. The British Government sought to describe C.R. Das's move as Bolshevik inspired.

In another sense, Communism throughout has been the alter-ego of the Extremists. During the height of the non-cooperation movement, addressing a meeting at Mirzapore Square in Calcutta on January 12, 1921, Bipin Pal declared: "The future is with the Bolsheviks."

More important than these trends was however the actual beginning of organized Communist activities in Calcutta from the early twenties. There was a Communist group in the city in 1923. Muzaffar Ahmed and the poet Kazi Nazrul Islam were bringing out a journal on its behalf. Later they were behind the formation of the Labour Swaraj Party. Broomfield should have noted that when Hindu-Muslim riots broke out in 1924, the Communist groups provided the only platform for united activities of the bhadralok of the two communities in the trade union and peasant fronts.

The Communists asserted themselves a few years later, when during the Congress session in Calcutta in 1928, a demonstration

of 50,000 workers, students and intellectuals came to the session with red flags to demand complete independence as against dominion status.

The years of the Second World War were also important for the development of the Communist movement in Bengal. The Communists were at the forefront of some of the most important strikes and mass upsurges which proved to be one of the decisive factors leading to independence.

For any explanation of the strength of the Communists in West Bengal today, we shall therefore have to turn to those "Tragic Decades" with which Broomfield ends his book. Unfortunately, the author has con-

finied his analysis to the communal conflict only, ignoring the emergence of Leftism in bhadralok politics. While the communal factor undoubtedly played an important part in those decades leading to partition, the Leftist trend should have been given equal importance in view of the decisive role it was to play in the future in post-independent West Bengal.

Nevertheless, Broomfield's book is a stimulating study and as a provocation it is a *tour de force*. If it suffers from shortcomings due to a lack of understanding, it still remains an incitement to further study of an interesting status group fast changing under the pressure of reality.

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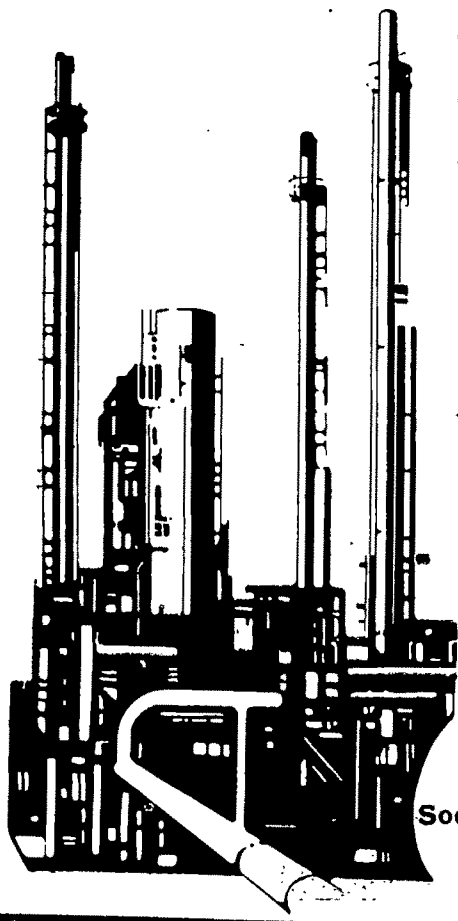
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A functioning democracy presumes a certain fluidity of the *political situation* without however compromising the stability of the *political system* itself. But in a transitional polity like India—continental in its dimension and 'plural' in character—and still struggling to legitimize its democratic structures, this very fluidity of the political situation in parts of the sprawling Republic often takes an alarming form of either chaos and anarchy or of counter-democratic thrusts that momentarily seem to shake not only confidence in the stability of the system but also faith in people's right to self-govern.

Yet if one were to remember the immensity of the task involved in creating a democratic ethos—which is anyhow more basic for the functioning of democracy than its structures—in this 'wretched-beloved' land of chronic feudal order, ascriptive basis of human relations sanctified by the dominant belief-pattern, obscurantist values that militate against radical change, regional variations whose right to autonomous growth has been oppressively frustrated first by a millenium of feudal autocracies and more recently by about two centuries of direct and indirect British colonial administration; then in the unavoidable nature of transition and its attendant stresses and strain, appear stages in the historical evolution of this ancient land towards the stabilization of a viable contemporary civilization.

This perspective becomes all the more evident and acquires realism, if the time-scale of the transition is kept in sight. Twenty-two crowded years in the life of a generation which has not even seen 'uninterrupted peace', to borrow Jawaharlal Nehru's phrase, is surely too brief and disturbed a span to form definite conclusions about the shape of things to come. The political climate is so muggy today that the vision of the emerging reality in all its contours gets blurred. Nevertheless, if one dares to see beyond the clouds, the perceptible silver-lining promises a brighter day.

Anyhow such an optimistic note, even if based on a healthy illusion, is necessary to fight the gloom that has encircled the atmosphere in the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh.

Altogether the year 1969 has been, till this moment at least, a disastrous year for Andhra Pradesh. The State has been passing through its worst crises. Not only its integrated existence is at stake, but the crises of confidence appertaining to the Brahmananda Reddi Ministry and the Congress High Command at the Union level, might eat into the vitals of the Congress party itself and erode its mass-base.

Since January life is at a stand-still in the city of Hyderabad, and in many towns and district headquarters. Schools and Colleges are closed with bleak prospects of reopening unless a dramatic political move is made to restore normalcy. Commercial transactions, industrial production, routine administration of the Government and indeed the normal chores of life of the common-man are badly dislocated. With more than a dozen *bundhs* and total hartals, the economy has received a severe jolt, which was made worse by an unprecedented destruction of

Andhra Pradesh : Political Crises and Trends

RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN

public and private property.

It is a disheartening and disgusting spectacle to see the local Czars locked-up in their little 'kremlins' or go about the unavoidable official routines under heavy police *bandobust*, while the 'barbarian multitude' outside the 'Celestial Court' (to borrow and fuse apt and akin images from Mediaeval Russia and Ancient China) continue their rampage, threatening life, liberty and the pursuit of avocation of the common-man.

Andhra Pradesh is witnessing a 'functioning anarchy'. Law and order has collapsed so obviously that it has become a common sight for any small group of urchins or hard-boiled vagabonds to haul-up any man on the streets, in broad daylight and extract a toll in the name of Telangana. Brigandage has become the last refuge of an amazingly large number of self-proclaimed local patriots. For the last seven months the Government of Andhra Pradesh has virtually become a 'non-government' in so far as Telangana region is concerned. The tactless handling by the Chief Minister and amazing indifference of the Central leadership, only aggravated the situation.

The spontaneous escalation of the agitation, which first took the shape of a powerful middle-class mass action, for 'safeguards of regional interests', in the form of protection for professional, employment, educational interests and general economic development, with amazing rapidity snowballed into a wide-spread movement of 'hate-Andhra' and 'separate Telangana', which received tacit support from many sections of the people.

The demand for the undoing of Vishalandhra, and the recognition of statehood of a sub-region within the first uni-lingual state of the Republic, is

a portent for the future. The federal structure in India, is still in the process of recomposition. But the question is: Is there or is there not any federal authority capable of independent judgment and constitutional action? Should the Union Home Minister depend entirely on the State Chief Minister's version of events and characterisation of the movement? Are there independent sources of information and communication available to the Government of India or not? Should factional equations and manipulative calculations alone determine the line of action of the Union Government if the State Government is a Congress Government? Where are the Opposition parties in the State and what is their role in a crisis of this magnitude? Is it merely the role of theorizing for the Left parties and fishing in troubled waters for the Right? Questions like these keep on troubling the agitated minds of the helpless victims of the opposing obdurate politicians and mass-tyrants, who in effect have jointly destroyed the peace of the land and the even tenor of life of the citizenry.

Andhra Pradesh, one of the stable bastions of the Congress since the Second General Election 1957, has become rather suddenly the problem state of the Indian federation. It is an irony of history that while a dominant section of the Telugu people pioneered the movement in India for the linguistic composition of the federal infra-structure in India, and indeed Andhra Pradesh became the first 'linguistic' State in the Republic; today also it is a section of the Telugu people who are in the vanguard of the incipient movement for a new federal re-structuring based on sub-regional homogeneity rather than linguistic affinity. The Telangana agitation for a separate State has at least demonstrated for purposes of theorization the inadequacy of the language factor as the primary bond of political cohesion and has brought into sharper relief the necessity of taking into account for purposes of political stability and national growth, such critical factors like varied patterns of economy, demographic and sociological differentiation, political traditions and sub-cultural divergences, which cannot be taken for granted, if a viable identity is to be maintained.

The collapse of the notional sentimental unity, based on common language, under the strain of interacting group-interests and 'caste-class-and-mass' conflict, has also revealed how sub-regional rivalries generated by economic imbalances and genuine accumulated grievances can succeed in fragmenting political loyalties (notwithstanding allegiance to the same political party). The situation acquires alarming proportion if the 'elitist' ambitions of adventurist leaders remain unchecked by the corrective that enlightened public opinion alone can provide.

But such is the tragic flaw in the situation, that neither Opposition parties nor unattached leaders of opinion or groups of respected citizens, nor newspapers and journals or any other dominant section of the society, are in a position to either resist the drift of events or provide an attractive alternative for the solution of the problem. The all-pervasive role of politics in our milieu, has enfeebled the voice of reason, if it remains unsupported—as it often does—

by 'vociferous' public support. And public support is normally 'squisitioned' or shall we say 'pressed-into-service' by the type of political elite who thrive on manipulation by skillfully operating within the framework of factional politics, and drawing within their fold that type of ambitious youth which imitates the style and idiom of public life of the established *gurus* of political *dadagiri*.

A recapitulation of the trends and pattern of power-equation that was established in Andhra Pradesh in the wake of the Fourth General Election, 1967, will serve to determine the framework of any meaningful projective analysis, for the future.

Dominant One-Party rule of the Congress in Andhra Pradesh remained operationally intact till now, even if occasionally questioned by the disgruntled section of the people, on the town streets or in the hinterland on the prompting of interest-groups and parties particularly the Trade Unions and the Communist Party—whose third major base in India is in Andhra Pradesh. With less than about 50 per cent of the popular vote the Congress continuously captured during the last decade more than 70 per cent of the Assembly seats, thereby stabilizing its legislative and executive hegemony.

Andhra Pradesh probably occupied a significant place in the changed context of political power equation and confrontation between the various competing parties in India, in the wake of the collapse of the Congress monolith in 1967. That Andhra Pradesh Congress Party, despite its bitter factional tussle (which had cost it 72 seats of the sitting members) nonetheless came out with a comfortable though a little diminished majority in 1967 was significant as it made Andhra Pradesh together with Maharashtra and Mysore a continuing bastion of the Congress hegemony in the South. The decline in seats captured by the Congress and the proportion of its popular votes, compared to 1957 and 1962 General Elections could be attributed essentially to the bitter factional schism that came to the fore-front at the time of the elections, revealing not only the existence of factional pockets of interest horizontally in practically all the districts, but also the existence of vertical linkages of this factional bifurcation in the Congress organization with its base in Gram Panchayat and Panchayat Samithi and its middle tier; in this political pyramid, at the Pradesh Election Committee (PEC) level, culminating in the apex at the level of the Central Election Committee (CEC) and the Congress Parliamentary Board.

It will be recalled that the APCC was divided on the question of the electoral lists in 1967, with the opposing factions led by Sri Brahmananda Reddi and Sri Sanjiva Reddi and Sri D. Sanjiviah. While the number of official Congress candidates who succeeded was only 165 in a House of 288, it was well-known that of the 68 Independents as many as about 47 were known to be Congressmen who were denied official tickets and comprised about 33 Ministerialists and 14 Dissidents. This was confirmed when within weeks of the reconvening of the Assembly through the formation of an *ad hoc* Legislative Party which called itself people's Democratic Party (PDP) commanding the allegiance of 33 Independents, these Ministeria-

lists joined the Congress Party, which was able to increase its strength to a comfortable majority of 198. Obviously most of the members of the PDP were Ministerialists who because of the pressure of the Dissident all-India leaders at the CEC level could not get the official seats and hence fought against the official candidates who were not approved by the Ministerialists and after their victory have been welcomed back into the fold by their chief patron, the Chief Minister, through apparently honourable means of first forming a new party and then entering *en bloc* into the parent organization. Thus the original aspiration of the Congress to get at least 200 out of 288 seats in the Assembly was fulfilled partly by overt and partly by covert means; thus failure at the polls was mitigated by success at the bargaining counter.

A close analysis of the election statistics reveals many things. While the number of seats captured by the Congress was less than 11 as compared to its strength in the 1962 Assembly, in the percentage of votes secured by the Congress lost about five per cent of its traditional votes, but mostly in the 11 Andhra districts. It lost more than half the seats in Srikakulam, Nellore and Kurnool. Compared to the 1963 position, the Congress lost its hold decisively in nine districts (Srikakulam, Vishakapatnam, East Godavari, Nellore, Kurnool, Warangal, Mahbubnagar, Nizamabad and Hyderabad)—that is, three in the Circars, two in Rayalaseema and four in Telangana. Thus in nine Telangana districts while the number of its successful candidates (64) was even with the 1962 results, the district-wise position reveals that its base of support had shifted. In the three traditional Communist dominated districts—Nalgonda, Khammam and Warangal—while the Congress had greatly improved its position by capturing 8 out of 12 seats in Nalgonda compared to three seats captured in 1962, 7 out of 8 seats in Khammam as against three last time, it had received reduced votes and captured fewer seats in its own former bases. Congress strength improved in eight districts compared to 1962 elections, namely, in the two Circar districts of Guntur and Krishna, the two Rayalaseema districts of Chittoor and Guddapah and in the four Telangana districts of Medak, Karimnagar, Khammam and Nalgonda. The Congress suffered heavily at the hands of the Swatantra and the 'angry' Congressmen fighting as Independents.

In terms of the region-wise position, the Congress got 45 per cent of votes in the Circars and Rayalaseema and 46 per cent in Telangana. Compared with the other parties the district-wise breakdown of vote averages per candidate reveals that the Congress is ahead of all the other parties. Only in three districts (Srikakulam, Nellore and Anantapur) the Swatantra is ahead and in one (Warangal) the CPI (M).

Ever since the First General Election in 1952, that is, even prior to the formation of Andhra Pradesh, the real tussle for political power in both the sub-regions, Andhra and Telangana, has been between the Congress and the Communists. In the First General Election, the Communist-backed People's Democratic Front (PDF) with 42 members in the Assembly of 175, constituted the main Opposition in the

erstwhile Hyderabad State Legislative Assembly. Similarly, during the same time the Communist representatives in the Madras Assembly from the Andhra region provided the back-bone to the party's membership in the Assembly. However, soon after the First General Election in 1952, due to variety of reasons including the stability of the Congress Raj, ideological disarray of the CPI consequent upon the post-Stalinist shift in the world Communist Movement, and comparative increase in rural prosperity following some of the reforms introduced by the Nehru Government, the Communist influence was on the wane. In the 1955 Mid-term Andhra election, the Congress won 39.35 per cent of the total votes compared to 31.13 per cent won by the Communists. But in 1962, while the Congress' share of votes shot up to 47.44 per cent the Communist support dropped to 19.54 per cent.

The division of the party cadre and leadership between the CPI and CPI (M) consequent on the Communist split in 1964 was more or less equal in Andhra Pradesh, though with a slight edge in favour of the CPI. The extent of uncompromising position taken by both the parties in Andhra Pradesh could also be measured by remembering that while *ad hoc* electoral arrangements were made by both these parties in other states in Andhra Pradesh no such electoral adjustments could take place. On the contrary, the number of direct electoral confrontation between the two CPs took place in as many as 50 constituencies in Andhra Pradesh. Based on the dogmatic ideological position that deviation is the worst of the crime, both the parties virtually announced that while electoral adjustments and expedient compromises would be possible with bourgeois parties and class-enemies, no alignment is permissible with what they termed as 'internal disrupters'. This indeed was formulated clearly when they declared that in terms of the larger strategy of political struggle, defeat of the rival faction should take precedence over the defeat of the ideologically opposite parties, a task which might be postponed until the next General Election in 1972. CPI (M) leaders stated that the 'revisionist Communists' (that is, CPI) formed the shield of the Congress, and that to defeat the Congress, the shield must be broken first.

The Communists had the worst drubbing at the hands of the electorate and also at the hands of their own fratricidal knights in 1967. Not only had they been demoted from the position of the main Opposition in the State Assembly to the rank of two 'bench-less' congregation of like-minded individuals (to have a bench in the Assembly they need at least 14 members), but had also lost a sizable popular vote, and what was worse, they had also to bear the shock of the unseating of most of their top leaders. While in 1962 the combined united Communists had 51 seats in the Assembly forming the single largest Opposition group, after the split in 1964 resulting in the division of their seats (CPI=31 and CPI (M)=20) none of them could retain enough seats to be called the official Opposition party.

One obvious conclusion to be drawn from the electoral results of 1967 in Andhra Pradesh is that the Communists as an ideological group have not

only declined in their poll appeal but—and this is quite significant—that they have also partly changed their bases of support. In 1967 consequent upon the Communist split while the CPI could not get even a single seat from its traditional base in Nalgonda, the CPI(M) could only succeed in getting just three seats, compared to the nine seats captured by the pre-split CPI in 1962. In Khammam, the CPI lost all its seats while the CPI (M) could save only one compared to five Communist seats in 1962. In Warangal, however, the CPI retained its two seats, though from different constituencies. Thus jointly the two parties could only manage eight seats from Telangana, compared with 18 in 1962. However, in 1967 CPI was able to capture one seat each in Karimnagar and Adilabad.

Similarly, in the Andhra region their strong base was in the Delta area particularly in Guntur, Krishna and West Godavari from which the united CPI could procure 21 out of 25 seats from the Circar area in 1962, but in the 1967 Election both the CPI and CPI (M) could get only three seats each—the and former from East Godavari and Visakhapatnam the latter from West Godavari and Visakhapatnam. From Rayalaseema while the united Communist Party could send to the Assembly nine candidates in 1962, in 1967 both the parties could jointly manage just five.

The electoral strategy of the Swatantra Party was two-fold: firstly, to consolidate its base in the Circars by entering into *ad hoc* electoral alignment even with the devil, the CPI (M) in this case and the enemy's enemy, that is, the 'ticketless' Congressmen (Ministerialist or Dissident) contesting as Independents; and secondly, to take advantage of the rampant Congress factionalism and the recent Communist split and emerge as the leading Opposition party in the State Assembly. Indeed in the campaign phase the Swatantra appeared as the main challenge to the Congress. In most of the straight contests with the Congress candidates, the opponents were Swatantra nominees. Since it was the only major party that was most unified, the Swatantra's strategy paid handsome dividends at the polls with its base in the rich and middle peasant of the coastal Andhra, the Swatantra's major preoccupation was to increase its power-position by wooing the *Kammas*, the *Kapus*, the *Velama* and the land-owning *Brahmans* of Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam and Guntur. For this it made electoral adjustments with the CPI (M), its worst ideological enemy in Guntur and Visakhapatnam, which was indeed a measure of Swatantra's political manoeuvrability. Its active electoral co-operation with the Jana Sangh in certain constituencies and with the estranged Congressmen also contributed in the increase of its electoral appeal.

For the Jana Sangh, elections in South India provide an opportunity not so much for winning seats as for influencing people. The slow and steady rise of the Jana Sangh in Andhra Pradesh is a development to be watched. The Jana Sangh had no base either in the erstwhile Hyderabad State or the composite Madras State in the First General Elections. In the mid-term polls in the Andhra region in 1955, while it got no seat in the Andhra

Assembly, it very modestly opened account with 0.09 per cent of popular votes. In the Second General Election, 1957, in the Telangana region, it contested many, but captured not even a single seat, yet raised its popular vote to 0.16 per cent. Again its bid to capture an Assembly seat failed miserably in the Third General Election in 1962, but it moved up its popular vote to full one per cent.

Yet its electoral debacle is no index of its increasing appeal on the social and cultural plane. Indeed, the Jana Sangh's programme in the southern non-Hindi States is attuned more to the building-up of an identity of Hinduism in politics, and of coalescing the disparate Hindu castes and groups around a unified programme of Hindu revivalism, rather than of either capturing power or emerging as a political alternative by itself. The large help that it gets from organizations like the Arya Samaj, the RSS, the Hindi Prachar Sabha, the Marwari Association, the Vidyarthi Parishad and other student and youth bodies, provide the party with a firm meta-political support-structure for its more basic activities.

The Jana Sangh entered the election in 1967 in a big way with 80 candidates. Since the last election, when they could not capture even a single seat, they had been assiduously nursing certain areas and constituencies and slowly building up structure of support among the professional classes, students and intelligentsia as well as among certain sections of the business community, obviously not so much for electoral gain but for a long-term political investment with wider ramifications.

The Telangana episode has badly shaken up if not destroyed the power-equation stabilized by the Fourth General Election. No party can bank on its previous basis of support and pockets of influence. We are too much in the thick of the unfinished agitation to make any dependable predictions.

But certain trends can be perceived which might determine the range of probability, in the context of the developing situation not only in Andhra Pradesh, but also at the all-India level. The repercussions of the Telangana turmoil are bound to affect the electoral fortunes of all the parties, particularly the State Congress in 1972. Already a Telangana Pradesh Congress Committee (TPCC) has been formed in defiance of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee (APCC), even without the consent of the Congress High Command.

The Telangana Praja Samithi—the forum of the Separate Telangana Activists cutting across party lines—is spreading its net wide. It has inducted into politics a cadre of youth elite that is new and ambitious with typical middle-class medley of motivations, and has proved its capacity for political stamina and manoeuvrability. There are lawyers, teachers, journalists, unemployed youth and chronic student-leaders, whose appetite for political gains has been whetted by the early success they have gained by paralysing the governmental machinery and effectively coercing the half-hearted or the indifferent shop-keepers, hoteliers and businessmen to close their 'shops' and perforce reveal their solidarity with the cause.

In the first stages of the agitation, the direction of the 'now on-the-scene' Telangana stalwarts—Sri Chenna Reddi, Sadalakshmi, Konda Lakshman Bapuji and others—was not available. In fact the latter only filled a vacuum of leadership that was created as a consequence of the sudden turn of events brought about by the self-willed anonymous youth leaders and NGOs who could not have carried forward the agitation further, without the support of the entrenched regional leadership drawn mostly from among the disgruntled Telangana Congressmen whose conflicts with the Andhra leadership, ambition of bigger political role and vested-interest has effectively propelled them to come into action, lest a god-sent opportunity is lost.

The Congress, fragmented by regional pulls and pressures, is today a house divided. Two parallel Congress establishments, one for the Circars and Rayalaseema (Andhra region) and another for Telangana, are already in existence. Formal acquiescence to this bifurcation is unavoidable, if the Congress is to remain intact in Telangana.

Indeed caste configuration also provides a sociological basis to such an arrangement. The second dominant land-proprietor caste the *Kammas* are concentrated almost entirely in the four Delta districts of the Circars and are in possession of about 80 per cent of the fertile lands. Much of the politics of the Circars veers round their growing interest in economy and political patronage. The *Reddis*, the most dominant land-proprietor caste, though dispersed all over the State, have sub-regional variations; while Rayalaseema, popularly known as *Reddi-seema* has them in biggest number, they have pockets of influence in all the four Delta districts and Nellore. But in Telangana they have been together with the *Velemas*, the biggest feudal chiefs, not only in the mediaeval age of Kakatiya hegemony (1197-1320) but more recently under the Nizams of Hyderabad (1724-1948). Five of the eight *Samasthanas* (Hindu Estates) belong to Reddi princelings, and scores of *deshmukhs*, *jagirdars*, *mukhtedars*, are *Reddis*. The Telangana Communist uprising (1946-51) to be sure, began partly as a revolt of the *Madiga* and *Ettiwandlu* Harijan landless outcasts in Nalgonda against the Reddi *deshmukhs* supported by the Nizam's administration and the Muslim *Razakars*. The *Komtis* and *Marwari Baniyas* of Telangana are today in the forefront of the agitation, precisely because their traditional *vaishya* prerogative has been seriously challenged by the more enterprising *Kammas*. While the *Madigas* 'the lowest of the low' are twice as many as the *Malas* in Telangana, the latter are politically more effective in the Delta districts, Nellore and Chittoor.

The Swatantra, which could not return even one of its nominees from Telangana in the 1967 Election naturally was the first and the only party to enthusiastically support the demand for separate Telangana. In 1972, it might as well extend its base in the Andhra region, where the prosperous farmers provide a natural source of support for its ideological slant. The Jana Sangh, might make a dent in the nine city constituencies of Hyderabad and in other urban centres, as most of the student-leaders now in the

thick of the battle for separate Telangana closer to its political avowals than to any other are party.

With Sri Badri Vishal Petit, the rich Marwari SSP leader in the fore-front of the Telangana agitation, despite the party's National Executive directive, the prospects of SSP might slight by improve.

The Muslim political opinion has been divided on the issue. While the *Ittihad-ul-Muslimeen* is still tacitly with the Chief Minister, the *Tamir-i-Millet* and some other Muslim leaders have been shoulder-to-shoulder with the 'separatists'.

Apart from the APCC, the two Communist Parties have been quite vocal in building public-opinion for the continuance of an integrated Andhra Pradesh, and the just and reasonable settlement of genuine Telangana demands expeditiously. Though the Communist thesis that language-communities in India are 'nationalities', whose unimpeded growth is a precondition for the eventual stability of the Indian polity, is a mechanistic application of the Soviet model to the more complex and qualitatively new configuration of federal identity in India, which calls for a more rigorous intellectual exercise, yet they have historical evidence and rational economic factors in their support when they contend that the grievances of Telangana can best be overcome within the framework of a bigger and developing State, than a fragmented sub-region. But precisely this political logic may recoil on them badly if the political decision-maker at the Centre, concedes in principle the right of the Telangana people to give their verdict in favour of a separate State.

The continuing splintering of the Communist in Andhra Pradesh—two parties and two more groups—has already weakend their electoral prospects as a unified ideological group. But their pathetic lack of political initiative, coupled with endless debates about the strategy and tactics that leave precious little time for solid work, which alone in the wake of pronounced interest-orientation in mass politics in India is capable of coalescing the allegiance of the people, has relegated the Communist to a position of auxiliary supporters of opponents of the major challenges facing the State.

The sudden and dramatic developments at the national level, initiated by the decisive shift in Smt Indira Gandhi's approach to economic reconstruction, and more decisive determination to implement some long-overdue institutional changes, has for the first time in the post-Nehru phase of contemporary Indian politics, qualitatively redefined the ideological power-equations within the Congress and outside. It is a corrective to the degenerating amorphousness of Congress politics which in the last five years got somehow enmeshed in the personalised mechinations of an inter-regional coterie of unprincipled leadership that paid scant respect to national development and change. The Prime Minister's assertion of authority against the Syndicate followed by programmatic initiative, is the first effort in the right direction to give a 'character' to the nation's oldest, previously respected and the only 'continental' political party. This might as well initiate the long over-due ideolo-

gical polarization, resulting even in new re-structuring of the party system in India. A new 'consensus' is bound to emerge and coalitional federal authority based on an agreed consensus of national development cannot be ruled out.

The impact of these changes on Andhra Pradesh as on other States, would become clearer once the factional contours in the APCC get delineated. But whatever be the twists and turns in party-alignment, to comprehend the nature of the challenge in Andhra Pradesh, one might conclude by formulating certain hypotheses, which may be kept in mind to ask pertinent questions and draw pertinent conclusions because the tensions and conflicts of Andhra Pradesh are obviously not an isolated phenomenon. They have national relevance, as they epitomize some of the basic challenges inherent in the stupendous task of federal-nation-building in India.

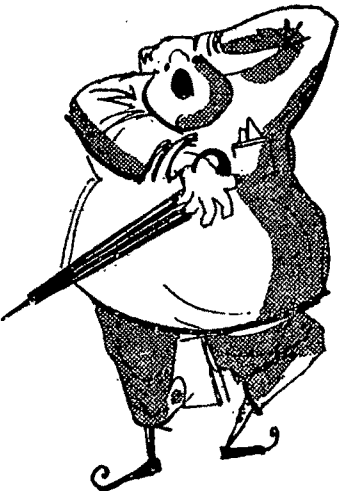
First : Democracy generates articulation of demands ; the greater the range and depth of enabling rights, the wider and keener the corporate urge for demand fulfilment.

Second : Economic development unleashes political forces by the very fact of development that tends to wreck the political system if the system is not resilient enough to respond to the challenge.

Third : The uniqueness of India's federal polity is reflected simultaneously in the existence of distinct and viable cultural-cum-socio-economic sub-regions, competing for priority of allegiance with the in-built and felt consciousness of a unified Indian nationality. A proper political adjustment between these two poles of loyalty is still a *continuing* process in India.

Fourth : Political demands of viable sub-regions for new administrative arrangements are not necessarily antithetical to the territorial integrity of the country. Every urge for autonomy may not be a divisive but probably a complementary force ; it may not lead to balkanisation but to the re-structuring of the national unity ; it need not be taken as a call for disintegration of the national sovereignty, but its re-composition. In other words, *the quest for federal identity* in India is still not over, and this is quite a legitimate historical development.

Fifth : Federal initiative in responding to the challenges of sub-regional and regional demands is not only statutorily provided but is politically both necessary and desirable. For, the Union Government alone can act as a 'third party' in local disputes with the sanction explicit in the Constitution and the authority implicit in the operative political system of India.



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GAPPA IN BLUNDERLAND (Continued from page 43)

distributed at the Hyderabad session of the Congress where he read his first Presidential address. The relevant passage was that his "mind is remarkable for its resilience and receptivity to new ideas in the shifting context of modern developments." Now you get it : Gappa has a mind as elastic as plastic. And when he makes a pronouncement, serious or funny, you can be sure that he is playing the record implanted on him by the last visitor.

Lately, the simple peasant from Bellary has developed a taste for politicking abroad: One of his Secretaries is engaged whole time in collecting invitation from the local Embassies. But he soon found that it was not his kettle of fish. He was so clumsy that he recently invited

the Japanese Ambassador for a dinner and the guests found out in no time that the Chief Guest of that evening had left India over a year ago !

The profile cited above described Sri Nijalingappa as a great "encourager" (?) of industries. He is. Only early this year he encouraged the Sahu-Jains to take over Bagalkot Cement Company which was till then controlled by entrepreneurs of Mysore.

The profile also mentioned Nijalingappa's "love for perfumes." We have no evidence of that. But we do know that as the Mysore Chief Minister, he allotted 3,000 acres of land to a perfume manufacturer at a cheap price.

Sri Nijalingappa is a shifty but a lucky politician. Lal Bahadur Shastri exonerated him

of all the charges levelled against him in regard to the Sharavathi river project. He proved lucky again when he permitted himself to be virtually kidnapped in January 1968 from the dining room of the British High Commissioner, Mr. John Freeman, to be anointed as the Congress Pope. That was one of the blunders Smt Gandhi committed in the pursuit of the politics of personalities, the phase which preceded the politics of commitment.

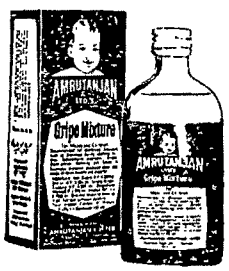
Negatively, however, this blunder has served one good purpose. Sri Nijalingappa has been living in the blunderland ever since and his bluff and bluster have helped to radicalise the Congress just as much as the "roar" of that lion from Banas-kantha.

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RISE & FALL OF ATULYA (Contd from 44)

process of occupation was complete, for the BPCC sign board was uprooted and a new one was put up announcing WBPCC.

Part I of the plan was achieved in a more dramatic manner. It came soon after Dr Ghosh had asked the police to open fire on the demonstrators, who had come to the Assembly House to lodge their protest against his Security Bill, described as the 'Black Act'. Things started moving very fast; but then the problem with the Hooghly group (and at this stage Sri Atulya Ghosh and Sri P.C. Sen had become quite prominent on the Congress stage) was to find out a leading personality in the Congress, who would be able to carry the Congress High Command, and especially Jawaharlal Nehru with him. The obvious choice was Dr B.C. Roy.

Dr Roy at that stage was mentally very unhappy, because of his appointment as the Governor of Uttar Pradesh. Dr Roy was then outside India when the appointment was announced from Delhi. When he returned, he found it difficult to accept or to reject it. He kept quite, and made no attempt to take up his new assignment. Who suggested his name as the successor of Dr Ghosh is not quite important in the present context; for, as was known then, the proposal was made known to Dr Roy by Sri Atulya Ghosh, Sri P.C. Sen and Sri Dhiren Mukherjee. Dr Roy readily accepted the offer; but the bargain was favourable for Sri Ghosh, which Dr Roy realised much later.

The rest of the story followed soon; and Sri Amar Ghosh (who happened to be a key figure then, and quietly eliminated later by Sri Atulya Ghosh) did everything in the Congress Legislature Party to collect the signatures of most of the members in favour of a new leader of the Party. Dr Ghosh was fighting a losing battle and finally he had to quit when in a few days the Party elected Dr Roy as the new leader. This decision was approved by the Congress High Command, and Dr Ghosh soon after left the Congress,

With Dr Roy as the head of a new Cabinet at Writers Building, Sri Atulya Ghosh did everything possible under the circumstances to gain complete control of West Bengal Congress. In the very initial stage, Sri Ghosh quietly removed Sri P. C. Sen from organisational affairs by placing him in the Cabinet headed by Dr Roy. The Hooghly group was happy with it, because Sri Sen's inclusion in the Cabinet would ensure everything the organisational wing of the Congress would require to consolidate their position, not merely at the headquarters but also in the districts. Sri Sen accepted his Cabinet post, and to accommodate him, a trusted member of the Assembly Sri Sukumar Dutta, whose loyalty to Sri Atulya Ghosh was never in doubt, resigned. Sri Sen was easily elected to the Assembly, and made his position quite secure in Dr Roy's Cabinet.

It suited Sri Atulya Ghosh beautifully; for, the entire Congress organisation in West Bengal was then virtually within his grip. Every night, Sri Ghosh went for his dinner with Sri Sen, and the two together discussed not merely administrative affairs but organisational problems too. Things went on very smoothly and happily and by the time the Second General Election in 1957 came, Sri Atulya Ghosh had hardly any serious rival in the organisation, not merely at the top but also in the districts.

* * *

Sri Ghosh had by then still two rivals left; for, meanwhile most of the leading members of the Hooghly group had quietly disappeared from the scene or were unable to even keep up a show of a fight against him. The rivals were Sri P. C. Sen and Dr B. C. Roy. Sri Sen's image cracked badly when he suffered a heavy defeat in the 1952 General Election. Sri Sen was promptly elected a member of the Upper House so that his place in the new Cabinet was ensured. Sri Sen had really no choice. Dr Roy was allowed to continue in his

own way; but Sri Ghosh made him feel too that he himself was the party boss and not Dr Roy.

This precisely explains why Sri Atulya Ghosh has not for once made any effort whatsoever to get himself elected to the Assembly, or to find a place in the Cabinet. He wanted to built up his image as the party leader, who is not anxious at all to find a job in the Cabinet. He wanted to be a dictator in the State party organisation, controlling Congress affairs organisationally and administratively. He wanted to be the boss of the entire set-up.

And he was so by the time the Second General Election was over. But then his trouble started and it cast a shadow on the future. It really started much later—when the Third General Election had returned Congress to power. After the Second General Election, Dr Roy was given all the freedom to have the Cabinet of his own choice; even though the final list of Ministers was drawn up in consultation with Sri Ghosh. After the 1962 Election, however, things became quite hot for Dr Roy. It was made known to Dr Roy that the entire list of Cabinet Ministers and others would have to be finalised with the approval of Sri Ghosh and obviously Sri Sen. The three leaders went to Digha for a final round of talks; and when they returned, the Cabinet list was ready. Dr Roy did his best to recover from the shock of it all; but he did not. He died some six months after he had formed his new Cabinet. Sri Sen succeeded Dr Roy; and it then became a problem for Sri Ghosh to maintain his equanimity.

Then came a bombshell when an Opposition member made allegations on the floor of the Assembly about the involvement of Sri P. C. Sen with a lady member of the Council of Ministers. It had snowball effect, and gossip started going round throughout the State. Sri Ghosh abruptly called off his dinner meetings with Sri Sen, and the relations became rather difficult when the question of asking some members of the Council of Ministers to

came up.

* * *

Till then West Bengal Congress claimed the reputation of being free from groupism, and Sri Ghosh did everything to build up its all-India image as one of a united family. As such, he nonchalantly gave Nehru the assurance that some members of the West Bengal Council of Ministers would resign voluntarily to implement the Kamaraj Plan. Sri Ghosh had to give this assurance as meanwhile the talk of his becoming the President of All-India Congress was very much in the air. A story went round about this time—mainly inspired by the Afulya circle—that Nehru had personally agreed to accept Sri Ghosh as Congress President; but it did not come through. The explanation then trotted out by Atulya's men was that Sri Ghosh had set 'unacceptable' terms before Nehru for becoming the Congress President, that he wanted to operate as the Congress President without any interference whatsoever from any quarter, not even from Nehru.

But the truth was Sri Ghosh did not have everything going in his own way. Rather things started going wrong. When he discussed with Sri P.C. Sen the possible names of Ministers, who should resign voluntarily, he found the task quite a difficult one. Both of them wanted that Sri Ajoy Kumar Mukherjee should resign; for, it was then not unknown that Sri Mukherjee's resistance to Smt Ava Maity's interference in Midnapore was making things too hot for Sri Ghosh's liking. Smt Maity belonged to the inner circle around Sri Ghosh. But then difficulty arose when the name of a woman member of the Council of Ministers was suggested as well. Sri Sen tried to defend her, and very reluctantly both he and Sri Ghosh agreed to have a long list of names to maintain a balance between the two groups led by Sri Ghosh and Sri Sen respectively.

Everything was done according to the agreed list; but this was the beginning of groupism in

West Bengal Congress in a big way. From now on practically every move was determined on group basis. But Sri Atulya Ghosh went in for a gambler's stroke when he took the risk of asking Sri Ajoy Mukherjee to come out of the Cabinet and devote himself in organisational work. The stake was too high, when Sri Ghosh in a daring move requested Sri Mukherjee to accept the very top position in West Bengal Congress. Sri Mukherjee, by common consent, became the President of WBPCC. Sri Ghosh calculated that once made the President of the WBPCC, with its entire body largely packed by his own men, he would get him under his thumb. But the gamble did not work, and from that moment, everything seemed to be going out of gear for Sri Ghosh.

It did not work essentially because Sri Ghosh had expected Sri Ajoy Mukherjee to act with his consent, and not according to dictates of his own conscience. Sooner than later Sri Mukherjee found it difficult to function as the President of WBPCC, because he was unwilling everytime to sign on the dotted line. Moreover, it was impossible for Sri Mukherjee to compromise his stand in regard to affairs of Midnapore District Congress. Overlordship by Smt Ava Maity in Midnapore Congress appeared to Sri Mukherjee as the biggest challenge to his own political stature. Sri Ghosh tried to hit Sri Mukherjee in his home district and Sri Mukherjee had no hesitation in fighting the issue to the last. Sri Mukherjee actually fought to the last, even to the length of casting his lone vote against the WBPCC resolution which censured him. As things happened later, it was not a fight

by Sri Ajoy Mukherjee to defend himself to the last, but a fight against the overbearing bossdom of Sri Atulya Ghosh.

When finally Sri Ajoy Mukherjee left the Congress along with a host of other Congressmen in his support, the decline of Sri Atulya Ghosh's leadership in West Bengal Congress could not be put off for long. It was from this point of time that Sri Ghosh started fighting a lone battle against his adversaries. He had meanwhile created too many enemies, who were out for his blood. As things are too well known, the beginning of the end came some months after Sri Ajoy Mukherjee left the Congress.

Even then, after the 1967 General Election Sri Atulya Ghosh did his best to maintain the image of his leadership; but his efforts went in vain mainly because he had hardly any friend in the State Congress left with him. He had quite a large number of followers around him; but he was unable to maintain his stature against adversaries. In the mid-term election in 1969, it was quite evident that he had lost the battle completely.

Hardly anybody now talks in terms of Sri Atulya Ghosh's Congress in West Bengal. The Congress in West Bengal as in the rest of India, has gone to pieces: and with it the leadership of Sri Atulya Ghosh too. That, in brief, is the story of rise and fall of a leader, who wanted to be a dictator by means of unscrupulous manoeuvrings and manipulations, a person who wanted to built himself up through the control of a party organisation and not through earning the plaudits of the public.

In the next issue of Mainstream

SADOB/ on SADOBA

Confessions of S.K. Patil



It is a bourgeois Landlord government led by the big bourgeoisie. And this stands valid.

In the latest resolution of our Politbureau, our assessment is not of one being of an openly reactionary group and the other a secretly reactionary group. The point to be noted is, that whenever the crisis deepens, the ruling class fights within itself—one section wanting to smash the democratic movement straight-away and the other still wanting to adopt various manoeuvres to meet the situation. Since the present differentiation threatens to lead to an alternative government of dark reaction in place of the one which still wants to combine manoeuvres, we use this differentiation to fight them more effectively. We utilise the rift in the ruling class to take the movement forward and weaken the entire bourgeoisie in toto. That is why we have stated clearly that the differentiation is not one between monopoly and non-monopoly groups. Both the present sections are part of the big-bourgeoisie, of which our section, faced with the crisis, wants to usher in a dark rule as a way-out.

If our assessment of the present differentiation is as between monopoly and non-monopoly,

then our approach to the Indira group would have been more fundamental. But today, the Indira Gandhi group is differing with the other group on bank nationalisation and on the question of alliances only. Both groups are seeking to save the bourgeois-landlord rule, the difference being as to how to do it. We are trying to utilise this for the advance of the democratic movement.

We must continuously focus these aspects in public. For example, we organise the united strike of jute workers, and secure their intervention for exerting pressure on employers to get gains. Or, say, to get re-instatement of all the victimised Central Government employees. We will tell the workers plainly that this favourable intervention by the Government is useful to the working class and that they do it with a view to create illusions about the Congress Government and to save its rule from tottering. We will take advantage to winning concessions for the class with the clear understanding that we do it to facilitate the advance of the basic revolutionary movement.

In similar situations when reaction wants to throw out a Government we would support it unless we have our own reason to

throw it out at the moment. This is a correct class approach. But when anti-people measures are sought to be brought by this Government, our primary consideration will be to defeat it.

Our support to this Government is on the basis as to, in which direction it moves. We are not taking any contract to defend the Government.

Since the Syndicate does not support Indira Government can we call it a non-congress Government? No. It continues to be the Congress government though the Congress is internally split. It will be a continuation of the Congress Government which has not repudiated its past policies. She has declared that she stands for the Congress policies. The point again to be noted is, that since the Government is compelled by events to rely on democratic forces, we must utilise it to compel to concede certain demands of the popular movement.

When we say that we would take advantage of the rift, it is also equally necessary to dispel illusions about Indira Gandhi's moves. The CPI revisionists by not doing it but on the other hand by giving the slogan 'Rally round Indira', are facilitating creation of illusion in Indira's leadership.

TREND OF NATIONAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT (Continued from page 50)

capitalism and emergent socialism is opposed by our "Marxist" comrades, who hold on to the perspective of a People's Democratic Revolution. The essence of the difference between the two lines can be summed up as follows:

(1) while the advocates of National Democracy asserted the inevitability of a split in the present stage, within the ranks of the national bourgeoisie, the advocates of People's Democracy believed in essential and continuous unity of that class;

(2) while CPI advocated that the split in the ranks of the national bourgeoisie, before the situation is mature for socialist revolution, is bound to bring about a confrontation between two wings of the Congress—the

Right reactionaries and the progressive forces—the CPIM refused to recognise the existence of any progressive forces inside the Congress;

(3) While the National Democratic Front has a place in it for the anti-monopoly section of the bourgeoisie, the People's Democratic Front excludes it though it is conceded that certain bourgeois elements may be its supporters;

(4) the programmes of the two CPS differ also in respect of the role of the working class within the Front—People's democratic or National Democratic; while the programme of the CPIM set forth working-class leadership as the *pre-condition* for the People's Democratic Front, the CPI did not set forth any such

precondition but maintained that *working class leadership would grow* in course of struggles during or even after the United National Democratic Front is forged. In the former case, the leadership of the working class is supposed to be established even before the Front is forged, in the latter case it is a dynamic concept and no schematic order is fixed for it.

Now, one can examine the two programmes and the two viewpoints in terms of the concrete political developments that have actually taken place. After the split in the Communist Party, it is the CPI which has systematically appealed to democratic forces within the Congress for unity with the Left outside the Congress. Ever since 1963, the CPI has been campaigning

nationalisation of the Banks and other anti-monopoly measures. It was the CPI again, which had been demanding the expulsion of Sri Morarji Desai from the Cabinet. Since 1967, extraordinarily rapid political developments have taken place. During this whole period, the advocates of People's Democracy have hardly shown any mass activities on the national political plane. In April 1969, the National Council of the Communist Party of India called upon the CPIM to cooperate with it for a broad united front of the Left and Democratic parties and groups in order to prevent a Rightist, take-over of the power at the Centre, but the response of the CPIM at the time was largely negative. It considered such a step as too premature; but in the very next months of May and June it was manifest to all that the Syndicate within the Congress was cooking up a conspiracy to throw out Smt Indira Gandhi from Prime Ministership, to unite with the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party for a Rightist take-over of the central power and thereby do all they could to stem the Left swing among the masses noticed in the rising tide of the mass upsurge since 1966, in the General Election of 1967 and again in the mid-term elections in certain States in the year 1969. The position of the President was to be utilised for this purpose and that was why the Rightists wanted a member of its own faction as the President. That was the reason why, Sri Sanjiva Reddy was nominated and Sri V.V. Giri's candidature was stubbornly opposed.

In this critical political situation, CPI did play a significant role by mobilising the people through a national political campaign for the defeat of the combined forces of Right Reaction. It could do so because its mind was clear about the alignment of political forces. It could understand, thanks to its programme adopted in 1964, that all the democratic forces inside and outside the Congress must unite and defeat the combined forces of Right Reaction. It succeeded in launching a big mass campaign in

many cities and rural areas comprising of even bigger cities.

Within the Congress, the progressive Congressmen, that is, the forces of the Centre and the left did indeed play a very significant and effective role in order to bring about the defeat of Right reaction in the Presidential election. Nationalisation of the banks and other anti-monopoly measures which even five years ago was the monopoly demand of the Communist Party of India, has now caught the attention of Congressmen fighting Rightists conspiracy. Smt Indira Gandhi's Note to the Bangalore session of the AICC (July 1969) followed by the removal of Sri Morarji Desai from the ministry and nationalisation of 14 big banks roused the masses seething with discontent against the monopolies. It is this new tempo on the mass front which has emboldened a very large number of Congress Members in the Parliament and the Legislative Assemblies to vote against the official Congress nominee and for Sri V.V. Giri.

Reactionary parties outside the Congress did not sit idle. The Syndicate together with the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party did launch a vicious slander campaign against the Prime Minister and her supporters. They exerted their utmost and were sure that their campaign would produce the desired result. But they are disappointed. Their initial optimism was based upon their ignorance of the new mood of the masses developing since 1967 and reaching some sort of a climax after the nationalisation of 14 big banks. They failed to understand, and naturally so, that the Left swing of the masses which they want to smother has become indomitable, that they stand exposed before the masses as the outspoken representatives of the most hated monopolies.

As for the Communist Party (Maxist) during these days, if must be congratulated for its support to Smt Indira Gandhi and Sri V.V. Giri despite the party's programme, and understanding about the character of differences within the Congress. However, its programme and understanding seem to have

come in the way of their campaigning on the mass political front, because nothing of what happened tallied with their formulations. Political inaction on the mass front on the part of a political party on an outstanding political issue which had set every class into motion certainly indicates the inadequacy of its political line.

They were in the midst of many dilemmas. What was the nature of the conflict between the Syndicate and Indira Gandhi? According to their old understanding, it must be a factional squabble for power. But at the same time, common sense dictated them that there was something in it resembling Fascism versus Bourgeois Democracy. They always preached that no section of the Congress could be progressive and denounced the CPI as agents of the Congress because the latter disagreed with their thesis that inside the Congress no democratic forces can exist. But they were confronted with a situation in which Smt Indira Gandhi nationalised 14 banks and the Syndicate put up a pro-monopoly man as the candidate for the Presidential election. Commonsense dictated that it was a struggle between Right reaction and the democratic forces, while the original CPIM line precluded any such struggle except between the Congress as a whole and the Left Front. Torn between these two dilemmas, they chose the path of compromise—support Smt Indira Gandhi and Sri V.V. Giri but no campaign, on these issues.

But this has led them to a state of confusion because of the formulation of their Party Programme. Now they have characterised the differences among the two Congress groups as having nothing to do with monopoly versus anti-monopoly affiliations. If that were so, how could they justify support for Smt Indira Gandhi's Government, and against the Syndicate? And to whom do they refer as "democratic forces" within the Congress? Now, when they are prepared to support Smt Indira Gandhi's Congress Government, they must have found democratic forces inside the

Congress, and they have also characterised the Syndicate as the worst reactionary—yet according to them the division within the Congress is not one of monopoly versus anti-monopoly.

A political development of such a historic import which changes the political situation so radically, in which the Communists are obliged to take sides, must have some class-basis; it cannot be a non-class factional conflict. Naturally, one of the sides, namely the Syndicate, is backed by the monopolies, and the other group by the anti-monopoly forces. It is of course true that the differentiation is not so sweeping as to find every monopoly house running at full speed, with the Syndicate, while any Congressman standing on the other side as confirmed enemy of the monopolies. In history, such a schematic watertight class compartmentalisation hardly takes place even when the polarisation reaches the most advanced stage. So, in the present case, many currents join together on both sides, but there is certainly a central force on either side, namely—the monopolies represented by combined Right Reaction in one camp, and the rest of the bourgeoisie together with the basic masses in the other camp. This "other camp" certainly includes democratic Congressmen. As for individuals, no guarantee can be given as to the future conduct of any of them. Individuals may come and go or cross the floor but the classes and sections of classes continue to move according to historic laws and the logic of concrete circumstances.

The very fact as the events disclose, that Socialist objective has become the part and parcel of national consciousness, National Democracy for the non-capitalist path of development through the formation of a National Democratic State is certainly the most probable course of development. Those who advocate People's Democracy maintain that social forces are not ripe for an immediate socialist revolution. They also stand for a transitional period and "peoples' Democracy", is their transitional slogan coun-

terposed against a democracy. It should however be noted that People's Democracy, reflecting the alliance of workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie under the leadership of the working class is, according to the authoritative Communist definition a form of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as distinguished from the Soviet form. Such a State is realisable only when the objective situation is fully ripe for the Socialist Revolution.

People's Democracy and National Democracy are two historical concepts expressing qualitatively different class-relations arising out of entirely different concrete objective situation. People's Democracies came into being in East European countries at the end of the Second World War. The defeat of the Fascist-invaders by the combined onslaught of the Soviet Red Army and partisan wars within the countries of Eastern Europe constituted the main objective background. The big bourgeoisie within the countries, who collaborated with Fascism, were wiped out along with the Hitlerite fascists. The Communist Parties came to the forefront through the partisan wars, along with others, and by means of their fighting contribution they became recognised as the leaders. The anti-fascist section of the national bourgeoisie in these countries banked on Anglo-American imperialist performance in the war and formed emigre Governments in Great Britain. But the people in the countries of Eastern Europe, under the leadership of the Communist Parties, through the Peoples' fronts and backed by the mighty Soviet Red Army had set up independent Peoples Democratic Governments. Naturally the emigre Governments of the national bourgeoisie were then advised by their imperialist hosts and patrons to return to their respective homelands and join the People's Democratic Governments. The People's Democratic Governments were thus reorganised by including the representatives of these bourgeoisie.

Thus, there was temporarily a peculiar coexistence of the ex-

under extraordinary circumstances. In some of these countries the People's Democratic Governments coexisted, for sometime, even with monarchy, as in Yugoslavia for instance. Marxist-Leninists did not yet authoritatively analyse or formulate People's Democracy as a distinct stage of social development. Through bitter class-struggle, the bourgeoisie became eliminated from these People's Democratic Governments; only then did social changes or socialist development begin. Intertwining of the Democratic and Socialist revolutions became possible under these peculiar circumstances without introducing the Soviet form of Government. It was then that the Cominform made the formulation that People's Democracy is a form of dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Indian revolution is developing under a radically different historical situation. It is developing in a free country not as the culmination of a war, but in peace time. This is the first big difference. The second big difference is the fact that the Soviet Red Army is nowhere near the picture, nor shall it be. Thirdly, the contradiction between foreign imperialism and the national bourgeoisie is growing under the conditions of an advancing Socialist world, ready to help and capable of helping India to achieve economic independence. The two-fold contradiction—the contradiction between imperialism, feudalism and Indian monopolies as well as that between the monopolies and the other sections of the bourgeoisie—have grown tremendously sharper, so much so that the immediate next step is the democratic revolution directed mainly against Imperialism, Feudalism and the Indian monopolies. Naturally, the broadest front composed of workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and a section of the national bourgeoisie opposed to the monopolies, is the only force that has to defeat Reaction. As this revolution is distinctly different from the People's Democratic revolution of Eastern

Europe—in terms of both historical circumstances and class content—we call it National Democratic Revolution.

The defeat of Right Reaction by the combined forces of democrats inside the Congress and the Communists and other Lefts outside the Congress will be covered by many milestones on the path of National Democratic development. One such milestone has been reached but this should not make the leaders of the democratic camp complacent.

Now it is becoming clearer every day to everybody that in Indian conditions developing since independence, the unity of the class of the national bourgeoisie is not everlasting, that the growth of the monopolies is throwing and is bound to throw the bulk of the national bourgeoisie other than the monopolies, on to the side of the exploited classes—the workers, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. This is the historical basis of the strategy of National Democratic Front. We found its spontaneous contours in the events of July and August. If the concept of People's Democracy were correct, such a development would not have taken place except under the fire of the revolutionary mass action led by the working class.

But the events did not take place along the lines of Indian Social democracy either. This is borne out by the worst confusion inside the SSP and PsP. It was neither anti-Congress unity of all non-Communist Parties, nor a parliamentary collaboration between certain leaders, parties and legislators.

The immense creative role of the exploited masses came into such bold relief that even in the very strongholds of the Congress as in Uttar Pradesh, a big bulk of Congress members of the Legislative Assembly voted on the side of the anti-monopoly bloc. Though the masses had no vote yet they were able to produce an effective influence on the voters, thereby once more substantiating the truth that history is made by the masses. No amount of appeal to the anti-Communist prejudices of Congressmen could help the Right reactionaries to

influence the majority in the electoral college. "Communists are breaking the Congress," "Indira Gandhi is under the influence of Communists", "Vote for, Sanjiva Reddy and save the country from Communism", and similar slogans pouring viciously out of the mouth of the reactionaries could not prevent the disaster of the Syndicate-Jana Sangh-Swatantra combine though PSP was in disarray and even SSP became sharply divided.

Social Democracy was very badly mauled in so far as a section of the leadership was found in the reactionary camp, though it goes to the credit of the great bulk of the Socialists particularly in the States, who refused to be misled by those leaders.

August events have revealed the shape of things to come, history has taken a sharp turn, political turmoils seem to be the order of the day on an all-India scale. Right Reaction is now like a wounded beast, likely to behave more ferociously than ever before. Foreign imperialism is of course aiding and abetting them. If they have been unable to re-enact the drama of Indonesia and Ghana on the Indian soil, it is because many historical factors are on the side of the democratic forces here. Strong democratic traditions, complete isolation of the monopolies, the crisis of the economy revealing the rottenness of the capitalist path followed hitherto, the people's growing anger against the supremacy of the blackmarket throwing the millions of workers,

peasants and students into militant action, the historical need of the middle and small bourgeoisie to curb the monopolies in order to save themselves from total collapse, and above all the strength of Communist policy in influencing the correlation of class-forces—all these factors have acted against Right Reaction.

As yet, there are many negative factors that can help Reaction. Disunity in the Left camp, split in the Communist movement and its organisational weakness, casteism, communalism and other fessiparous tendencies, are some of them. Above all, foreign imperialism casting its greedy eyes on the Indian Ocean, the economic might and organised strength of the monopolies, are the forces which are to be combated as powerful opponents. Reaction can go to any extent and adopt any method if the negative factors are not eliminated. Unity of the Left forces among themselves and together with the anti-Right Congressmen is the supreme need of the hour for the purpose of going forward by defeating Right Reaction all along the line. If Right Reactions is to be defeated, all classes and groups opposed to it must be united in a common struggle. The outcome of such a struggle can be in the immediate future, only national democratic and not any form of dictatorship of the proletariat. Such a struggle will lead to the emergence of a militant National Democratic Front.

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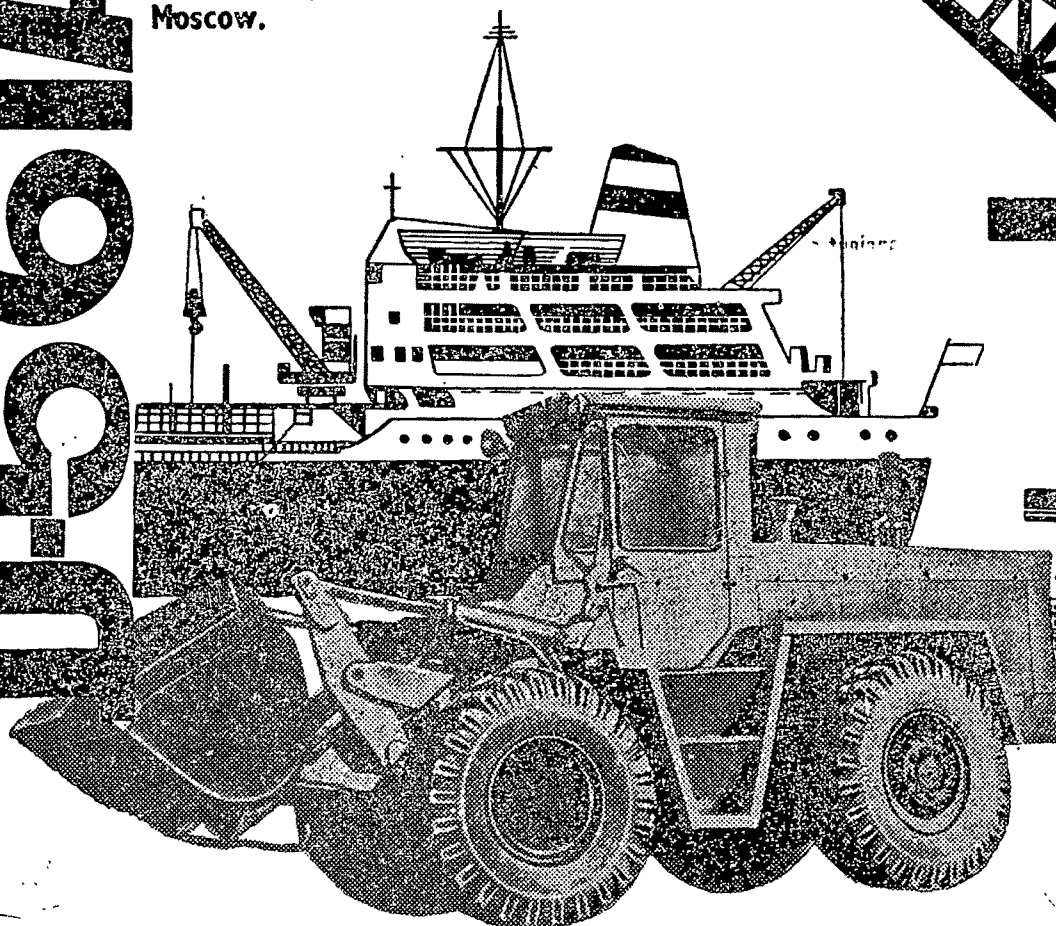
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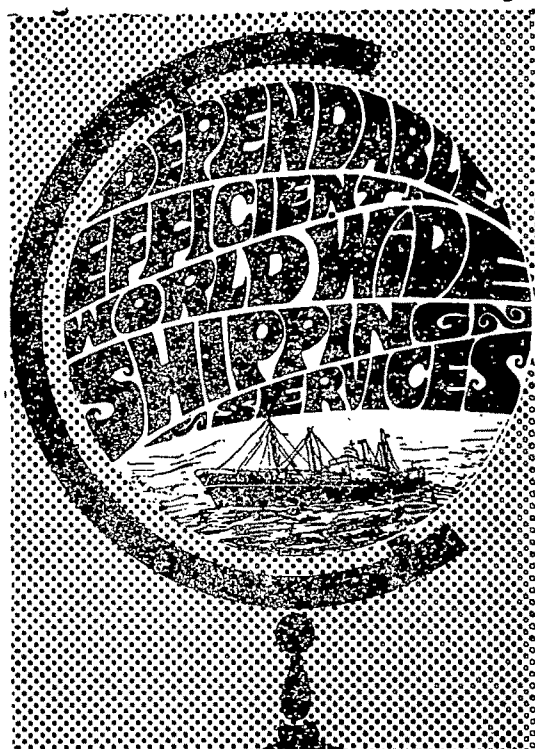
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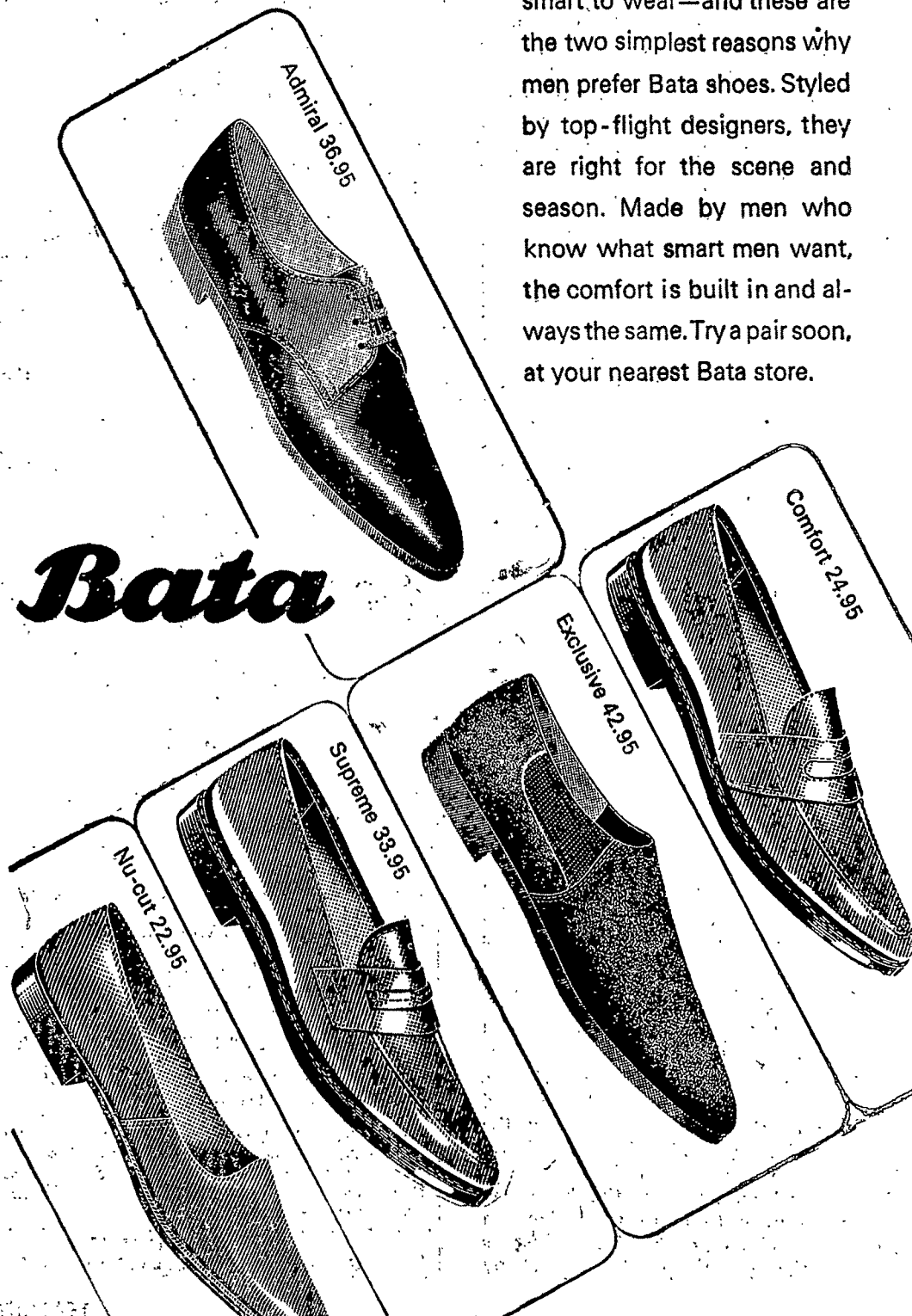
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National Shame

THE massive communal violence in Gujarat State and the hooligan attack on Sabarimati Ashram have not only brought shame and disgrace to the land of the Mahatma's birth but have demonstrated eloquently the utter failure of those who constantly swear by his name and who have held the administration in their hands for over two decades, to put down the forces of communal reaction and to spread understanding of the secular basis of Indian democracy.

Gujarat was among the States which had been fairly free of the communal virus and which in the past had firmly discouraged the entry into public life of mischievous elements bent upon spreading hatred between religious communities. Even during the holocaust before and after partition, this State, despite having a common border with Pakistan, proved capable of keeping the communalists at bay. That in such a State a carnage reminiscent of events in the past in the strongholds of the communal parties and para-military organisations, should have taken place is at once shocking and humiliating for the people of the entire country.

The reports of the events of last week-end in Ahmedabad and other centres in Gujarat leave little doubt that as usual a small and insignificant incident was utilized by the network of communal hoodlums to start a well-organised orgy of arson, murder and loot. The gang attacks on innocent people, the systematic arson in different areas and the deliberate circulation of false rumours to scare the people, were all of the same pattern as the organised orgies of an earlier period in other parts of the country. The State Government did not take preventive steps despite warnings received three months ago; even after violence erupted, little was done to deal with it. The Centre had to persuade the State Government to use the army. The army will no doubt restore a semblance of order and quiet, but the fact to be borne in mind by the authorities, the political parties and leaders of public opinion in Gujarat who are concerned about harmony among the people, is that a diabolical organisation has come into being in that State and will be used to create tensions and disorder at the earliest opportunity.

What is required is not any publicity stunt aimed at restoring wrecked personal images of individuals who during the years of power discarded the principles propagated by Mahatma Gandhi and acted as protectors of the people's exploiters: the Gandhian weapon of fasting has already been reduced to a farcical device due to its use by individuals who not only lack the moral authority of the Mahatma but lack even the courage to carry their decision to its logical end. Satisfaction of Sri Morarji Desai's ego is no answer to the gigantic problem posed by

the continued existence, growth and mischief of communal forces in the country. The solution lies in unearthing the roots of the organised violence and bloodshed and taking drastic action against the culprits, however highly placed and however influential their organisations have been allowed to become in the course of long years.

The problem is by no means one confined to Gujarat State: the authorities are aware of the national network responsible for creating it and know who are the key individuals masquerading as political or cultural leaders who constitute the brains behind these mass murders and arson. In earlier incidents there were signs of passivity or even connivance on the part of the law and order machinery in the States concerned. There has also been a strange reluctance on the part of the Union Government to take firm action to uphold the secular character of our democracy. Politicians paying lip service to secularism have been known to ally themselves with communal parties and groups for temporary political advantage, thus strengthening the latter and making them appear respectable. Communal organisations have sent their adherents into the services and no major department, including education and the police, appears to be free of the poison.

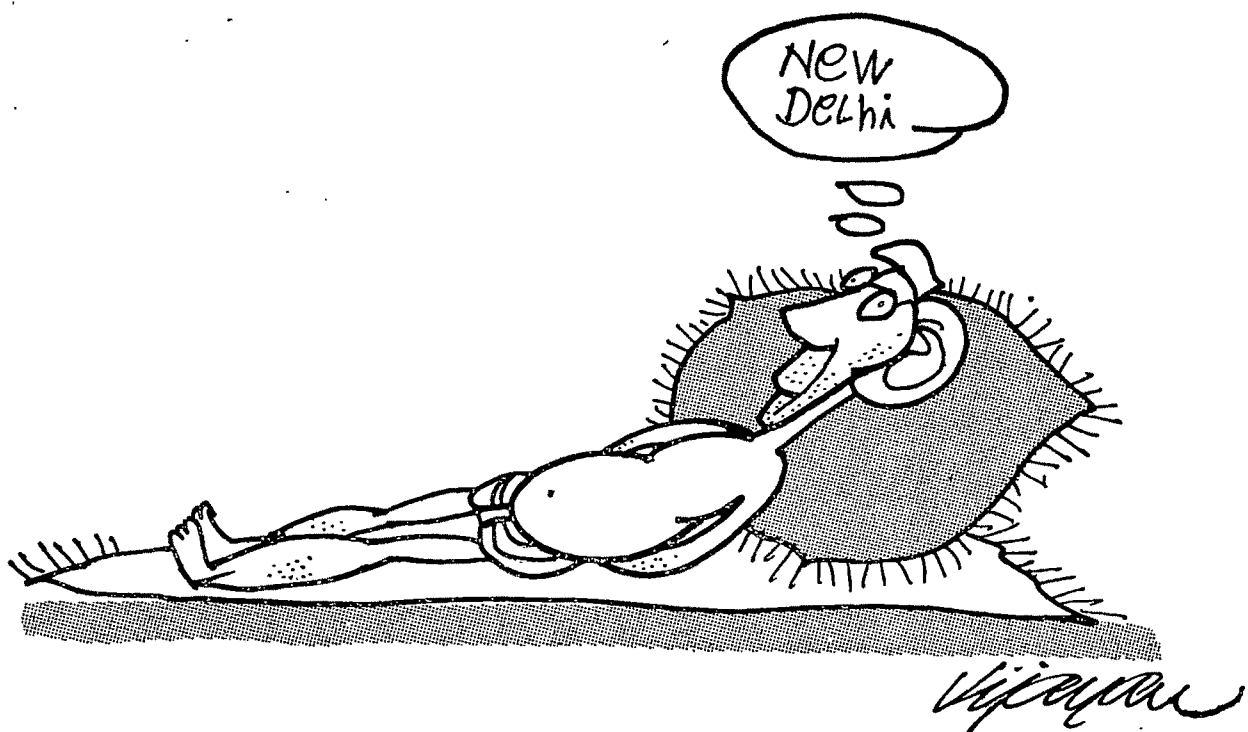
In the circumstances, swift and determined action to wipe out the nests of communal vipers can alone ensure that the Constitution will be duly upheld and that Mahatma Gandhi's unfinished task will be duly completed. Communal reaction is closely allied to economic reaction: the two have to be fought together not only by those in power but by all progressive forces in the country. Unless this task is jointly undertaken without further delay the nation's future as a democracy is in jeopardy.

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Before starting his indefinite fast, Sri Morarji Desai said that Gujarat's "image is being shattered by unprecedented violence."—news item

POLITICAL NOTEBOOK

Challenge yet to be Met

THE wind at the moment is blowing distinctly in favour of Smt Indira Gandhi, and yet there is a strange feeling of uncertainty about the future course of developments. The political mood has been roused to a sense of expectation, and yet there is no emphatic self-confidence that the journey ahead will see the fulfilment of expectations. The Prime Minister has no doubt put her adversaries into disarray but she has yet to meet the challenge of the problems.

The Syndicate's discomfiture has grown in recent weeks, and the measure of their misery can be seen from Sri Nijalingappa's fate in Uttar Pradesh. Black

Flags have marked his trail; and instead of being able to work up a revolt against Smt Gandhi, he himself faces the charge of having by-passed the Pradesh Congress. Today, the Gappa stocks are quoted so low that the prospect of his being edged out of the Congress Presidentship after the next AICC session is being entertained by a much larger circle than the impatient fringe of the Young Turks politics.

The fiasco of Sri Morarji Desai's threat to go on satyagraha to discipline Smt Gandhi and her supporters is matched by the failure of his supporters to rally even Gujarat PCC for his policy; his desperation is shown by his

pathetic fasting over Ahmedabad's black communal orgy. At the back of his mind there is the creeping fear that any day the Kanti scandals can be taken up as a fit case for a thorough probe.

In marked contrast, Sri S. K. Patil has unashamedly beaten retreat while Sri Atulya Ghosh has almost become a political refugee in his home State. Sri Kamaraj wreaking vengeance against Sri Subramaniam in Tamilnadu gets small compensation for the failure to dislodge his *bete noire* in New Delhi.

The unexpectedly large mass response during Smt Gandhi's recent tour is indeed the yardstick by which her present popu-

larity is measured. The cancellation of her Assam visit can only give short-lived respite for Sri Chaliha's pro-Syndicate politics, but is hardly regarded as a significant setback for Smt Gandhi's camp against the background of her notable successes in Bihar and West Bengal.

With all these developments, the prospect of Smt Gandhi's supporters winning the day at the next AICC session has no doubt grown brighter. The Syndicate's hopes of making it unpleasant for Smt Gandhi at AICC in uncongenial setting at Ahmedabad have been upset since the demand for changing the venue to New Delhi will now become almost irresistible with the outbreak of communal violence in Gujarat. At the same time, brisk spadework is being silently done by many of her trusted supporters in different States so that the climate in the AICC itself can help to push Sri Nijalingappa out of the august office he is holding at present.

Maharashtra Trend

In this background, the trend in the Maharashtra PCC camp assumes significance. For one thing Sri Chavan has skilfully managed to present Maharashtra Congress as his own solid phalanx. The radical minority, represented by Sri Tulsidas Jadhav and Sri R. K. Khadilkar was handled with care but not permitted to make a dent in Sri Chavan's camp.

Secondly, Sri Chavan's stress on the unity resolution of the last meeting of the Congress Working Committee has to be seen against the growing demand of the anti-Syndicate forces for the overhaul of the Congress High Command, particularly the removal of Sri Nijalingappa from Congress Presidentship.

The difference in approach is likely to put a strain on Sri Chavan's political craftsmanship. From present indications, it is extremely doubtful if he would have a smooth sailing at the AICC as he had at the Working Committee where he emerged as the peace-maker. The calculation on which Shri Chavan has been banking is that Smt Gandhi's

supporters with their as-yet-weak grip over the party organisation cannot afford to ignore his strength, even if it is limited to Maharashtra alone. Hence, his anxiety to keep the Maharashtra PCC as a solid, united bloc, for that alone can help him to retain the casting vote in the prevailing power struggle in the Congress.

However, the weakness of Sri Chavan's so-called unity stand lies in the fact that more and more sections of the Congress ranks are getting radicalised in the consciousness that if the Bangalore economic programme has to be implemented, the Syndicate has to be dislodged from the party organisation.

This cannot be escaped on the plea that any rift in the party organisation would weaken the instrument for carrying out the economic programme; for, it is now being widely realised in the Congress circles that the Syndicate together with Sri Morarji Desai could not be trusted to implement it, and that the public too would soon take Smt Gandhi's radical talks as mere shibboleths if the Syndicate itself is not made to step down from authority in the Congress. To a very large measure, the euphoria over bank nationalisation came up because of Sri Morarji Desai's displacement from Finance and ultimately from the Cabinet.

New Round

It is not that a seasoned politician like Sri Chavan does not understand this weakness in his stand, but his concern at the moment seems to be almost wholly concentrated on gaining the initiative for himself in the new round of power struggle that has been gathering momentum in the Congress leadership.

Sri Chavan's concern for party unity as the means for realising the economic programme could have validity had the new economic programme been initiated and undertaken by the Congress leadership as a whole; in reality, the Bangalore resolution, despite the formal unanimity behind it, marked essentially a breakthrough in the Congress thinking, achieved mainly *against* the resistance of

the Right.

Hence, the edging out of the Gappa tribe from the Congress leadership is today inextricably bound up with the question of implementing the Bangalore programme in right earnest. It is on this point that the Maharashtra stand—or more appropriately Sri Chavan's stance—will have to face the test of political realism in the coming period.

Complacent Mood

If the masses have been demonstrating their support for Smt Gandhi's new stand, it is equally true that the very same masses would after some time demand the quid pro quo; that is, the promises being made today will have to be kept tomorrow.

It is on this score that the record of the last two months has shown no noteworthy change. Rather, there is perhaps an unreal sense of complacency; expecting things to take their own course. Weeks have passed since bank nationalisation has been incorporated into the Statute Book, and yet the contours of the new credit policy have not appeared. Barring the assurance that the nationalised banks would not be merged into one super-bank, the Government has not yet worked out how the new set up will function.

There is a concerted demand from the critics of yesterday to leave the nationalised banks under the control and guidance of the Reserve Bank—thereby betraying their persistent faith in Sri L. K. Jha and Co—but there has been no adequate rebuttal of this move from the side of the Government.

In the wider sphere of general economic policy, the inadequacy of the Government's drive for the new economic programme comes out sharp and clear. The manner in which Big Business can still bully the Government has been seen over the question of car prices; the impertinence with which the automobile magnates have moved, makes out a clear case for the take-over of this industry.

Less spectacularly, but equally domineeringly, the truck manu-

facturing concerns have been dictating their own prices. The case for the nationalisation of the sugar, textile and coal industries has been as strong as that of banking, but there is little evidence that anything of the kind is even being considered.

The Prime Minister has been talking of bank nationalisation as being only a small step in the right direction; the obvious implication is that more measures are soon due. And yet apart from press speculation, there is very little evidence of the Government changing from the old gear.

Instead, people in authority have been talking in a manner that definitely helps the monopoly houses. The recent pronouncements of the Planning Commission member, Sri R. Venkataraman, in the context of the Dutt Committee Report on industrial licensing show how even those who resented yesterday to be

regarded as conservatives, have been singing the tune of Big Business. The LIC Chairman has come out in defence of big investments in the private sector in preference to public sector.

Smt Gandhi has no doubt sent out two directive circulars to State Governments urging land reform measures. But, so far the Planning Commission has not been harnessed to do this job in right earnest. It is not enough to emphasise that ours is a mixed economy. It is here that the Government has yet to work out a clear-cut perspective. Unfortunately, such a perspective is not forthcoming even from the parties of the left, though the urgency of the situation is recognised by all.

Meanwhile, the Right is putting up its resistance in the classical style. It is the time-honoured method of reaction to stage diversionary moves whenever it cannot meet the challenge of progress in

frontal combat. Perhaps the beginnings of such diversionary operations could be behind a wider range of ominous happenings.

If an objective probe were made into the communal carnage at Ahmedabad, many startling developments might come to light. It may not be purely accidental that such communal violence should break out in the State where the opposition to Smt Gandhi's present policy stand has been most unreservedly pronounced, just as the furore over Dr K.N. Raj's appointment as Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University has come in an area under Jana Sangh dispensation.

There can be no resting on oars once the challenge is thrown. Smt Gandhi's radical words from public platform have to be accompanied by determined deeds to weaken the power of the vested interests.

September 23

Scrutator

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Editors' and Press Freedom

C.N. CHITTA RANJAN

It is quite amusing to find some of our much-publicized "editors" holding forth constantly, in the columns of the newspapers they serve as well as in public forums, on the "freedom of the press" and the "threat" to this precious commodity from the Government.

Many of these editors, particularly those in the biggest newspapers, occupy their present positions mainly because they are useful contact men who have established relations of a profitable kind with key bureaucrats and politicians, and only secondarily because they are journalists. Some of them have the additional qualification of having useful contacts outside the country which their employers value and utilise to the maximum. Few of them command genuine respect among their junior colleagues who have the opportunity of watching their performance from close quarters and whose tongues are tied only because their jobs are at stake.

These "editors" who do not tire of pretending to be "independent" men, disdainful of those in power, rarely hesitate to make use of their contacts among politicians and bureaucrats to further the financial and other interests of their employers. While the proprietor operates at the topmost level, these great journalists operate at other levels, so that between them every person of importance in particular affairs can be squared up.

The work for which these editors are valued by the owners of newspapers has little relation to the profession of journalism and is more akin to public relations work. The term "literary agents of the proprietors", used to des-

cribe them in evidence before the Press Commission over a decade and a half ago, continues to be perfectly valid to this day.

It is these men, who function as go-betweens between the industrialist owners of newspapers and the machinery of Government, who have the temerity to talk of the Government making inroads into the freedom of the press. It is these men, who not only write their stuff on direct instructions from above but often forestall proprietorial displeasure by bending over backwards to be on the right side, who have the cheek to claim that they are "independent" editors. Quite often their servility is not confined to the proprietor but extends to the general manager: there indeed are "editors" of big business newspapers who drop everything and rush to the general manager's office whenever they are summoned and who in addition are made to wait a while before they are ushered into the august presence.

If they swallow this and much more and stick to their jobs, the answer is to be found in the fat salaries, perquisites and other facilities they enjoy. Once you get used to these privileges and also know that it is not easy to secure such comfort in this country, self-respect becomes unimportant. What they know they lack, they most vigorously pretend to possess in abundance; it is a kind of self-defence mechanism at work.

Sri I. K. Gujral was right when he told a recent seminar in the Capital that it was not the editor but the proprietor who "wears the pants in a newspaper office" and that it was well known "how impotent some of the editors are in the day-to-day

working of a newspaper." In a particular newspaper establishment, of which this writer has knowledge, the editorial written by the "editor" is scrutinised by the proprietor who has to give the okay before the piece can be printed: there have been occasions when an editorial sent by the editor has been scrapped altogether and a substitute written by one of the trusted lieutenants of the proprietor. To give a recent example, on the day Sri V.V. Giri announced his decision to contest the Presidency, the "resident editor" of a chain newspaper promptly wrote an editorial praising Sri Giri and sent it off to the press and to the other centres of publication. Within two hours came orders from the proprietor to scrap it and write a new one critical of Sri Giri. The same worthy did it without batting an eyelid. When this is the position of the editorial for which the editor is supposed to be personally responsible, the situation in respect of the news columns can well be imagined.

Some of the so-called editors of big business newspapers are not even in a position to defend junior colleagues who by honest performance of duty incur the displeasure of the owners. Those editors who talk of politicians going to the proprietor over the head of the editor to influence the policy or news content of the newspaper should first of all ask themselves what they have been doing when the proprietors pull them up following such representations. Have they protested even when the proprietors just ignored their existence and issued orders directly to their subordinates about how particular news items should be slanted or displayed?

Not so long ago, a special correspondent was told by the editor one day that he was doing an excellent job; two days later a powerful politician complained to the proprietor that "the other camp" was getting undue publicity in his newspaper and that this particular correspondent was responsible for this, and the editor's attitude promptly changed. The correspondent was

threatened with a transfer which amounted to a demotion, and he preferred to walk out. The mighty editor, who to the world outside is a powerful one, had nothing to say; he was content to act as a post office, conveying the decision of the proprietor to the victim.

Such are the men who are most vociferous in defending the "freedom" of the press. Whose freedom are they defending? Not their own, certainly, nor that of their colleagues. Their campaign about the threat to this freedom is no more than part of their effort to keep the employer in good humour. What they say is what they know to be most acceptable to the proprietor. This is as much true of their pronouncements in public as of their writings in the newspapers they serve.

Take the question of "monopoly" in the newspaper industry. The anxiety of some of the editors employed by big business in its newspaper wing to make out that there is no monopoly at all, is often quite pathetic. One of them went to the absurd length of arguing that since there are well over 500 million people in this country and about 160 million literates, the total circulation of all daily newspapers being only seven million, there was no scope for monopoly. In May last he had concluded that there was no satisfactory definition of monopoly but after three months he had discovered one from the text-books which suited his purpose admirably. The laboured argument mentioned above was based on this discovery. Of course it did not suit his purpose—that is, the purpose of the man who pays the piper—to analyse the jumble of figures in the Press Registrar's report relating to the allocation of newsprint; he was content with reproducing some of the overall figures about circulation provided in the first chapter of the report.

How would it suit him to recognize the shocking fact that two big business houses owning newspaper chains and groups consume over one-fifth of all the newsprint available in the country,

or the fact that considerably more than half the supply is cornered by the top ten common ownership units? What this means in terms of freedom of expression for the different sections of the population of this vast country must be obvious to anyone who is not obliged to turn his face away and contemplate matters more comforting to the employer. Naturally, these crusaders for the freedom of the press cannot be expected to condescend to take note of such trivialities as the cornering of advertisements and the underhand methods used to stifle smaller newspapers which refuse to toe the line of big business.

Talking of newsprint, the concern constantly expressed by these editors about the supply position is indeed touching. The slightest attempt by the Government to liberalise allocation so as to enable smaller newspapers to get a little more of the commodity is enough to send their blood pressure rocketing. The resolutions adopted on newsprint allocation policy by the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society, the organ of newspaper proprietors, and the editorials written in some of the big business newspapers would be indistinguishable but for the difference in style of writing. The IENS, as is well known, is dominated by the big business interests owning newspapers, and it is the same interests whose views the newspapers in question have to reflect. On newsprint the proprietor himself, or the general manager on his behalf, lays down the line; the editor's job is to clothe it in proper language. What is really admirable about these resilient editors is their ability to hug the line as their own and even feel worked up about it.

It is not only in relation to domestic problems like newsprint that editors of this variety feel concerned. Any action against any industry with which the owner is connected becomes immediately objectionable to them. Thus newspapers in Delhi and even in the far South will shed copious tears over the "plight" of the jute magnates and growl at workers demanding

any wage increase. Examples can be multiplied. There are also instances of newspaper owners making use of their control over the news agencies to suppress, distort, and otherwise pervert news items. The notorious manner in which a news agency virtually suppressed the Vivian Bose report and the biggest newspapers decided to use its six-paragraph "summary" of the voluminous and sensational report, is again only an outstanding example of how the operations are conducted. The editors who talk freely about their own independence and about the freedom of the press were party to all this.

Protection of the interests of industrialists who own newspapers for this purpose is not a simple affair confined to criticism of Government's policy or suppression and distortion of news items. The industrialists concerned have to have a say in politics if they are to influence or sabotage policies. The "independent" editors have an important role to play in this sphere, naturally; and being "editors" they have in the eyes of politicians and bureaucrats a certain respectability which is quite handy. Every major crisis finds them coming out vociferously against those whom the industrialist owners do not approve of and in support of those in whom they have confidence. Newspapers do play a part out of all proportion to their circulation or reach among the masses, and hence the importance of a pliable editor to the owner.

Thus, when Shastri's successor was to be chosen, big business newspapers began a furious campaign in support of their own candidates, namely, persons in the Congress leadership who were amenable to pressure and who in any case believed in maintaining the status quo and abhorred change. One editor was so obliging that he went to the length of writing under an assumed name for a week so as to put forward the changing preferences of his employer: that the acrobatics did not affect the outcome is another matter. The point here is the role of the editor vis-a-vis the proprietor, not his effective-

ness as a moulder of public opinion.

One of the editors has discovered that All India Radio is the biggest monopoly in the country, and keeps on repeating it whenever he gets a chance. Sri Gujral rightly pointed out that this very person was the one most pampered by All India Radio. But Sri Gujral failed to admit that the bureaucratic set-up in All India Radio has developed close ties only with this kind of editors and is scared of journalists who hold views unacceptable to big business houses, the Swatantra Party and even the Jana Sangh, not to speak of the powerful agents of vested interests in the Congress.

When on one occasion some journalists met the then Director of News Services to protest against AIR having become the monopoly of two or three gentlemen of the press, the official concerned blandly replied that the most frequently called journalist was a "good broadcaster" which expression he translated to mean "a person with a good voice". It is no secret that this "good broadcaster" was heard on the radio unfailingly for some years twice or even thrice a week or that his purpose was chiefly to attack accepted national policies. It is such a person who now thinks that AIR is a monopoly and sternly disapproves of it.

Freedom of the press from governmental interference is certainly very important. In our context, however, the threat to the independence of the press from proprietary interests is much bigger. Despite all the noise some of the big business controlled editors are making now, it is a fact that by and large there has been little governmental interference with newspapers in this country over the years since 1947. There is so much freedom of the press in fact that even communal newspapers and periodicals inciting hatred between groups of people on the basis of religion are left untouched by the rulers of our secular democracy. The big business papers and their editors who toed the American line in 1962 and conducted a vicious

campaign of denigration of Jawaharlal Nehru and his trusted colleagues did not get into the least difficulty on that account; on the other hand they were rewarded.

What is really wrong with the press in India is the grip that the biggest industrialists in the country have secured over it, resulting in newspapers serving as mouthpieces of the financial interests of the industrialists concerned. The concerted attack on the Prime Minister, particularly between the Bangalore session of the AICC and the takeover of banks, was entirely due to the fact that a new direction to economic policy against the entrenched position of the big business houses appeared imminent. The opposition to bank nationalisation has had nothing to do with the national interest: those who own the biggest papers were also those who had been expanding their business empires with the help of the huge funds available with the banks, and what the newspapers concerned were resisting was the Government's attempt to divert these funds to purposes more useful to the public. It is no accident that one of the so-called editors went to the extent of saying in effect that the people's money would not be safe with the nationalised banks: the proprietor whose view the editor was faithfully voicing has been one of the biggest beneficiaries of the banking system in India for well over two decades.

Not more than a careful study of newspapers over a period is needed to see that the biggest ones owned by industrialists serve no one except the industrialists and their allies. It was not only the Press Commission which found that many newspapers were partial in the presentation of news in respect of the financial interests with which they were allied. Other inquiry bodies have subsequently come to the same conclusion. As Sri Chalapathi Rau, one of the few independent editors in India, has pointed out often, a newspaper that is subsidiary to some other industry cannot be independent, and a publisher who does not live by

his newspaper but has more profitable businesses outside the newspaper industry, cannot be expected to have a sense of responsibility in relation to the public. In such a set-up the editor is merely a tool and hardly a professional man dedicated to high principle, despite all the pretence to the contrary.

It is in this situation that the demand for the diffusion of ownership of newspapers and the conversion of news agencies into public corporations has to be viewed. The demand arises from the fact that the bulk of newspaper circulation is controlled by industrial interests, that smaller newspapers are at the mercy of the same interests which control the bulk of private sector advertising, and that the same interests again control the entire news distribution system in the country. Well-placed editors like Sri Frank Moraes may see nothing to be worried about in this situation, but working journalists as a whole see it as most ominous for the future of the press in India as a genuinely free, independent and democratic one.

The solution lies obviously in removing the control of vested interests over the industry and entrusting it to a broadbased structure in which the chances of the interests of one section alone being constantly projected are reduced to the minimum. Whether what is set up is a corporation or a trust is not as important as the assurance that the journalists in the newspapers and news agencies should be permitted to function without fear or favour and exercise their independent judgement in reporting on and writing about men and events.

The Government has announced its intention to convert the news agencies into public corporations: what the precise structure of these will be and how the independent functioning of the journalists in them will be ensured will no doubt be discussed in the coming period. The Press Commission suggested, tentatively, that 50 per cent of the trustees should be persons unconnected with the industry and that in the

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An Interview at Hanoi

KHAGEN DE SARKAR

MR LUU QUY KY, Secretary General of the Vietnamese Journalists' Association, is a man of impressive personality. That was what struck me as I sat face to face one day at Hanoi's Thong Nhat Hotel, the country's largest establishment, meant for foreign guests and delegations.

My interview, conducted sometimes, through an English interpreter and sometimes directly in French, which Mr Ky speaks very well, gave me an insight into the intrinsic character of the Vietnamese people, and led me to the clue for which I had journeyed a few thousand of miles: a clue to their power of resistance to and victory over the forces of one of the mightiest nations of the world—the USA.

What Mr Ky told me within a few days of arrival at Hanoi, was corroborated by scores of sources in North Vietnam as I travelled some hundreds of kilometres in a Russian Volga motor car and a Russian jeep, seeing a good cross-section of the country.

From what this eminent Vietnamese journalist stated and what I had learnt first-hand during my stay, there would be no solution of the Vietnamese war unless the USA withdrew lock, stock and barrel—troops and weapons. The fight would continue, if necessary for thirty more years, in South Vietnam where the forces of the National Liberation Front (or to be exact, of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, PRG) have today an upper hand over the combined forces of the USA and her handful of Asian allies (like Australia, New Zealand, South Korea, the Philippines and Thailand) and the local Vietnamese forces raised by the Saigon regime, called the

Army of the Republic of Vietnam.

As Mr Ky answered my questions, I noticed his tense face, the glint in his eyes and emotions leaving visible signs on his visage. On the wrong side of 50, Mr Ky represented to me a symbol of patriotism. Talking to him and later going round the country (north-east, south and west), I was repeatedly reminded of our own halcyon days of patriotic upsurge in the Thirties in India.

Patriotism, undiluted with any hope of future financial gains (as the case had been in India with the textile millowners of Ahmedabad and elsewhere) but vouchsafing a real democratic life and economic freedom of the people, is the clue that explains strength of the Vietnamese people.

He said, as we all know, that Vietnam had been fighting on three fronts: political, military and diplomatic. The fight on the three fronts go on simultaneously—whether it is an attack on Saigon's US Embassy, the talks in Paris or the setting up of the PRG Government.

"Indeed we have been fighting the USA for the last fifteen years and this is our last struggle for liberation," Mr Ky commented.

That was the story of how the USA had acted in Geneva Conference following the defeat of France at Dien Bien Phu, how the country had been partitioned, the subsequent presence of US military advisers and then troops, the non-holding of election in the South Vietnam and then the war of liberation under the National Liberation Front.

Mr Ky must know what had been happening now in South Vietnam in the world's most tragic war and inhuman cruelties

of man against man, the slaughter and the concentration camp and general destruction by powerful US bombers—the B-52s.

Mr Ky said that by the first six months of this year, NLF army had put out of action more than 300,000 soldiers in South Vietnam of whom, he added, 150,000 were Americans. "Our statistics are on the low side because the guerillas do not report back in all cases or there are difficulties to make a report in time."

The NLF and the PRG are today in a better position to continue the fight in South Vietnam and some of their recent successes, like last year's Tet offensive, are an evidence, if evidence is needed. "I hope you are aware of what some US Senators had stated: that the Vietcongs are capable of carrying on the war for 30 more years. But we do not want fighting; we want an end right now, right tonight."

One Country

North Vietnamese diplomats, Ministers or high Government officials may not commit themselves if one asks the question if the DRVN had been helping South Vietnam's NLF and its army, because that might lead to some de jure complications in the international sphere. But it is admitted unofficially in Hanoi that supplies do go from north to south.

What Mr Ky and others had told me during my stay could be boiled down to this. "Vietnam is one and shall be one. The Western idea of two Vietnams is absolutely wrong and there will be no peaceful solution if the West sticks to it. Help to south? Why not? The north is as much a part of the south's country, as the south is of the north's. The two are our own country."

What is going to happen now that the USA is trying to get out of this foolish war?

Indeed, the USA is caught in a perplexing contradictory position. It wants to withdraw, but at the same time desires the continuance of the regime of Saigon. It does not like that Americans are getting killed or

wounded, but Saigon's army (Vietnamese) is so inefficient that the Americans have to be in the combat area if the NLF is to be prevented from an immediate take-over.

No Alternative

But the USA will have no other alternative but to withdraw her troops. The reasons are both military and political. Hanoi sources are of the opinion that the USA will increase the forces of the Saigon army—the puppet army is the word universally used in DRVN—from 800,000 to a million, and hand over to it weapons worth about 6½ billion, repeat billion, US dollars. Even after the withdrawal of US troops the US Air Force will be left to help Saigon's army. The policy decided upon by the USA is that the Vietnamese must fight the Vietnamese, a regional version of the doctrine of "Let the Asians fight the Asians."

This is what North Vietnamese sources believe as things-to-come. And that is the reason why Madame Binh, Foreign Minister of PRG, and Deputy Chief at the Paris talks with the USA had called for the withdrawal of not only the US forces but also US weapons.

At Hanoi I had also the occasion to meet the spokesmen of the PRG. They and others firmly hold that the present Saigon regime will go the Chiang Kai-shek way with the exception that they will have no island to retire to.

From the military point of view, thus, the war of resistance in North Vietnam and the war of liberation in South Vietnam has highlighted for the first time that:

A people's army, under proper guidance and assistance and aiming at national good, can overcome even the mightiest invading force of modern times. It is the purposefulness of the combat rather than the quality and quantity of weapons which, in these circumstances, assumes a vital psychological and directional role.

A US soldier finds no answer to the question: "What am I fighting for?" He must also have the question in mind: "If the

fight is against Communism, why do we not fight countries like the Soviet Union and China?" There is no answer.

A north Vietnamese in the know of things will ask you, with understandable pride: "What do you think the USA would have done to the Asian countries if we had gone down under their feet?"

"Do you think we are fighting only our battle?" They also ask.

"Why do you think that the USA, a powerful country, had to endure the insult of the *Pueblo* affair in North Korea? It is because we had demonstrated that the US forces could be defeated, that they dared not make a military riposte in North Korea. It is a historical and military fact.

"Do the nations of the world appreciate what we have achieved for ourselves and what we have done for them?" Such are the questions that are asked.

Hated Invaders

And then Mr Ky, a man of incisive intelligence, suddenly warms up and declared passionately in French: "Our hearts burn with hatred against the American invaders because we love our country and our countrymen."

The other day, a news report from Paris spoke about three American women who wanted to know of North Vietnamese spokesmen (engaged in current peace talks) if they were wives or widows. Their husbands were USAF pilots and had been on bombing missions over North Vietnam "For humanitarian reasons" they requested the spokesmen to let them know if their husbands had died or were being held as prisoners like many other USAF crewmen.

That brings the question of American POWs in North Vietnam. I had raised the question with Mr Ky and others. The answer given by them cannot be brushed aside as unreasonable.

The USA had not declared war on North Vietnam and hence cannot describe captured pilots as POWs and ask for treatment in accordance with international practice, declarations or agreements, whatever they are. They

had destroyed lives and property, annihilated towns, schools, hospitals, etc. These were nothing but crimes and hence the captured pilots might be treated as criminals and shot.

If the USA wants them to be released, she must stop the crimes being committed in the whole of Vietnam. That means, she must withdraw her troops and weapons unconditionally from Vietnam.

Humanitarianism and humanism? What about all the miseries caused to the people of North Vietnam by one million tons of high explosives, pineapple bombs, pellet bombs, rockets, machine-guns and napalm? Could those acts earn epithets like "humanitarianism and humanism"? It did not lie in US mouth to speak about humanitarianism.

Such are the arguments advanced by North Vietnamese leaders. DRVN authorities had not shot the captured pilots. I had not met any of them but had seen a documentary on captured pilots (four parts) filmed by journalists from East Germany. Called *The Pilot in Pyjama*—it is a brilliant documentary based on answers to a set of questions put to seven or nine of the captured pilots. At least those who had answered the questionnaire (some had refused to do so) had not complained of any torture but declared they were being well looked after, had all the necessities, food, medicine, etc.

War Crimes

But certainly they are not living in "Hanoi Hilton"—the two words scrawled on some of the hand-fans the POWs used. The films at the same time shows what destruction the pilots had wrought and the crimes they had been responsible for.

To the three American women who do not know if they are wives or widows, I can tell them of a young Vietnamese I had met in a suburban rest house in deep south, located in a partially destroyed complex of houses and where I had spent a few days amidst rubbles. The youngman, one of the hands at the rest

(Continued on page 38)

When Writers Buildings Were Raided

K. P. BISWAS

IT was our weekly informal meet together at the Press Club.

The recent raid by policemen on the West Bengal Legislative Assembly turned out to be the main topic of discussion. Friends who had witnessed the scenes from various corners of the House, were giving their scrappy versions, spiced with an adequate quantity of their own comments, making the story more relishable. The one common point about which there was no difference of opinion among the narrators was the boldness shown by the Deputy Chief Minister of West Bengal in facing the confused rabble of policemen.

When the broad outlines of the story emerged, I enquired if any of them had looked around and discovered any lighter aspect of the main drama. They did come across such scenes as well. Their narration of such sidelights brought out how a dwarfish minister who is hardly missed in any photograph of a procession or demonstration, ran for safety in all panic and hurry and without suffering any inconvenience in carrying a fatty and protruding middle part of his physique; how another fire-eating Minister, fairly tall in stature and possessing a powerful voice, in his turn, followed suit without even casting a glance back; how an opposition Congressman, badly shaken, his clothes stained with blood, looked desparately for asylum; how a senior reporter who had seen "blood bath" scenes in Calcutta, was weeping for rescue, for he feared that he was trapped in the gallery; and above all how the most spectacular role, was played by one of the upholders of the country's demo-

cratic institutions in strictly following the classic example of the flight of the last Hindu ruler of Bengal at the first sign of danger.

All the lighter titbits of this police outrage, however, reminded me of another moment of Bengal's stormy past when, almost forty years ago, three determined revolutionary patriots of Dacca raided the very citadel of the British colonial administration, namely, the Writers Buildings. There was no light touch in that great drama—it was throughout grim, full of action, and tragic. If there was any comic touch in it that concerned me.

The heroes of the drama were Benoy Bose, a medical student of Dacca who carried a price of Rs 5000 on his head, and his two comrades-in-arms, Badal and Dinesh Gupta. The background story is long and can hardly be recounted here. It is sufficient to remember that a new and bolder action programme on the lines of the Easter Rebellion of Ireland was at that time chalked out by the Bengalee revolutionaries for implementation in different parts of the province. Apart from the drift which the struggle for freedom had developed in the country in the late twenties, police reprisals on a mass scale on young Bengalees who were suspects in their eyes, goaded them to undertake such a plan. The plan, however, could be carried out on the Easter Day only in Chittagong (April 18, 1930). It at once quickened the pulse of the nation and events crowding on events followed.

Dacca, which to the colonial officials of those days was "the hotbed of dangerous terrorists",

was visited by that notorious Inspector General of Police, Lowman, whose exploits of brutal treatment of politicals could be compared only with those of Charles Tegart, Calcutta's Commissioner of Police. Lowman, with Hodson, the Superintendent of Police, Dacca, were inspecting the security arrangements for a visit by the Governor to the town hospital. Both Lowman and Hodson fell to the bullets fired by Benoy on August 29, 1930. He could be spotted but escaped. Lowman collapsed in the hospital following an operation by an European surgeon from Calcutta. But Hodson survived. He was operated upon by an Indian surgeon. The expected police reprisals against Bengalee Hindu youth followed and they, as usual, helped in further recruitment of more youngmen to the cult of the bomb and the revolver.

Writers Buildings was the administrative headquarters of the diarchical system of Government—a system which earlier in the same decade had been thoroughly discredited by the tactics of Chittaranjan Das, but was revived after his death. It attracted less attention of newspapermen than Lalbazar, the Police Headquarters, which was the source of news of all types—from the arrest of politicals to the discovery of bombs, dynamites and revolvers. Only a few titled gentlemen and job hunters, besides a handful of newspapermen, could be found walking up and down the long corridor of the Writers Buildings which in those days had no collapsible gates against sudden attack.

The front row of rooms on the first floor accommodated only top officers in charge of various departments of the Government. The only exception was made in respect of the Indian Executive Councillors or Ministers like Pravash Chandra Mitra or Abdel Karim Ghuznavi, who were accommodated in the same set of rooms which were allotted to the British members of the Executive Council. Liveried orderlies, chosen for their physical bearing and gait stood at attention at each door step, ready to respond to the call

of their masters. The higher the office of the master, the more imposing was the uniform of the orderly.

On December 8, 1930, I went to the Writers Buildings on my daily round in the morning. I noticed nothing unusual on my way to the corridor on the first floor. When I crossed the doorway of the western-most staircase and landed on the corridor, the only difference that struck me was that the long east-west passageway was deserted even by the orderlies. And at the farthest end of it I saw three youngmen in European clothes, walking towards the east and shouting *Bande Mataram*. I could just have the impression that they got into the corner room of the first floor which, I know, was the office of the Director of Public Instruction, Stapleton, a controversial figure of the Education Department of Bengal.

Before I could make any head or tail of what I saw and got over my sense of amazement at the shouting of *Bande Mataram* in the Writers Buildings, I was held in a tight and firm grip by two Anglo-Indian Police Sergeants who dragged me down the staircase to the ground floor without paying any attention to my protests. I was deposited with the Indian constables who marched me straight to Lalbazar. There I was permitted to ring up my office, the Associated Press of India. Its Manager, a personal friend of Tegart, could secure my release without any ado.

Later, when I returned to the Writers Buildings, I had that story of the raid and the consequent eerie silence which prevailed there. Hardly a few steps ahead of the spot where I was secured by the two Sergeants, Benoy Bose and his two comrades had got into the room of the Inspector General of Prisons, Col. Simpson, and shot him dead.

It should be noted that at that particular moment reports of inhuman treatment meted out to political prisoners inside the jails were widely current. The brave trio then came out on the corridor and instead of leaving the buildings, proceeded eastward through the corridor, firing shots

probably to scare away the guards and the orderlies as also their masters. They met no challenge from anywhere and almost leisurely walked down the corridor shouting all along *Bande Mataram* until they reached the farthest end.

The central wing of the Writers Buildings, as it is today, was kept reserved to accommodate the Chief Secretary, Executive Councillors or Ministers who constituted the hard core of the administration. Some of them were possibly and timely warned by their orderlies and managed to hide themselves as best as they could in the circumstances. A few who were not warned, ventured to peep out when the trio were in the Central portico, and were shot at by way of warning. Among them were Alexander Marr, in charge of Finance, and Nelson, in charge of Judiciary. Abdel Karim Ghuznavi reacted differently, and pathetically responded to the shouting of *Bande Mataram* from inside the room, while Pravash Chandra Mitra squeezed himself under the table, for he alone among the Indians must have feared the revolutionaries' attention for his share in drafting the Rowlatt Report.

Benoy and his two colleagues, I surmise, were confused about locating their next target. For they got into the unimportant room of the Passport Office which was situated next to that of the Chief Secretary and at the end of the Central portico to the east. The latter possibly was their next target. It is just possible that they realised their mistake and so came out of the room doing no great harm to anybody. After entering the room of the Director of Public Instruction, the three committed suicide by taking both poison and firing self-administered bullets to their brains. Badal Gupta collapsed at once. But Benoy and Dinesh lingered on and were removed to the hospital. Ultimately, only Dinesh survived.

The raid, however, exposed the hollowness of the show of power kept in view there. Unlike the Civilians who almost monopolised the first floor of the Secretariat, it is the top ranking Police Chiefs like the Inspector

General of Police and his officers who, just above the room of the Inspector General of Prisons, were accommodated in the second floor having a similar corridor in front. All orderlies attached to these police officers were not only armed but were requisitioned for this job because they were good shots. These officers, at least some of them, used to conduct their daily office work there by placing their weapons on their tables as was the wont with the Calcutta Police Chief, Tegart.

But when the emergency actually broke out in all suddenness, shots were fired, the cry of *Bande Mataram* rent the Secretariat sky, and peons and orderlies fled hither and thither, none of these expert shots nor the officers who vaunted their weapons, dared to come down, although there are at least half a dozen passageways interlinking the three-storeyed buildings. They played, in a way, the same role as was played by some of Sri Jyoti Basu's colleagues who happened to be present in the Assembly House when the raid by the policemen took place.

Afterwards, the execution of Dinesh led to a fresh outbreak of revolutionary activities. What, however is more important to consider was the reaction of the Calcutta Europeans following the raid on the Writers Buildings and the death of Garlick, who tried Dinesh. They held meetings and demanded revenge, preached racial hatred and openly fomented communal bitterness between the two communities, Hindus and Muslims, although there was no such issue involved.

Those who hold the view that Indian politics right from the days of W. C. Bonnerjee to Jawaharlal Nehru was nothing but an attempt to reacting from time to time to the initiatives of the Britishers, principally of those who resided in Calcutta, their citadel in India, can trace the conception of Macdonald's Communal Award in that last European agitation of late twenties and early thirties in Calcutta.

The British Policy, thus, was modified by the European Association. Irwin later roped in

Gandhiji to attend the Round Table Conference. He returned empty handed but the mischief of the Communal Award he could not have shaken off in the way he could have if he did not fall a prey to the trap. The Communal Award as they expected was effective enough to serve as a smokescreen to shield the British residents and officers from the wrath of the revolutionaries.

As the direct result of the raid on the Secretariat buildings, admission to it was restricted. Both the public and the press could, since then, get in there only if they were permitted by the officers or were in possession of

identity cards. The latter was introduced on a persistent representation by the Manager of the Associated Press of India and I was and am still one of the earliest card-holders of the State.

The report of Dinesh's execution inside the jail, done in all secrecy, leaked out, and was carried by the organ of Deshapriya Jatindra Mohan Sen Gupta with a banner headline: "Dauntless Dinesh Dies at Dawn." This classic phrase which, in its turn, made history, was coined by a talented friend of mine, Indu Mitra, who was then the Chief Sub-editor of the "Advance".

of the unassuming dealers in ayurvedic formulations amongst the hoves of Robertsonpet. A description of this should be educative not only to the Ministry of Finance but also to the common man of India.

Gold in the rock of the Kolar gold mines is distributed in the form of fine grains. This distribution is not uniform. Some portions of the rock may contain exceptionally high values of gold and some very low values. During the mining of it on a large scale, it is the average of the total quantity that is recovered. But for those working underground everyday it is possible to pick out pieces of rock daily which contain these exceptionally high values so that the recovery of gold from them is equivalent to breaking up a dozen times and quite often a hundred times, the weight of this rock to recover the same quantity of gold.

If, therefore, someone could daily pick out a few of these exceptionally rich gold-bearing rock pieces and bring them to the surface, they could be subjected to ayurvedic treatment (vulgarised by scientists as "amalgamation") that would release the gold, convert it into mercury which subsequently could, in the presence of an admiring audience such as the Ministers of Gujarat, be reconverted into gold again.

To prevent the popularisation of this kind of "Ayurvedic Treatment" of their goldiferous rock the owners of the mines under the able managing agency of Messrs. John Taylor and Sons, had employed a whole army of special watchmen, mostly Afridis from the then NWFP, who could overawe the puny "Madras" workmen in the Kolar gold mines and thus scare them away from indulging in this pastime, the Ayurvedic way.

But even these watchmen had to deal with a hierarchy of employees of the mines. The Indian workmen were searched thoroughly before they came out of the mine so that they might not bring out with them any piece of this rich gold-bearing rock. The Italians were subjected to a search only slightly less rigorous. When it came to the Englishman, however,

MERCURY AND GOLD

Ayurvedic Fellow-Wanderers

K. V. SUBRAHMANYAM

SOMETIME ago a good deal of publicity was given to the demonstration by an ayurvedic physician before admiring audience of Gujarat's Ministers, about the remarkable property of mercury which through his mystic powers could be converted into gold. Not many, however, are aware that this conversion of mercury is only the second phase of which the less poetic first phase—the conversion of gold into mercury—has a romantic history behind it.

The process of conversion of mercury into gold was perfected during half a century in the famous Kolar Gold Fields of the Mysore State. Its long and interesting history ought to be "a must" in the curriculum of the Ministry of Finance, if only because this Ministry has been displaying greater acquaintance with the conversion of gold into mercury than of mercury into gold; and, unless both the aspects of this modern alchemy is fully understood, it will not be possible for the ayurvedic fellow-

wanderers to become allopathic socialists.

The place where the process of conversion of gold into mercury was discovered in its true significance is Robertsonpet, the mining town that grew up with the Kolar gold mines. In those days when the Kolar gold mines were at the height of their prosperity, working some of the richest lodes exploited in the world, it was found that breaking the rock to release the gold could be done both on a large scale at the mine itself and on a small scale as a cottage industry in Robertsonpet.

This discovery, of course, was the result of a joint venture of Indians, Italians and Englishmen. The mines then employed Indians as workmen, Italians as Supervisors, and Englishmen as covenanted officials. Each made his own contribution towards the development of this cottage-scale conversion of mercury into gold. The field of activity extended from the working place a mile or more below ground, to the retreats

the only thing the watchmen could do was to give him a grand salute.

Now, in the Kolar gold mines where mining is done at great depths, the great difference in temperature and humidity between the surface and the underground exposes persons to the ever-present risk of Pneumonia; and in those days there were no sulphur drugs or antibiotics. It was, of course, assumed that the Indian workmen could be conditioned to this risk by the simple method of elimination through disability or death of those affected. It was not considered necessary to provide them with flannel underwear or woollen overcoats. The Italians were known to have been managing with second-hand overcoats bought from the Caledonian markets of the neighbouring Cantonment.

Only the Englishmen could afford the luxury of new, well-padded overcoats which could effectively conceal in their pockets, pieces of gold-bearing rock suitable for subsequent ayurvedic treatment. The manner in which the rich gold-bearing rock-pieces from the mine found their way into the alchemists' laboratories in Robertsonpet as perfected over years of experience, is as follows:

The European "boss", when he went round his daily inspection, marked out those rich pieces of gold-bearing rock that were worth the subsequent ayurvedic treatment for conversion into mercury. The Indian workmen isolated them while at the same time picking out any other rich pieces that became available through conventional methods of mining. All these were collected at a convenient spot where they found their way mostly into the new overcoats of the Englishmen although a few did occasionally slip into the second-hand overcoats of others. Such instances were naturally rare due to the ever present risk of the Afridi guard running his hands over their second-hand overcoats, although even the Afridis were not averse to earning a small commission in the form of pieces of goldiferous rock which these

agents of transportation shared with him.

The major part of the transfer was, of course, through the new overcoats of those owners who alone could afford them. From these overcoats the rocks reached their ultimate destination—the ayurvedic laboratories in Robertsonpet where the conversion of gold into mercury took place according to strict Ayurvedic formulae. In consequence, the demand for mercury rose and fell with changes in prices of free market gold; and in those days there was only one market in gold—the free market.

There was too, in those days, another demand for mercury; and that was as the most potent Ayurvedic remedy for that fell disease, syphilis. This again was an Ayurvedic speciality, as there were then no arsenicals or Penicillin: the most effective treatment for syphilis was considered to be mercury, but only when used the Ayurvedic way. Hence, when the price of free-market gold went up, the demand for mercury followed suit.

The aspect of the use of mercury in the treatment of syphilis was common knowledge. But few could be expected to know the remarkable powers of the manufacturers of these anti-syphilitics, of the conversion of gold into mercury. Surprisingly, however, whilst publicity was being given to the conversion of mercury into gold in Gujarat, the natural home of the Ayurvedic fellow-wanderers, scant justice was being done to their counter-

parts in the Kolar gold mines, who were the victims of passing "depression" resulting from those parts of the Kolar gold mines which were producing the rich gold-bearing rock either because they were drowned or because they were fraught with dangers due to rock-bursts and high temperatures.

Now that research on the Tyne side under the aegis of the foreign technical consultants Messrs. John Taylor & Sons, holds out promise of these areas soon becoming available for exploitation, special arrangements are now being made for the transport of this gold-bearing rock from the pits-mouth to the mill by lorries. This arrangement should greatly simplify the procedure for collecting these rich gold-bearing pieces of rock and helping them to find their way to Robertsonpet without the need for flannel overcoats, new or second-hand. The ayurvedic practitioners of Robertsonpet are already happy that the era of "depression" will soon be over and that the once thriving industry—the ayurvedic conversion of gold into mercury will revive again.

This will not, of course, be under the auspices of Indian workmen and British officials because the Ministry of Finance seems happily to be aware that no foreign expertise is required in any form for this industry—thanks to the availability of the army of Indian experts with special training in the University of Dubai at the mouth of the Persian Gulf.



A Portrait of Regional Imbalance

N. H. ANSARI

TOTAL lack of perspective in the context of planning programmes in the country has resulted in widening the gap between the developed areas and backward regions and has thus increased regional imbalances. More than one and a half decade of planning has not succeeded in improving regions of extreme poverty and backwardness.

In UP the eastern districts are one such region suffering the consequences of regional imbalance. The 15 districts of this region with 40 per cent of the State's total population, have been recognised to be backward regions by the framers of our Plans.

This vast area had greatly suffered during two hundred years of British Rule, which perpetuated the proverbial poverty and extreme backwardness of this area. Being the traditional citadel of all popular upheavals and revolutionary struggles for national emancipation, this area earned the wrath of the Britishers. Dating back from the first War of Independence in 1857, till the advent of 'Quit India Movement' the heroic people of this region remained in battle trim. From Mangal Pandey to Chhittu Pandey, it had been a glorious legacy of fighting against slavery, injustice and oppression.

The entire general process of economic development was put to a stop in these parts by the Britishers. It appears, that the Congress rule also carried forward the legacy of their erstwhile predecessors.

Even after the fullest recognition by the Planning Commission of extreme backwardness of this region, the continued neglect of this area seems difficult to explain. It is this almost wilful neglect which is now causing greatest discontent amongst all sections of people in Eastern UP.

Discredited Institutions

The entire eastern region presents a picture of hopelessness of life flowing at the lowest ebb, with all the obsolete socio-economic and feudal systems intact. Its dilapidated villages, in tens of thousands, are living testimony to sweeping economic distress. A succession of droughts and floods have aggravated the already calamitous situation. Rural life continues to be a perpetual cycle of suffering and sorrow. Much trumpeted 'new social order' after Zamindari abolition has not materialised. The Panchayati Raj Institutions were captured by the discredited landlord class and the Gaon Samaj and village panchayats retained the same age-old bias against the majority of the rural population.

The much-boasted propaganda, in respect of Adalti Panchyats to administer quick and 'free' justice to all, has remained a myth. These institutions have not inspired an iota of confidence among the common people, as they have become new instruments in the hands of the same traditional bullies for suppression of the common people.

Zamindari abolition, lacking any follow-up action towards basic land reforms—bestowing land on the tiller and eliminating semi-feudal and feudal conditions—kept the rural working force, to the extent of over 40 per cent of village population in this region, within the same oppressive bondage. Mounting rural unemployment, declining living standards and continued social insecurity shattered all faith people ever had in the planned programmes of development.

The harrowing tales of poverty and backwardness and the continued injustices and gross violations of law in this region figured in the State Assembly and Parliament on more than one occasion. The demand for ending the disparity and for rapid industrialisation and accelerated development of Eastern UP found favour with Jawaharlal Nehru and it was at his personal instance that a Joint Study Team was constituted for making a detailed survey of this area, for concrete assessment of urgent needs of development and also for assessment of the work done through earlier plans. This Team which later came to be known as the Patel Commission was constituted as early as 1962. Its report however was submitted in 1964.

Originally, three districts of this region, Deoria, Ghazipur and Jaunpur were taken up for the purpose of rapid survey and assessment. Azamgarh district was subsequently included within the purview of the Commission. Patel Commission report, concretely brought to the fore, the acute hardships of the people and pointed out the marked economic disparity with other regions and suggested some immediate measures for quick relief.

But these short-term measures, meant for immediate relief from the oppressive conditions of overall socio-economic backwardness, could not be implemented in the letter and spirit even after five years of the acceptance of those recommendations. Sometime back, Sri C.B. Gupta cynically and unhesitatingly said that Patel Commission was outdated. Recommendations were

now stale and newer things were needed.

Patel Commission recommendations in its rapid sample survey revealed the most ugly and revolting features of backwardness of this region. While this survey was confined to the aforesaid four districts, it is not difficult to discern the generalised features which apply to all the eastern districts in almost full measure. The comparative features of the four districts in different spheres are a telling contrast, with the regions of western UP.

According to the survey, the density of population in the four districts was 1094 per square mile as compared to the State's average of 649. Rural population in this belt constituted 96 per cent of the total population as compared with State's average of rural population of 87.1 per cent. The population depending on agriculture together with the agricultural labourers constitute 84.5 per cent in the four districts while the State's average was only 75.4 per cent.

In 1960-61 the per-capita income of this area was Rs. 172 compared to the State's per-capita average income of Rs. 261.33. The National per-capita average income for the same period was Rs. 330.

Low Landholdings

In the sphere of land holdings 22 per cent of the holdings in this area are of less than an acre. Ten per cent of the State's total population lived in these four districts, but its total area was only 4.6 per cent of State's total area. Industrial activity is negligible here. According to the 1961 Census, out of a population of 7.8 million, only two lakhs were engaged in industrial activity, while 85 per cent out of these worked in unorganised and widely dispersed industrial undertakings. The means of transport and communication are also very inadequate. As compared to the State's 15.9 miles of tarred road average for a lakh population, the average in these districts was only 12 miles.

The overall population living

in the 15 districts of this region was 29.70 million, that is, about 40 per cent of the State's total population. The density of population per square mile was 855 as compared to the national average of 373 and 649 for the State as a whole. In the different districts of this region, the dependence on land ranges from 80 per cent to 96 per cent of population, while in western UP districts only 66 per cent of population depend on agriculture. Out of every thousand people, 850 people depend on agriculture here while the State's ratio is 742.

Lack of Industries

The revealing features of the eastern UP districts leave no room for complacency. The conditions now obtaining here are reaching intolerable limits. Even the statistics compiled by the Patel Commission are sufficient to convince a layman of the acute lag in development with which the people in this part suffer. There are even worst pockets in this region, as compared to the four districts which were surveyed. The density of population in Basti, Bahraich and Gonda districts range from 900 to 1,200 per square mile. In certain areas, it ranges between 1,100 to 1,300 per square mile, leading to added pressure on land.

Industries have never become a feature of development in this part. Since the days of Britishers, tendency towards industrialisation has remained almost static. Britishers gave this region only one industrial unit and that was an 'opium factory' at Ghazipur. Sugar industry accounts for the main item in this sphere. But this chain of sugar mills too is concentrated in a few districts. The present position of even this industry is far from satisfactory. With outmoded and worn out plants, the productivity is very low. The sugar magnates, instead of replacing the outmoded plants, are maintaining the rot. Their sole aim being the maximum exploitation of both the sugarcane grower and the sugar factory worker in this region. It is well known that for obvious reasons,

the cultivator in the western UP had always been paid more compared to the sugarcane grower in this region. The condition of the workers in this industry was also one of the worst. These factories do not run for more than 140 days during an year and thus provide only seasonal employment.

Industries Recommended

Patel Commission recommendations included a number of sugar plants in the cooperative or public sector in this region. This is nowhere in sight. There was growing demand and urgent need of more sugar plants to safeguard the interest of sugarcane grower. The suggestions in the sphere of industrial activity included distillery plants, for which all infrastructure was already available. The recommendation for eight sugar mills, two distilleries, four paper manufacturing plants, two chip board factories, one heavy engineering installation, two spinning mills of 25,000 spindles each, plant for manufacture of electric motors and appliances, fabrication plant and other allied industries, coming in line with the above remain unrealised till today. Besides these, the Commission recommended a number of small-scale industries, for which raw materials were available. Fruit preservation plants, plant for manufacturing improved agricultural appliances were also suggested. It is noteworthy that the above industries were suggested for the four districts of Ghazipur, Deoria, Azamgarh and Jaunpur. Had this modest programme been implemented during the last five years, by now a series of ancillary industries could have been further envisaged, not only in the four districts but in the rest of the region. Many private entrepreneurs would have come forward by now and enough initiative would have been released for capital investment in this area. But all this remained a fond dream. The recommendation in the sphere of agriculture and cottage industries, minor irrigation and flood control devices also remained on paper.

The second largest industry in Eastern UP is the handloom industry, employing the large number of people, next only to agriculture. A large number of handloom weavers live in districts of Basti, Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Varanasi, Ghazipur, Ballia and Deoria and Faizabad. The handloom industry in this region is most backward, and on a most shaky economic foundation. The utter neglect of the industry can be seen from the fact that Reserve Bank of India's scheme for financing handloom sector could not be implemented in this State all these years, although the scheme was launched as early as 1956 and was implemented in a number of other States.

The same happened in respect of the Patel Commission's recommendations for the development of handloom industry in the four selected districts. All the funds earmarked for the purpose in the region remained unutilised despite repeated demands for their utilisation. This was done at a time when the handloom industry was in the throes of an all-India crisis. This reflected the callousness of the top bureaucrats towards the suffering of the people engaged in this industry.

This attitude symbolises the initial apathy of the ruling classes and their planners, who had always neglected the needs of this region. A cursory look into the previous Plans and financial allocations earmarked for this region also substantiate the point.

Modest Targets

What the Patel Commission had envisaged was nothing extraordinary. It also did not involve 'huge funds' which would be beyond resources. After fulfilment of all the diverse schemes and programmes, in an 'accelerated' manner, the Patel Commission set forth a very modest target. By the end of 1975-76 the Commission visualised that the total income of the four districts to rise to Rs 330 crores, at the value of the rates of 1960-61. Out of this gross output, the Commission set forth Rs 215 crores from the agricultural sector and Rs 115 crores

from the non-agricultural sector. In the sphere of agricultural production, the Commission visualised an increase of 7-8 per cent during the ensuing 15 years. The total population of these districts in the year 1975-76 is estimated to go up to one crore and the per-capita income annually to reach Rs 330 only—that is at the level of national average existing in the year 1960-61.

Schemes Shelved

Even for this, far-reaching changes in the modes of implementation and changes in the administrative machinery had been suggested for proper implementation of the programme. However, the recommendations of Patel Commission were shelved. Smt Sucheta Kriplani's term as UP Chief Minister, in particular became instrumental in scuttling the implementation of this programme and till the last day in office, she kept making false promises and giving deceptive assurances. Thus the fate of the 'accelerated' development programme was sealed once and for all and even the additional allocation of Rs 10.49 crores in the Third Plan period remained unutilised.

Although, the eastern region had no developmental activity in the pre-Plan period, as compared to other regions, the planners failed to take this factor into consideration while formulating the First Plan, ignoring the existing regional imbalance of this area. Even the per-capita expenditure envisaged in this Plan for this region was lower than for other regions of UP. For the four eastern districts, a sum of Rs 9.59 crores had been allocated, which came to an average of Rs 14 per capita. As compared to this, during the same Plan period the per-capita expenditure average was as high as Rs 26 for the State as a whole.

This disparity was maintained in the Second Plan period. Although the allocations had been increased from Rs 9.59 crores of the previous plan to Rs 19.17 crores, and the per-capita expenditure also rose up to Rs 26.5 for the four districts, during the

same plan period the per-capita average expenditure in the State was as high as Rs 33.7. As compared to this and also with the national average of expenditure at Rs 51 per capita, the contrast becomes evident.

In the Third Plan period, an allocation of Rs 29.95 crores was envisaged for these four districts, and further estimates of a total outlay of Rs 40-43 crores were made, but in fact during the period 1961-62 and 1962-63, a total of only Rs 8.88 crores was spent. This makes abundantly clear, that no special measures, and no special agencies were ever thought out by the planners for the development of these districts, with a view to ending the existing imbalance. This fact and also the fact of inadequate allocations had been admitted by the Patel Commission.

This grave injustice in the matter of financial allocation for development in the four districts holds good for the entire eastern region, comprising of all the 15 districts. The per-capita average spending in the various Plan periods for this region became more marked when compared with the data about the western districts. The data compiled by the Patel Commission on this score are revealing.

Glaring Disparity

The per-capita monthly expenditure in the districts of Azamgarh, Deoria and Ghazipur was Rs 16.69, Rs 16.95 and Rs 16.80 respectively, while the per-capita expenditure in the two western districts of Mathura and Sitapur was Rs 22.62 and Rs 24.30 respectively. While the daily wages of landless agricultural labour in the four districts of Azamgarh, Deoria, Ghazipur and Jaunpur were Rs 0.69, Rs 0.98, Rs 0.66 and Rs 0.69 respectively, the wages in the districts of Mathura and Sitapur were Rs 1.49 and Rs 1.18 respectively.

Rural indebtedness was glaring in the eastern districts. According to Patel Commission, in the district of Deoria, an average family of landless labourer is indebted to the extent of total monthly expenditure of the family,

equal to over three months. In Ghazipur the indebtedness is over two months of family expenditure. In Azamgarh, it is over one month's expenditure and in Jaunpur, it is little less than a month's expenditure.

But this extreme picture of suffering did not move the planners to make special allocations and expedient course of planning for development. The contrast becomes more glaring when we compare the two largest and most thickly populated districts of east and west UP, Meerut and Basti. Basti district reveals the graphic picture of extreme backwardness and misery. With a population of over 31 lakhs at present, the literacy is only 11.7 per cent, far below the average of UP as a whole which is 15.9 per cent. The 91.5 per cent of its population is engaged in subsistence agriculture, with the lowest per-capita average of land holdings, which is 0.567 acre. In the district of Meerut, only 45.2 per cent population is engaged in agriculture. While the number of people engaged in industrial activity, per lakh population in Basti is only 2,080, in Meerut it is 7,505. The per-acre average yield in money value in Basti is only Rs 225 and in Meerut it is Rs 480.25. Road mile average in Basti is 12.4 miles per lakh population, in Meerut it is 15.4 miles. There is one primary health centre for a population of 1,28,000 in Basti. Most of these centres remain without doctors and medicines even now. Sometimes back, when an assessment was made, out of 21 health centres, at least 16 were without doctors. As much as 9,28,424 acres of cultivated area suffered due to floods in the year 1956-57, affecting a population of 19 lakhs in the same year. Out of a total of

14,03,917 acres of cultivable land, only 7,69,483 acres are irrigated according to official statistics. On an average, the district accounts for a loss of Rs 80 lakhs to rupees one crore annually due to floods or drought since the advent of freedom, but flood control measures to ward off the calamity have yet to be taken.

In view of the lack of local initiative, the Patel Commission has stressed the need for the Government coming in a big way for installing industries, to begin with. It is lack of industrialisation in a planned way to consume all the raw material locally available, which has been resulting in greater pressure on land, causing thereby waste and stagnation. Dependence on agriculture in Ballia district rose up to 38.7 per cent between 1921 to 1961. With the already lowest per-capita average of land holding in smallest, fragments, the increasing pressure on land has been causing catastrophic imbalance and retarding all possibilities of any worthwhile growth.

Population Factor

It may not be out of place in this connection to look into the factor of rising population percentage in these districts. While eastern region accounted for 38.35 per cent of State's total population, it has a total of only 29.8 per cent of State's total area. The rise in population of Basti district can give an idea of the enormous population growth. Over a hundred years ago, Basti had a population of 9,37,771, according to the first Census Report and its density of population was only 345 per sq. mile. The latest census in the year 1961 reveals the phenomenal rise in its population which rose to 2,621,937,

with the density growing more than three-fold. The present population is estimated to be over 31 lakhs.

The growing density has increased the pressure on land with consequent fall in the per-capita average holding of land. It is this district, which according to the Survey made by the National Sample Survey, is one of the worst pockets of poverty in the country, where 97 per cent of the population live below poverty line.

The eastern region constitutes an area where, the obsolete feudal system of exploitation is still intact to a great extent. The hated 'halwahi' system is in full force. The percentage of attached labour in this region is about 40 per cent as compared to four per cent in Sitapur and six per cent in Mathura. The great majority of the attached labour are Harijans kept in bondage from times immemorial. The majority of rural working force here remains under conditions of semi-feudal oppression even now. No social or economic measures have been taken to alter this situation and free this most downtrodden section of humanity from inhuman exploitation.

The condition of the rest of the rural poor is no better. They are eking out a miserable existence. Economically uprooted, they are also oppressed socially. Thus a population to the tune of 40 per cent lives under stress of unprecedented agony. All freedom and democracy for this vast section of rural poor is meaningless. While talking of the regional imbalance from which this region suffers, the lot of this rural poor is to be taken into account, as a matter of priority.

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Bank Nationalisation and Credit Structure

TARAKESHWARI SINHA

THE current debate on Bank nationalisation may not pose the issues squarely in the present emotionally surcharged atmosphere. This will be a pity because the issues raised by it need to be examined coolly to give the Bank nationalisation a surer direction. The net results of nationalisation might be rewarding but the process involved is greatly strenuous. The Government has not only to give a clear-cut direction of the structural changes in Indian economy, but it has to stress the concept of trusteeship in relation to Bank deposits and the need to encourage the wider based economic activity specially to help the backward areas.

French Model

Of late, practically everyday the main topic of discussion has been the Bank nationalisation. Invariably, France has been mentioned as the model of Bank nationalisation. If one examines the history of the French programme of Bank nationalisation, it would be seen that the National Credit Council in France was created with the object of bringing together all those agencies which were producing wealth so that they should have also a free say on the method of nationalised policy.

Here the question is that the entire programme of Bank nationalisation is channelised through the Reserve Bank, and therefore, to burden this programme with another big Governmental organisation will be a mistake. And, therefore, the French parallel does not help. There was traditionally centralised

direction of monetary forces in France, and therefore, it was easy for the French Government to fit the nationalised Banks in the national monetary and credit system, but these individual banks were left to go in for fierce competition amongst themselves. Only the other day the Bank of France gave a stern warning that France was in peril and pressed a policy of strict budgetary austerity.

We have to build up such traditions in the Indian Banking system. The build-up of a centralised banking system will be difficult here, as India has a Federal structure with great diversities and regional pulls. States like Tamilnadu have already gone on record expressing their desire to have more say in the nationalised system.

Moreover, the Prime Minister has already given an assurance that the legitimate credit need of the industry and trade will be met. Now, how to reconcile the increasing needs of the States with the credit needs of the industry will be the greatest problem with the Government and the Reserve Bank to be solved. Even as it is, the net Bank credit to the Government is considered to be Rs. 4,888 crores as at the end of May 1969, accounting for not less than 75 per cent of the Bank credit. No further change in the priorities and direction will have to be brought forward for complete reorientation in the economic priorities and also necessary changes in the Bank structure.

Moreover, the achievement of an effective breakthrough in Agriculture and speedy develop-

ment of small-scale industries pre-supposed adequate and easy availability of credit. The credit needs of the agricultural sector alone are estimated at about Rs. 2300 crores by 1971 and will increase in the following years. The present cooperative institutions cannot fully meet the demands of both, agriculture and small-scale industries. Therefore, the active participation of commercial banks is necessary. Now if one concedes that the part of the present bank finance has to go to agriculture as well as to small industries, selectivity will have to be the key note of the Banks' lending activities, as it would be rather risky for the Banks to finance all types of projects including the existing projects and also additional ones. Therefore, there is not only the need to liberalise the lending attitude by the Banks but also complete independence from the Governmental clutches.

Economic Control

The economic control on the banking structure must therefore be not in the hands of Government but in the hands of the Reserve Bank. At the present moment the fears are that political pressure and official interference will be prevalent and the nationalised banks will not be able to get away from the octopus grip of group politics and bureaucratic control. It will be therefore necessary to put the Banks under complete charge of the Reserve Bank with the full authority to conduct the operation of the nationalised institutions.

One would also like to suggest

that there should be no direct form of financing of schemes, which should not be started without preparing solid ground for it. There is for instance the need for maintaining the total regard of the rights of ownership and tenancy obligations. It requires adequate preparation for making the nationalised scheme a success.

Moreover, some of the laws and procedures relating to the loan to the farmers, lend tenures, death relief and regulation of money-lending which are likely to strangle banks with the clutches of agriculturists must be removed.

Besides, there will be the need to create a very strong machinery for collection of loans being lent by banks; and therefore under the supervision of the Reserve Bank an entirely new machinery for collection of loans has to be created and for that the Reserve Bank must act as a friend, philosopher and guide in an unfettered manner.

Political Momentum

With the development of new devices and credit weakness of the Indian economy has to be rectified, if new orientation with socialist objective is to be provided. This cannot be allowed to wait any longer. Immediately, the requirement of budgetary resources have to be reoriented for providing more funds in the electricity, irrigation, ports, roads, electronics and telecommunication developments. The political momentum and the present mode of the country can be fully exploited to bring about the desired changes which otherwise would have been difficult and for that nationalisation of banks requires a complete reorientation of the structural financing of the industries and agriculture. It is quite obvious that the very composition of industry and their growth has been due to the facilities of structural finances provided to them.

Sooner or later, the States are bound to protest against the crying disparities in the present pattern of advances. Of the total of a little over Rs. 3,100 crores

of bank credit as at the end of September, 1968, the shares of different States (Rs. in crores) were; Maharashtra 937; West Bengal 675; Madras 298, Gujarat 169; Mysore 137; U. P. 127; Andhra Pradesh 106; Kerala 84; Madhya Pradesh 60; Bihar 50; Punjab 45; Rajasthan 34; Haryana 22; Orissa 13; Assam 11 and Delhi and other States 334. Here is enough ground for the politicians in the States which today receive a much smaller share of the total credit to whip up regional passions and press the demand for more credit for their States. This will call for much tact and patience to convince them that bank credit goes where it is most wanted and where it is likely to be.

Suppose the Birlas have an industry worth Rs 50 crores. They have to take a licence under the licensing policy. Then structural finance is provided by agencies like IFS or ICICI. Then the Government allows foreign collaboration and the structural finance is provided by the collaborators and the Government stands guarantee to those companies. Sometimes, the Government advances money, the Government allows import licence, the Government allows import of machinery, the Government provides interest-free loans for the running of the structural finance of the industry, for plant and machinery and for the import of raw material. When they are all ready, then these industries go to the banks for arranging for working capital. Who does not know that the banks provide only working capital?

Credit Pattern

If one does not change all these things, if one does not rearrange the priorities, how is the nationalisation of banks going to succeed? They are taking money only for working capital from the banks. Nobody is taking money from the banks for the structural financing of the industry. For that they go to either IFC or ICICI.

Then, who is buying the blue chips of the Birlas, the Singhanias and the Tatas? (Their shares are called blue chips in the stock

market.) Who buys them? They are bought mostly by the LIC and similar organisations. But if I float a company, will the LIC buy shares of my company? They will never buy them. Will they under-write my shares? No, they will never do that. So, it is the big companies which get facilities of under-writing, not small companies. That is why Dr. Hazari has pointed out that in order to make the nationalisation of banks really effective, an immediate budget has to be brought forward. Here I would like to refer to the remarks made by the Chief Minister of Madras, Shri Karunanidhi that immediately a meeting of the National Development Council should be convened because there has been a fundamental change of the economic structure and, therefore, their counsel and their consultation must be available.

Reshaping Plan

Then the Planning Commission has to reorient the entire Plan. The Plan has to be recast. The Government has earmarked the financial resources but where are the financial resources available to divert from this resource? Suppose the Government has created Rs. 200 crores worth of synthetic fibre industry. It may be with the Birlas, the Tatas and the Singhanias but the total productive capacity of synthetic fibre—I am giving one example—has been created at Rs. 200 crores. Is it possible for the Government to keep that starved? The industry has been created; the production programme has to go on. If the Government disturbs the production programme of these industries, the entire length of the economic structure will be disturbed, the production programme will be affected, creating further recession, unemployment, disturbances in the economic horizon and the economic structure.

Therefore, let us not talk of bank nationalisation in isolation. When the Government talks of bank nationalisation in isolation, there is no sense of urgency about what exactly the Government is going to do even to make bank nationalisation successful.

All this has vital bearing on the future shape of credit structure. The Law Minister while piloting the Bank Nationalisation Bill in the Parliament remarked that the Government would confine itself to giving directions. Probably the Government already is raising that the very purpose of nationalisation will be defeated if the Bank are deprived of developing a genuine banking philosophy. The nationalised banks must not be guided

by either personality cult or political overtones. The bank must have sufficient freedom to work within the over-all guidance of the Reserve Bank. The Reserve Bank should be clearly told about the positive directions and it should be the function of the Reserve Bank to channelise them with firmness and determination. It is only then that banks can play a progressive integrated role to change the outlook and the sense of direction in Indian economy.

sectors of the economy like agriculture, small-scale industries and the cooperative sector can be better served. The economy can be regulated in a more effective way.

But the basic question is, which class wields state power. For, in the ultimate analysis, the class interests cannot be given up. If a bourgeois government undertakes nationalisation of banks, it is idle to expect that it has been done to march towards socialism. It may well be to effectively regulate a capitalist economy that such a measure can be undertaken as well as to create conditions for its further growth.

In the past, the Government of India took certain measures which appeared as a dent in the capitalists domain, but ultimately it was found that these measures only helped this class to grow further. The development of the infra-structure and the growth of heavy industries were beyond the capacity of the Indian capitalist class. Their development has only laid the foundations for a quicker growth of capitalist relations in the economy. The State Bank of India, as it came to be known after nationalisation, has been equally responsible for strengthening monopolistic tendencies as have been the private banks. The funds of the State Bank have gone largely to big business houses. Its lending operations have not been much different from those of other banks.

The Licensing Policy Enquiry Committee found that during 1965-66 and 1966-67, about 9 per cent of the credit limits provided by this bank went to the Birlas alone. Its advances for agricultural purpose as late as last year did not rise beyond 4 per cent of its total when private banks in the industrially advanced countries, where agriculture does not constitute such an important sector of the economy as in India, generally advance 10 to 15 per cent of their total credit to the agricultural sector. Even the much emphasised cooperative sector does not get more than 10 per cent of the State Bank's advances.

When the Life Insurance Corporation came into being

Bank Nationalisation and Institutional Framework

KRIPA SHANKAR

THOUGH the nationalisation of banks was being pressed by a section of Congressmen themselves over the years, it came only in the wake of internal struggle within the Congress party over the nomination for the Presidential post.

This background of bank nationalisation has raised doubts in some circles as to whether it will herald a new era or will only be utilised to enlarge the capitalist base of the economy. Banks have been nationalised in some of the developed capitalist countries, and it should not be taken for granted that bank nationalisation will inevitably lead to socialist transformation of the economy. At a given stage of development it is not paradoxical for the ruling bourgeoisie to undertake nationalisation of credit institutions when the economy fails to move forward and to correct some of the distortions through this measure.

All the same, the significance of bank nationalisation should not be minimised for the same can be instrumental, under a popular set-up, in curbing monopolies, eliminating speculative activities and leading the country

towards socialist goal.

The banks in India were owned by big business houses and this factor accentuated the growth of monopolies. The bank funds were made available for speculative purposes. The Indian bourgeoisie has found trade to be more profitable than organising production. Banks have followed this line by copiously lending for trading purposes rather than for production. For example, their advances for trade in agricultural commodities have been round about Rs 250 crores but for agricultural production the advances have hardly exceeded Rs 5 crores, forming less than half per cent of their total advances.

The banks have added to the inflationary pressure by creating excessive credits. On the one hand, there has been shortage of resources for making productive investments, and on the other, bank resources have been utilised in unproductive expenditures.

Nationalisation of banks can go a long way in correcting these features. The growth of monopolies can be restricted by reducing credit to monopoly houses. Speculative activities can be brought to an end and neglected

after the nationalisation of life insurance companies, it was considered to be one of the nails in capitalists' coffin, but the facts have proved otherwise. The Reserve Bank of India in a recent survey of shareholding of joint stock companies has found that "LIC has emerged as the single largest investor in the corporate sector" and that LIC's investment constituted as much as 9 per cent of the paid-up capital of the corporate sector. That the LIC has helped Big Business as compared to small ones was revealed by the fact that whereas its shareholding was only of the order of 2.2 per cent in small companies having paid-up capital of less than Rs 25 lakhs, it formed 10 per cent of the shareholding in large companies with paid-up capital exceeding Rs 2.5 crores (see *Reserve Bank of India Bulletin*, February 1968).

LIC's investment in shares and debentures of companies in India accounts for one-fifth of its total investments. LIC's investment in the top 10 business houses is of the order of Rs 77 crores. More than 60 per cent of LIC's investment goes to the 75 monopoly houses listed by the Monopolies Enquiry Commission. The role of other public-sector financial institutions like the Industrial Finance Corporation, Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation, Industrial Development Bank, Unit Trust of India and various State Industrial Finance Corporations in strengthening Big Business houses is even more eloquent.

All this goes to show that the nationalised banks can also follow the same pattern if the institutional framework remains the same. If production and distribution remains in the private sector, the nationalised banks cannot but serve them. If monopolies dominate the organised production, nationalised banks can do little to break them unless the monopolies themselves are nationalised.

From what has been said about it is apparent that unless institutional changes are made in the economy, the chances are that even under nationalised banking capitalist relations will be streng-

thened.

The Government's policy in strengthening capitalist relations has so far been obvious. The much-talked of bank credit for agricultural operations is nothing but to make available bank funds to rich farmers to purchase tractors, trucks, to install tube-wells and to take to agro-industries and transport business. It is to the development of capitalist relations (in Indian conditions it can only be a rich peasant economy) in agriculture that nationalised banks will be harnessed towards which private banks have been lukewarm.

But it will be unrealistic to ignore the powerful force that

have been unleashed through the process and the impending power shifts. The correlation of class forces may undergo a change so as to create a new balance of force which may utilise this step towards a radical transformation of the economy. What gave greater poignancy to the measures was the belief that this step will lead to new alignment of forces on the political plane leading to a sharp break with past policies and setting the country firmly on the road to socialism. That realignment has not come about and Smt Indira Gandhi's patch-up with the Syndicate has further receded it. All the same, the possibility cannot be ruled out in future.

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American Strategic Thoughts

E. HABIBULLAH

ROBERT S. McNamara held a tenure of seven years as Secretary of Defence. He took over after the Dulles era and went on to the muddy stagnation beyond, into "insignificant" Vietnam, to confess at the end of it, "But there are new realities as well and we have been too slow to recognize them... There is among us an almost ineradicable tendency to think of security ... as being exclusively a military problem... as being a weapon or manpower problem. The truth is that contemporary man still conceives of war and peace... in terms that his ancestors did... as a state of armed readiness, a vast awesome arsenal of weaponry."

It is interesting to study how American strategic and tactical thought has been influenced. Certainly when they came into World War II they scarcely had any concept of either beyond Stonewall Jackson's campaign into the Shenandoal valley and Sherman's march into Georgia. Even during the war, as the Americans advanced near Cortheve in the book of Algeria, the British picked up—much to Tommy Atkin's amusement—a message over the radio: "Say fellahs, the Coinel says seram."

Advent of Atom Bomb

The advent of the atom bomb and the computer has altered all this, and strategic thinking for certain military solutions is aimed at full utilization of these advanced

techniques. However, it is noticeable that strategy for America now means "Fight Russia" and anything else can be used to indicate relations with anyone else.

Domination of Technology

The recent revelations from the new world show that they are not as young as they once seemed. The hue and cry raised over the dumping of ballistic missile warheads, full of deadly gases, into the sea, brought forth a promise from the Pentagon that they would be decontaminated 'in situ'. This means that what we thought to be the "ultimate weapon" is an eye wash. There are all kinds of diabolical inhuman techniques lurking in their armoury. There will be no compunction in following up with gas and even germs in order not only to break down, but to wipe out any defensive screen that may be encountered by their missiles or if the fight became hopeless.

We may say that the evolution of American military strategy was dictated by the domination of technology and had reached the peak of its extravagance in the McNamara era. It is fair to say that this pre-eminent business executive, who rose from comparatively insignificant air force rank during the war, to be a prince of industry, has been the dominating mind in American strategy to date. "American military strategy has evolved continuously over the post-war period in response to changes in technology as well as increased sophistication in the understanding of strategic questions."*

Like for all things, there must be an end and there is a definite indication that the industrial military complex (IMC) is now becoming increasingly unpopular with the man in the street. "In his evidence Charles L. Schultze, a former budget director, has, in fact, asked for the appointment of an independent congressional committee to analyse what he calls positive statements submitted each year by both the State and Defence Departments." @

Satellites in Europe

During the early period after the war, the 'Soviet Bogey' accompanied by a war strategy was eagerly designed to stop Soviet expansion. Truman stated the doctrine of "containment of communism." With atomic might behind him, Truman felt that any power, from a flea to an elephant, could be rapidly snuffed out. Local commitment would not arise and the few atom bombs were enough to keep Russia in awe.

However, this idea began to raise doubts when possibilities of a sweep into Lombardy, Picardy and Flanders, by a single Red Army push seemed to loom as a distinct feasibility, though less as a reality than a possibility. It was then that UNO was born in 1949 to provide a ground stop. When the US budget went up to 15 billion dollars a year, the idea came to be held that "any ones larger than that would bankrupt the economy."*

The Soviets, not to be outdone, came out with the atom bomb and soon followed by the super bomb, the hydrogen bomb. Meanwhile, the command-set-up

*Note : *Indicates quotation from Contemporary Military Strategy by Morton H. Halperin, Faber and Faber, 1958. @ indicates quotes from article by M.V. Kamath in Times of India.*

in the USA also had been changed, so the strategic and foreign policy decisions could be taken in consort. A committee headed by Dean Acheson even recommended actual rearmament. It is interesting to note that this coincides in time with a naked economic move towards recession. "Thus, while the Korean war was going on, the American forces in Europe (NATO) were built up very substantially," and a supreme allied commander—Eisenhower—was appointed. This unilateral policy decision taken by the USA and successfully followed through, showed Britain in particular and other European powers as satellites; a status to which World War II had in fact already brought them. Whichever way the sledgehammer was to come, Western Europe was considered to be the hot object on the anvil. By giving out during the Korean War the "crisis year" slogan, they were able easily to cover the excessive expenditures on defence. There was a marked spurt in defence production.

Emphasis on Air Power

However, Eisenhower, never a military genius, soon switched, at the dictation of the admiral, his first chairman of the Joint Chiefs, to laying overwhelming emphasis on air power. It was not a very intelligent decision and shows how in matters of military, a decision can lie dormant until some turn of events exposes it. The Americans love giving names to everything. This switch from the "crisis year" was called the policy of the "long haul". The emphasis, as the policy was to be a long-term one, was on reduction of expenditure and ground forces where increased and better diplomacy could have effected for greater gains.

Of course, the nuclear-bomb scare came back into its own and even Europe (NATO) was put on to tactical nuclear readiness. From this "look" sprang the theory of "massive retaliation" on the premise of John Foster Dulles that "no local defence could contain the manpower of the Communist world." But it raised a very hot argument and only by the early

60s local defence together with the need for well-protected strategic forces capable of a second strike, was emphasised. This thinking had to take note of both strategic and local forces needing missiles and manpower in parallel precautionary array.

Dangerous Deficiency

It was in 1961 when the democrats came to power that they found a high reliance on defence based on the IMC. Meanwhile, in October 1957 the Soviets had let go the first Sputnik. So shocked were they that the Pentagon and its friends found it easy to pass round a whisper that the people of the USA were in dire danger, as this meant a vast stride in technological military capability; particularly was this scare based on Russian ICBM capability, which was clearly just round the corner. The theory, therefore, came to be held that there was no substitute for spending and more spending. The estimates of how much and what for, depended on limitless research on (a) communications, (b) control systems, and (c) development in general. Naturally the emphasis came on strategic forces.

This was the stage that was set for Kennedy-McNamara era. It is known that President Kennedy felt that there was a dangerous deficiency growing in air-sea lift capability. The Bay of Pigs episode may well have branded this into his soul.

Therefore, in the era of McNamara, the Pentagon took on three main features. First, the technology resulting from the Eisenhower-Dulles decade produced for McNamara missiles like "The Minuteman" with low megatonnage and high accuracy. Then the spying capability from the satellites also made information almost exact about Soviet systems and locations.

Being a top man from industry McNamara had no squeamishness about expenditure. He led the body of advice to the President that restraints in expenditure had, in fact, let the growth in the economy become "sluggish"!

Herein lies much of the purpose of the so called "defence" expenditure. It was so "convenient" too; because the declaration of something as being obsolete is simply not challengeable. In a country like ours, of course, no one could dare even argue the point for fear of exposing his complete ignorance.

McNamara changed the decision-making machinery, so that emphasis on "programme budgeting", "cost effectiveness", "systems analyses" and other approaches, till then peculiar to industry, were brought in. It is probable that these have toned up the more traditional lines of thinking. He went further and put the processes mainly under civilian rather than purely service decision-producers.

Idea of "Options"

His idea of "options" led to making of provisions for counter-insurgency, conventional forces and general war doctrines. So it may well be true to state that while the idea of strategic war is dependent on long distance missiles, these weapons are aimed at striking targets in the Soviet Union. Such missiles (ICBM) are the Minuteman and the Submarine-based "Polaris". The tactical nuclear force is really designed to be used in support of Western Europe, of course, against the USSR, but it includes Russia's allies also. It is the most likely type of a nuclear weapon to reach the hands of Israel and other "favoured" allies.

Local wars are thought of as any other than a US-Soviet direct confrontation. These are fought with conventional forces or at worst with tactical nuclear support. "The problem of providing new capability for both tactical nuclear warfare and conventional action remains perhaps the most important problem requiring analysis."*

The McNamara era in the Pentagon found this tough job facing it at every turn. It may have once been said they solved it adequately; but, like a bumble bee, little Vietnam refuses to stop making a buzzing sound all around the globe, to proclaim

that what might have been a period of press-button computerised solutions, is proving to be a time for the will-o-the-wisp. Nevertheless, the fact is that with McNamara a new philosophy was born in the "flexible responses" and the creation of an assured destruction force, the birth of options through the increase of conventional forces and building up an air-and-sea-lift, able to move several US divisions "anywhere in the world" very quickly. Their end capacity has not been convincing so far.

Super Power or Super Mess

Whatever the calculable quantitative factors may be neither "flexible response" nor "deterrence" can possibly yield the dividends McNamara had planned. It is true that after the "first strike," both USSR and USA will still be left with enough for further "assured destruction" and that command and control will be adequate even thereafter. But a child can see that, after this exchange of terror, the receiver powers will no longer remain super powers, they will only be super messes. This being so, it is rather stupid to think that one or the other, or any power for that matter, is going to come with nuclear missiles to the succour of a third power, be it over Berlin, West Germany or Israel. Its own people are not going to risk being rocketed into the stone age.

The dangerous thing would be the making of nuclear weapons cheaply. True, the cost of missiles of anything like ICBM standard will not be cheap; but for the poorer nations there are bomb-making solutions which could pay handsome dividends in the international black (mail) market. Thus the superiority is gradually being diminished, and the super powers are now carting about with desperate ideas of non-proliferation and GCD (general and complete disarmament) to ensure that weaker nations limit their ambitions. However, it is becoming daily more obvious that the so-called supers are more powerful, not because of their arsenals, but

because of their standards of living and their socio-technical development.

It has been simply dreadful for the average American, for Mr and Mrs Yankee Doodle. Nor has it been tranquillity or confidence-creating for the 24-year old generation, born since World War II, to be on constant tenterhooks. If the privilege of being -a super power imposes such a constant strain—a life under the shadow of annihilation—then, is communism being contained or is "life, liberty and the right to happiness" being drained out of the very society sought to be protected?

It seems that nemesis is round the corner; the haughty gestures of the mighty are not so impressive; and stripped of these postures, the average American yearns for peace for all time and friendship with all as any other man. Indeed much glory is due to those *Americans* who, seeing through the bullying gestures, fight to restrain and harness for better use the very power the State Department and the Pentagon have sought by bluff to generate, but finally ended up in being unable to subjugate the 18-million poor people in far off East Asia, who had no other idea than to build their own society according to their own wishes after a life time of subjugation by France in its greed and Japan in its imperial pride. In these poor hands were only unity and esprit de corps.

Nor has the motive power behind the huge fortunes wasted through government agencies, been lost on Americans. These revenues have eventually gone to make the Rand Corporation, General Electric, Lockheed and ATT super powers at home. It is also said that two modestly paid aerospace scientists have a fortune of \$121 million. "Big business has for years... thrived on scares. This has been brought out reminiscently... by Harper and Row, the publishers, in a book... exposing the ABM (anti-Ballistic missile) racket which, if it is not checked, may cost the American taxpayer quite a sum without improving his chances of survival.

"According to Mr Galbraith military power is not confined to

the services and their contractors. Associate membership is held by the foreign service and intelligence service officers who provide a civilian and diplomatic gloss to the foreign policy positions which serve the military need." @ Indeed, Galbraith who is more courageous than most men (or has a publisher who appreciates his frankness) has exhorted that "the most urgent challenge confronting Congress today is to reassert control" over the "policy decisions it has preempted". @

Ultimate Criterion

McNamara has said that he feels Europe to be safe from Russia as its total aggregation of "political, ideological and economic strength is far greater". He bases this on the fact that the Six plus Britain have been able to give their people a much higher standard of living than the USSR and so he feels a strong defensive posture will keep the USSR from overrunning Europe.

If, as has been shown, USA were to withhold massive response on behalf of Europe, how would the balance between USSR and West Europe then stand? But, it is not a balance of force that will ultimately decide. As one who has visited USSR twice in the last decade and revisited Europe once, one can say that the rise of the former and the decline of the latter is visible in every aspect mentioned by McNamara. Even the question which the ex-Defence Secretary discusses, will militate against the West. "Europe is weak educationally and that weakness is seriously crippling its growth. It is weak in its general education; it is weak in its technical education; and it is particularly weak in its managerial education." He cites England with 10 per cent, Germany and Italy with about 7 per cent, and France with about 15 per cent of the college-age group receiving higher education, while in America 40 per cent of the college-age population goes in for it. But the USSR is no wit behind the USA. In technical education it produces more than twice the number of the USA.

Therefore, the "deterrence" which is thought to be exercised over Russia is mere fiction. The problem for the USSR would be: having overrun Europe, what then? It does not want Europe's gold, nor can it rule Europe. Certainly the positions of Communist parties in Western countries would be much weakened. If America could not defeat by suppression the people of little Vietnam; what would be the fate of the Russian bear if it tried to squeeze to death the most advanced area of the vast Eurasian land mass? This merely is one of the basic differences between the outlook of the USSR and China.

The rise of red China as a nuclear power has worried America; but its limitations are yet greater than America's. The Chinese people, too, will be the deciding factor. Therefore, programmes of ABM halfheartedly taken up may as well be abandoned, aggressive nationalism de-escalated, gaps diminished and bridges built. This is good political strategy.

Man : A Rational Animal

As this Article began with a quotation from McNamara, let us conclude with another: "All the evidence of history suggests that man is indeed a rational animal, but with nearly infinite capacity for folly. His history seems largely a halting but persistent effort to raise his reason above his animality. He draws blueprints from Utopia but never quite gets it built. In the end he plugs away with the only building material ever at hand ... with ... his own nature. I, for one, would not want a global free society out. Coercion, after all, merely captures men. Freedom captivates them."

With such a noble expression on his lips, we would ask this brilliant man: freedom for what? Freedom to starve, to treat others as "breeds without the law", to keep others ignorant and to exercise power of hiring and firing, to live in luxury when the world starves, to exploit the weakness of those emerging from colonial oppression and freedom to possess vast tracts of the

black people's heritage because the colour of one's skin is different through lack of proper pigmentation? Then what is coherent in what goes by the polite name of Strategic Thought; based on missiles? Is the improvement of man's own nature not the "beam ideal", the essence of a complimentary society, and not an antagonistic one?

POSTSCRIPT

Since this article was written an important event has taken place, in that the President of the United States has put forth a plan for the installation of an ABM screen. It is well known that such a screen can be gapped in very little time and has no use militarily, but its manufacture and installation will bring right back the profit-creating capacity of the US military-industrial complex. It can also give the GNP a growing look. In fact, Harper and Row spared no pains in bringing this before the American public by publishing an exposure of the ABM racket. "Whatever became of backyard and fall out shelters?" they have asked.

The technique of scaring the people into dumb acceptance of so-called defence expenditure is by no means unique to America. Our own country is being starved to death by it; but the significance of the US President's victory in the house (marginal no doubt) is, that even in the most advanced economic and technical country in the world, the power of the "lobby" with its accompanying corruption far outweighs the growing resentment of the people. It shows that the so-called elected representatives of the people have a high admixture of

bought-men without scruples.

It is true that Mr Nixon's policy will, in the short term, have a bolstering effect on the economy; but that also is a sure sign that the spectre of over-production and economic collapse, now called "recession", is nearer than one had suspected. This theory is also supported by the desperate outward investment the US banks are making so as to bolster their own national investments. This indeed is one of the strong reasons for the new China Lobby and the smiling, arm-waving hurricane tour of the US President in the wake of the men on the moon. Unfortunately for him, it has not taken in many people. So the President is once again on the horns of a dilemma. For, if he withdraws from Vietnam without penetrating further the large Afro-Asian markets, how far will ABM carry him?

"How oft is the candle of the wicked put out, and how oft cometh their destruction upon them." (Book of Job)

This is the question the President has to face; with growing discontent and disparity within and the rising competition and distrust of his motives without.

In such situations it is the easiest way out to rouse emotions, put the blame on others, make excuses and, as a logical corollary to unleash a war of such dimensions as to safeguard the big cartels from disintegration.

Here then is the brink on which mankind at present unconsciously stands:

Thou hast sent widows away empty, and the arms of the fatherless have been broken. Therefore snares are round about thee, and sudden fear troubleth thee. (Job)

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by

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Spotlight on Delhi University

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE University of Delhi, though founded in the early 1920's has emerged as one of the premier centres of learning only after 1947. It has expanded rapidly and many erstwhile big universities now pale into insignificance before it. Students, research scholars and teachers from all corners of the country were attracted to it. Despite the fact that there are a number of other universities financed by the Government of India, the Delhi University alone has an all-India character.

Besides the exogenous factors like the social, economic and political changes taking place in the country, the growth in the size of this University for the last few years has rendered the old arrangements, and the ways of management outdated and ineffective. This has been realized very late by the authorities. The Central Government never gave any thought to the proper management of the affairs of the University to meet the new needs and requirements. Retired civil servants and old and ineffective persons with neither any zeal nor any imagination, were commissioned to preside over the destiny of this University. Their failure to give any new direction to the University resulted in the deterioration in its affairs.

The problem of finding a new Vice-Chancellor arose when Dr B. N. Ganguli resigned his post last summer. A panel under the Statutes of the University was constituted. The members of the panel were Dr P. B. Gajendragadkar, Dr S. K. Chatterjee and Dr D. S. Kothari. Dr Kothari, because of his association with the University, expressed his inability to serve on the panel

and, in his place, Dr Mohan Singh Mehta was nominated. The panel recommended a list of three names to the Visitor. It is reported that the three names were Dr K. N. Raj, Dr M. N. Shrinivas and Dr Bhatnagar.

As soon as the names leaked out, the vested interests and particularly the communal elements, became perturbed. The reasons are manifold. The Jana Sangh has been a force in the city for a long time. In 1967, taking advantage of the paralysis of local Congress organization and exploiting mass discontent, it captured the Metropolitan Council, the Corporation and five out of six parliamentary seats. It has a large number of its leaders from the University, to name only a few, Sri Balraj Madhok (a self-appointed Professor of History), Sri Vijay Kumar Malhotra, Bhai Mahavir, Sri Ramnath, Sri Mohan Lal, etc. With the party's political ascendancy, they have been trying hard to convert it into a university of their own, reducing it to the status of a provincial university.

Henchmen as Teachers

To fulfil the increased demand for more educational facilities, new colleges were started by the Delhi Administration and in the new colleges, the Jana Sangh managed to get a number of its own henchmen as principals, lecturers and members of the governing bodies. Wherever it was in dominant positions, it did not hesitate in dispensing with the services of the persons who refused to toe its line. The University in a large number of cases stood like a helpless spectator.

Later, when the question of

reconstitution of the governing bodies arose, Sri V. K. Malhotra resisted with all his might the move of the University. In spite of the reconstitution and greater controls by the University, the Jana Sangh still dominates a number of old and new colleges. Though the trusts originally founding the colleges contribute only five per cent of the expenditures, they have a controlling hand in the affairs of the colleges. As the trustees are generally traders and businessmen, they are the allies of the Jana Sangh and have helped it in spreading its network throughout the University.

Tirade Against V.C.

In the past, three important Vice-Chancellors—Dr V. K. R. V. Rao, Sri C.D. Deshmukh, and Dr B. N. Ganguli—were propitiated by the Jana Sanghis and they walked into their trap. They inaugurated and encouraged the Jana Sangh organisation, "The Vidyarthi Parishad". On one occasion, Dr Ganguli was presented a shawl and accorded a reception by the Vidyarthi Parishad and only a few weeks later when Dr Ganguli refused to support some moves of the Jana Sanghis, they branded him as "feeble minded", "pro-Bengali", and so on and so forth.

The Hindi weekly *Panchjanya* notorious for its communal propaganda and controlled by the RSS, started a tirade against him. This reporter was told by a number of teachers whose minds were affected by the venom spread by the communalists, that Delhi being in the Hindi area, it must have a vice-chancellor from the area and those from non-Hindi areas had converted it into a centre for the Bengalees and the South Indians. The case of the Delhi School of Economics was cited.

As has been said earlier, when the recommendations of the selection panel became known, the Jana Sanghis became frantic. They have been hoping that a principal whose association with the Arya Samaj, the Jana Sangh and the RSS are well known and who has been an adviser to the

local Jana Sangh, would get the post. It should be borne in mind that the college under this gentleman allows the RSS to hold its rallies on its campus every morning. In spite of the fact that ninety-five per cent of college expenditure comes from the Government, the RSS holds its training camps for weeks together in this college. He had pinned all his hopes on Dr Kothari. But Dr Kothari did not accept his nomination to the panel. An ally of this principal—a high up in the University—was hopeful of elevation to the gaddi in spite of his age and the suggestion that a person over 65 should not be appointed vice-chancellor.

Jana Sangh Tirade

The Jana Sanghis thought, if Dr K.N. Raj could be made to turn down the vice-chancellorship, there would be a new selection panel and they could hope to induct their own man into the office. But when they came to know that he was not likely to be helpful, they started a tirade against him.

There are other things also to be kept in mind. The Delhi School of Economics is an eyecore for the Jana Sangh because there the academic standards alone count for appointments. The School has been a centre of teaching and advanced research in different fields and its reputation has been world-wide. Here there has been very infertile ground for the growth of obscurantist ideas. Dr Raj who has contributed a lot in building this institution, is an economist of a high international standing and enjoys the respect of his fellow economists and academicians and admiration and affection of his students.

His forthright and frank views on the academic and economic matters have won him admirers but have turned the communalist and reactionary elements hostile. They know that he cannot be intimidated and made to do something under coercion and even threats to his life. His role in the past for securing better facilities and working conditions for the teachers, and his opposi-

tion to irregularities by the management in the colleges and its vindictive attitude, made the Jana Sanghis conscious of the fact that whatever they had gained would be wiped out. It should be noted here that the Economics Department is one of the few exceptions where "Gurudom" does not exist and nobody is persecuted for his political views or disagreement on academic matters with the professor concerned.

The statement by a handful of MPs was part of a well-thought-out plan. It said that Prof Raj was more "a politician" than "an academic person". How strange it is that people like Sri Sundar Singh Bhandari, Sri Kanwar Lal Gupta and Sri Veni Shankar Sharma sit in judgment over a scholar of international repute! They charged him of harbouring communists and securing jobs for third class MAS on political grounds.

The statement immediately drew protests and condemnation from teachers, students and public workers. It was realized that it was not the question of an individual like Prof Raj but the introduction of a dangerous trend of witch-hunting and sitting in judgment over the academicians by unqualified politicians. The entire question of autonomy of the university and academic freedom is linked with this. The statement was further exposed when it became clear that the signatories were not of the view that Dr Raj should be removed from the university itself.

Lies and Falsehood

After the protests and expression of anger, and the refutation of charges of irregularity in appointment and partisan attitude to the communists, the Jana Sangh has now shifted ground and branded Dr Raj as an enemy of Hindi. According to them, Dr Raj's becoming Vice-Chancellor means non-introduction of Hindi as a medium of instruction and examination at the Honours and MA level. The tactics of these elements has been that of German fascists—first put a lie in the mouth of your enemy

and then abuse him. Dr Raj has never been opposed to the introduction of Hindi. In fact, it was he who seconded the resolution for the introduction of Hindi in the University's Academic Council. His only worry has been the academic standards; he has been exploring the ways and means in consultation with his colleagues to introduce Hindi in such a way that the standards are also maintained.

Enemies of Hindi

No sane person will disagree with him that adequate preparations must be made for the introduction of Hindi. A section of economics teachers have been pressing the demand for the introduction of Hindi here and now. Among them, one or two are Lohia Socialists who have nothing to do with reason. Others are either disgruntled elements and writers of cheap economics text-books in Hindi or the allies of the communalists. Some of them think that with the introduction of Hindi here and now all levels, they will have to be given teaching assignments for the MA classes and allowed to guide research scholars. In the name of Hindi, they would be able to move to better positions in the academic hierarchy.

But a scrutiny of the writings of a number of these so-called protagonists of Hindi show that they are really the enemies of Hindi. Their Hindi is incorrect, bad and unreadable, and economics all wrong, their books deserving storage in the dust bins. This reporter makes this statement with full responsibility and is ready to substantiate by quoting extensively from their books.

Having failed in their objective, the communalists activated their student wing, the "Vidyarthi Parishad", headed by Dr Kamla Sanghi, a teacher in the Miranda House. A handful of goonda elements went to the residence of Dr Raj, shouted slogans in abusive language and threatened him with dire consequences if he did not yield. But Dr Raj went to attend Academic Council meeting and took part in its deli-

berations, without bothering about the threats of the demonstrators. Very few people in the university know about the campaign of slander and vilification run by the RSS mouthpiece *Panchajanya* for the last few months. It went to the extent of giving an ultimatum to him that either Hindi here and now, or quit.

It is clear from the above that the present vilification campaign against Dr Raj is a part of the sinister design to convert the University into an instrument in the hands of fascists.

A few words need to be added about the recent elections to the Delhi University Teachers' Association (DUTA) also. Though this body has been in existence for more than a decade it has been active for a few years only. The credit goes largely to Dr N.P. Gupta, the former president, and his friends. The DUTA under Dr Gupta's leadership has constantly fought for the teacher's rights and demands and democratization of the University management.

Some of its resolutions and activities have not been to the liking of the Jana Sangh leaders who are connected with a number of colleges and the Delhi Administration. The decision of the DUTA to support the just demands of the Delhi school teachers and one-day token strike in sympathy, the condemnation of the illegal dismissal of teachers and more particularly of Sri Vinaya Kumar, the abolition of assistant lecturership, demand for the curtailment of the powers of the governing bodies, annoyed them.

This time they conferred and chalked out plans in advance and put up their own candidate for the DUTA presidency as an independent. They enrolled members and spent money. In certain colleges, particularly women's colleges, they enrolled only those teachers as members who were likely to support their candidate. Almost all the Jana Sangh leaders connected with the University took active interest in the elections and Sri Balraj Madhok was present at the booth on the polling day.

Cleverly, their candidate posed as a leftist in certain colleges and as proof cited his article in a leftist paper supporting Bank nationalization. He concealed the fact that the journal's editorial policy had nothing to do with the views of the authors of articles and the journal had always provided a forum of free exchange of views.

Lies and slanders were spread about his rival candidate—a lady. It was said that she was brainwashed in Helsinki and her candidature was decided in Moscow, that a cheque of Rs 1,200 was presented to her by someone supposed to be connected with the CPI, and since she was connected with the National Federation of Indian Women, Smt Aruna Asaf Ali had given funds to her, so on and so forth.

Trip to USA

A group of handful of teachers known as "Independent or unattached Marxists", contributed their mite for the victory of the Jana Sangh supported candidate. The group has always behaved strangely, mouthing radical slogans but in action collaborating with the Americans and the Jana Sanghis. Till now, their sole purpose has been to further their own personal interests. One of them who went on a trip to the USA at the instance of a former CIA official, had been a member of the interview board of the US Educational Foundation which selected Indian scholars, according to his authoritative biographical sketch. Another member of this group makes the claim that he has sacrificed his leadership at the altar of Marxism though it is reported that he has done nothing for the cause of socialism.

This group along with one CPM branch member in the University, worked for the victory of the Jana Sangh supported candidate because they did not like that a person connected with a progressive women's organisation should be elected. It is remarkable to note that a senior member of this group went to the length of advising Prof Raj not to attend the meeting

of the Academic Council, in other words, virtually to yield to the threats of the hooligans.

In the previous DUTA executive the Independent Marxists worked with Jana Sanghis and opposed two-day polling and put the women voters to inconvenience. It is reported that there has been an agreement between the Jana Sangh elements and the so-called "Independent Marxists" to share the offices. The presidency was to go to the senior partners and the secretaryship to the junior partners. When the senior partners got the presidency, the junior partners were elated with joy at the initial success. But they were not given the secretaryship, and the so-called "Independent Marxists" are now isolated. Fearful of the annoyance of their partners they refused to join hands with some members of the DUTA executive who wanted to work for secularism and democracy and, in fact, they tried to wreck it.

One hoped they would see reason, but they refused to do so. The statement condemning outside political intervention into the University affairs and criticising the statement of the Jana Sangh MPs was signed by more than 500 teachers, but the CPM branch secretary and the "Independent Marxists" refused to sign it. A member of the group of "Independent Marxists" said he was enraged by the very sight of a revisionist.

As long as the communalists are not tamed and the teachers, students and people at large do not stand up and foil their game, as long as they shirk work for academic rights, freedom, democracy and secularism, the danger of the BHU incidents being repeated here will continue to loom large.

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EDITORS AND PRESS FREEDOM (Continued from Page 10)

other half representatives of working journalists and employees of the agency concerned should be accommodated, in addition to small newspaper interests. It has also outlined a possible method for allowing the chief editor to function effectively. It may be that the suggestions will have to be modified to some extent to provide a bigger say for the employees including the journalists but the broad framework is clear. So is the purpose, namely to prevent sectional interests from controlling news collection and distribution through the instrumentality of a subservient general manager. Of course, the industrialists owning newspapers will do their best to obstruct the scheme: and if it is implemented despite their opposition, they will undoubtedly gang up to fight the agencies through other means. But that has to be faced by the employees of the agencies with the support of the smaller newspapers and the public.

Change in the pattern of

ownership of news agencies is not enough if our purpose is to ensure the growth of an independent and healthy press in India. It is even more important to free the newspapers from the control of industrial houses. To this there will be much greater resistance. The Constitution will be brought in, and courts will be moved. Nevertheless, it is the responsibility of Parliament to find a way of ending the hold of industries over newspapers. Whatever changes are needed in the Constitution to enable the employees of newspapers as well as representatives of public opinion to manage newspapers will have to be brought about. The first thing that has to be ended is the grip of a handful of families over the country's biggest newspapers.

This will take much time, in view of the known reluctance of those in power to take drastic measures disagreeable to the vested interests. Immediately, therefore, the Government has the duty of implementing those re-

commendations of the Press Commission relating to fair competition and equal opportunity which have been lying in cold storage for fifteen years despite acceptance in principle by Parliament. The price-page schedule is a must if competition among newspapers on equal terms and only on the basis of news content is to be ensured. Alongside this is the ceiling on space that can be given over to advertisements in a single issue. Only then will competition be based on news content and not on raddi value, and only then will the smaller papers be able to secure more advertisements and become financially viable.

The Government's policy in respect of distributing public advertisements also needs radical change. To start with, the Government can publish the actual amount received by each newspaper chain, group or unit from the public exchequer on this account: the figures will tell a tale which many will find disconcerting.



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Latest Trends in Nagaland

RATAN RUDRA

DURING the last one year the Nagaland scene has undergone several changes, both politically and militarily. But it is yet difficult to say if the changes are going to help solve the intractable Naga problem.

Two developments raised high hopes of an early solution of the Naga question. First is the capture of the China-trained military leader of the underground, Mouw Angami, now detained in the capital's Tihar jail. The second is the resounding victory of the ruling party in the last general elections in February.

The capture of the underground guerilla leader and some of his followers were immediately claimed by the army as a decisive victory in breaking the back of the entire underground military set up. And, the victory of the ruling Nagaland Nationalist Organisation Party at the polls was officially hailed both inside and outside Parliament as a demonstrative evidence of the Naga vote for a union with the rest of the country.

To an extent, both the claims were correct. But did the subsequent events of the last few months justify either of the claims to be absolutely correct and thereby justify the sense of complacency exuded in Delhi over the Naga problem?

It is no longer a State secret that the law and order situation in Nagaland during the last six months was far from satisfactory. Despite the official claim of virtual liquidation of the underground armed wing, army convoys had been frequently ambushed in and around Kohima, the State capital, and a number of army

officers and jawans have lost their lives in the hands of the extremists.

Attempts to send fresh batches of Nagas for training in guerilla warfare to Pakistan are reported to have been foiled. But they also prove that the danger is still alive and, perhaps, do not support the earlier claim of breaking the back of the underground.

On the political plane, this had its repercussions too. The apparent consolidation of the underground forces under the moderate banner of Kughato Sukhai has failed. And, nobody knows for certain how moderate the moderate claim is. Certainly this has not strengthened the hands of Sri. Hokushe Sema, the Chief Minister, who had to do serious jockeying for power last time over his Angami rival. It almost threatened the unity of the ruling party.

The factor in favour of Sri Sema was his apparent influence over the moderate faction led by Kughato Sukhai. This must have generated the hope in the party circles that he would be able to rally the moderates renouncing the claim to Naga independence. This would have completely isolated the extremist Phizo faction and greatly helped in the political settlement of the Naga question. But somehow these political calculations have gone awry.

Far from moving closer to the State Government, Kughato Sukhai has moved away from it. He has also lost his earlier control over his own group. Immediately before the general election, Kughato led a sort of a bloodless coup to liquidate the extremist Phizo faction.

Angered by the murder of his brother, Kaito Sema, he captured the extremist leaders like Mahe-sieu, the "President of the Federal Government," and Rameo, the young follower of Phizo. A substantial chunk of the armed wing of the rebel Nagas under the leadership of Zehato Sema also joined hands with him.

Over the months, Kughato failed to consolidate his position. His overtures to Delhi for reopening the talks were spurned. Suspecting that the State Government had a hand behind the South Block stance, he turned away from the State Government.

Lack of progress in the direction of talks obviously led to some disillusionment within his faction. Zehato has now broken away, providing the third force in-between the Phizo faction and the handful of moderates of the Kughato Sukhai brand.

All this may be interpreted as a pointer to the self-dissolution of the underground. But is it so? Even by closely combing the jungles of Nagaland for over a year, the army does not feel fully assured that all the Chinese-trained underground Nagas have been captured, or that the entire military hardware brought by them have been seized.

The self-styled "Brigadier" Thinosille is reported to have taken over the leadership of the Phizo faction and is sending fresh batches for military training either to China or to Pakistan. Apparently, the last word of Naga extremism has not yet been heard.

To further complicate the situation, Zehato Sema is now waiting with his gang to show his military acumen.

What all these add up to is not very clear, but there is no reason to believe these developments have helped any way to solve the Naga problem. The demand for reopening of the talks with Delhi is being voiced again. Delhi's stand that any talk of this nature must be held first with the State Government has not been changed. But the fact is that the State Government itself is under sufficient pressure to urge a resumption of the dialogue

between Delhi and the underground.

Evidence of this has been provided by the recent order of the State Government to suspend even the present "combing operations" permitted under the existing cease-fire agreement. This is to facilitate contacts between the State Government and the underground. A series of meet-

ings are planned to work out a consensus for an early settlement of the Naga problem. Initiative for this has come to a large extent from the State Government.

If any consensus is arrived at, Delhi need not hesitate to change its present posture. For a contended frontier will be a real bulwark for defence.

Dulles and Adenauer. At the July meeting of the CDU this year, Kiesinger made it clear that West Germany has no plan to recognise either the GDR or the Oder-Neisse frontier. He said: "We cannot and dare not do it." In other words, these leaders are not prepared to depart from the objectives of Hitler.

It is clear that no unification of the two Germanys can come about through these leaders, though the Social Democrats and the Free Democrats are now in favour of coming to some understanding with the GDR.

The CDU had staked on war as a solution to unification. But the prospect of a nuclear war cooled the ardour of many Western statesmen. Bonn's "eastern policy" was designed to achieve the same result by other means, such as subversion of the socialist system. Czechoslovakia showed that the Soviet Union would not permit it. Bonn is now resigned to wait for the next war whenever it comes. In the meantime, it wants to ensure the victory of the West by militarising West Germany. This is the direction of Bonn's policy. Do we want to foster this inexorable tendency or acquiesce in it? If we do not, then what is the policy which can thwart these tendencies?

West Germany should not present demands to others, it should win its neighbours' trust, it must convince them that it will not embark on a repetition of gambles for which the European peoples have had to pay so heavy a price. This is the advice given by Harold Rasch, a Professor of the Frankfurt University, in his latest book on the theme "Bonn and Moscow." Indeed, the professor is courageous!

Rasch says that the policies of Adenauer and Kiesinger are fundamentally the same, built on hostility towards the Soviet Union and its allies and aimed at compelling them by hook or by crook to give in to West German claims.

"Revanchism" is a bad word in Bonn. It is labelled an invention of communist propaganda. Rasch is not afraid to call a spade a spade. He says the Bonn demand for a revision of European

GDR : Recognition of Reality

M. S. N. MENON

CAN India make a contribution to European peace and to reverse the inexorable march towards a nuclear war? I think she can, and the first step, though small, is to recognize the realities in Europe. And the most obvious reality is the result of the last war and the Potsdam decisions, the division of Germany and the determination of the Allies not to allow the rise of German militarism again.

Two German states have existed for the past twenty years. The German Democratic Republic will be twenty years old on October 7, this year. Like Vietnam, though in a different sense, it has survived all efforts of the Western nations to subvert it. Today the West recognises that the GDR has brought about its own "minor economic miracle." A recent survey by a West German economic institute showed that the difference between the living standards of West Germans and East Germans is only marginal. And the GDR is now the acknowledged tenth among the industrialised nations. Its separate identity is guaranteed by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty.

India cannot ignore these realities. It is true that India's position with regard to the recog-

nition of the GDR has been progressively shifting. India's case against recognition is that she should do nothing which will make the division of Germany permanent. It is to be assumed that in her opinion non-recognition of the GDR will help the reunification of the two parts.

This argument has no weight in it and a country like India which has itself been partitioned should know better. If there is no possibility for India and Pakistan to co-exist in peace and amity in the foreseeable future, not to speak of any reunification, then this logic is equally applicable to the German problem. The two German states are not only divided ideologically but by bitter memories. Reunification of the two Germanys cannot be brought about by any miracle. They can come together only through a long evolution of social processes as also through a permanent detente between the two super-powers. This will take indeed a very long time.

But the leaders of West Germany do not recognize these realities. After twenty years of rule, the Christian Democrats of West Germany have not tried to adjust their policies to the demands of the time. Instead, they still cling to the policies of

frontiers is revanchism pure and simple. It is now essential to have the courage to accept the frontiers as they stand today, he says.

Rasch puts the "German problem" point-blank: this is no time to engage in juridical petty-foggery in relation to the GDR, to argue whether it is a foreign country or not, whether or not it exists; it is high time to give official recognition to the GDR in full conformity with international law. For the fact is that Germany today has two independent states, each with its own social system, he says.

Rasch is by no means a lone voice in the wilderness. His book mirrors the ferment caused among broad sections of the West German public by the futility of the foreign policy of Bonn. This ferment has been caused mainly by the rise of the spectre of Nazism in West Germany and its revanchist programme. The West German government has refused to ban the NDP. In fact, it has accepted the neo-Nazis as "equal partners" in the West German political life.

All these developments are a repetition of German history. The present West German leaders are incapable of steering a new course just as the Weimar leaders failed to arrest the course of the Nazis. The world cannot stand by and witness this inexorable process. It has a responsibility to maintain peace and if possible to find a solution to the German problem.

The Soviet Union and the GDR have in different ways suggested solutions to the German problem. The Soviet Union is above all concerned with the problem of peace in Central Europe and hence its insistence that Central Europe be made a peace zone. This has not been acceptable to the West German leaders. In short, the West German leaders "cannot and dare not do" anything to reverse their policies. It is obvious that the world outside has to take a hand in the solution of the German problem.

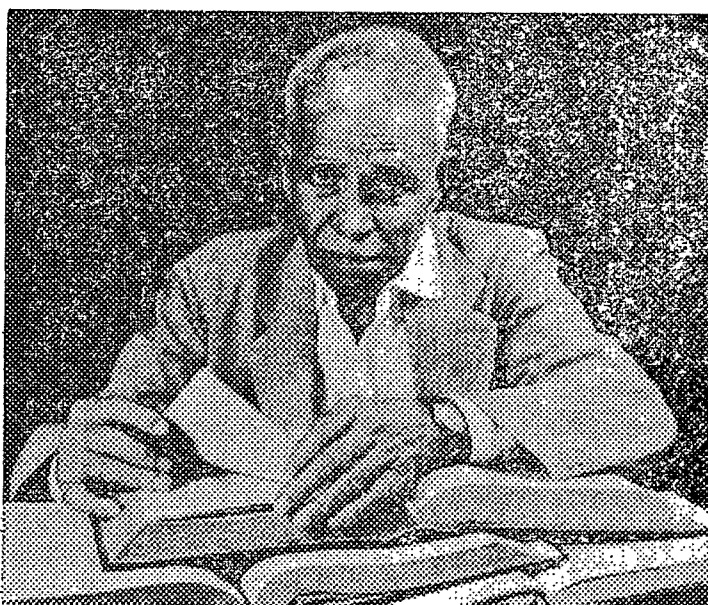
What can other states do in these circumstances? I think the recognition of the GDR should

be the first step to compel the evolution of a new policy in West Germany. Recognition of the GDR in no way implies sanctifying the division of Germany. It is a step to build up world opinion against the unrealistic policies of West Germany.

Already Iraq, Cambodia, Sudan, Syria, South Yemen and the UAR have recognized the GDR and more states will do so in the future.

India's policies in this matter should not be unduly swerved by economic considerations, especially when we are opposed to all political strings attached to aid. In any case, India is no more so dependent on other nations for economic assistance. And there is a final argument: do we want to encourage the extremists in Bonn and the neo-Nazis, or do we consider our own economic interests to be linked with world peace?

"Worn out, but..."



still working at 61—because I postponed Life Insurance too long."

"I always thought Life Insurance provided against early death. Too late, I realised it's provision for old age too—*my* old age. I always kept postponing insurance. Till I became uninsurable. My other savings didn't amount to much. Besides, they were too easy to dip into, unlike insurance. So today I have to work in spite of old age and poor health."

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A Tree Grows in Hanoi

A friend has passed on to me the story of a tree growing not in Brooklyn, but nearer home, in Hanoi. Planted by Dr Ho Chi Minh and lovingly tended for eleven years now, a peepul tree has grown to its full stature to become a landmark and a symbol in this war-ravaged city.

The members of the Indian delegation led by Foreign Minister Dinesh Singh, which went to Hanoi recently to pay India's last homage to the great defender of Asia's freedom, were taken round to see various landmarks of Hanoi, this tree included. A plaque solemnly reminded the Indian visitors that it was once a sapling presented by Dr Rajendra Prasad to Dr Ho Chi Minh when the latter paid a visit to India in 1958.

The Vietnamese official escort for the delegation quietly admired its sturdy branches and deep green leaves. And, almost poetically, he talked of the friendship between the people of India and the people of Vietnam. For eleven years this living symbol of friendship had continued to grow and even withstood the saturation bombing of the US planes over Hanoi.

But, then, the absence of a live contact between the two peoples was too apparent to gloss over. His happiness had a touch of sadness—we still clung to the unreal formality of recognising each other without acknowledging it.

What really has stood in the way of our establishing full diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam? Our "commitment" after the 1954 Geneva Conference to treat equally the North and the South?

The fear that the US would use a penal clause to cut off aid? But must we turn our face from reality?

EXPERT'S FILE

WHILE on the subject of diplomatic recognition, I am reminded of another story, rather jestingly told by a person who should know. I had asked him: how long would it take us to exchange ambassadors with the German Democratic Republic?

His reply was something like this. The Foreign Office has a huge file on the GDR, full of notes by "experts" and officers arguing why India should not recognise it. These notes had piled up since the Government had proffered the argument that India's recognition of the GDR would harm the cause of German re-unification.

And if, today, the Government took courage in both hands, following the examples of the UAR, Syria, Iraq and other countries, to reverse that "decision", it would take an enormous length of time to wade through the notes and discard them one by one, he added.

But, why "one by one"? I would think it would be lot easier for Sri Dinesh Singh to throw the entire file with all its notes into the incinerator that regularly destroys his Ministry's unwanted papers.

If the so-called experts feel dismayed, they could be asked to take note of the recent conference in Delhi which suggested that the GDR's twentieth anniversary should be the occasion to establish full diplomatic relations

with it, instead of merely going through the motions of setting up a trade mission in East Berlin.

These experts could also be asked to prepare fresh notes taking the cue from the speeches of Dr V.K.R.V. Rao, Union Minister for Education, Smt Violet Alva, Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha, and a host of others who participated in this conference.

A HOBBY HORSE

WHEN the manufacturers of the "Fiat" and the "Standard" cars increased their prices, and the Deputy Minister for Industrial Development challengingly said that he would like to see whose "fiat" ran in respect of this unilateral action, it was generally accepted that the Government would ultimately acquiesce in it, if not to the extent the manufacturers wanted.

It has now issued a notification to "control" the car prices, and, as expected, allowed some increase over the existing prices. The case of "Standard" will depend on Tariff Commission's recommendations for its four-door model.

However, the Ministry feels that the real "solution" to the problem of rising car prices lay in the establishment of a public sector plant to manufacture small cars.

The "small" car proposal has an interesting history. Its first ardent champion was Sri Manubhai Shah. But the interesting part was the timing of this proposal. It was mooted just before the 1962 general elections, but nothing came of it. The proposal was resurrected before the 1967 general elections also. However, if the upper middle class voters swallowed the bait in 1962, they proved to be wiser in 1967. It would appear that the preparations for the 1972 general elections have started already.

But my quarrel is with the proposal itself. How many of us in India would be benefited by the production of "small" cars in the public sector at prices ranging between Rs 1,1000 and Rs 12,000? Instead I would think, with less investment, the

public sector facilities could be expanded for the production of passenger buses.

If the Union Minister for Industrial Development had an opportunity to use the city trans-

port service in Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay or Madras, particularly during the office hours, he would certainly have had second thoughts about his hobby horse.

—Sara Patra

BOOK REVIEW

The Imperial Image

The British Image of India. A Study in the Literature of Imperialism 1880-1960. By Allen J. Greenberger. Oxford University Press, London, 1969. pp. viii+234.

WITH the growing influence of sociology on historical studies, attention has been directed towards such aspects and sources of history as had not been important earlier. In this category come the efforts of scholars in recent years to analyse the attitude of alien imperial communities towards the subject people, their country and their culture.

In this connection, Allen J. Greenberger's *The British Image of India* is a valuable contribution towards understanding the working of the British mind in relation to India. His survey extends over eight momentous decades, spanning the apogee of the British Indian empire, its dissolution and relegation to past history. He divides it into three periods that were respectively characterised by confidence, doubt and melancholy. The last provides an epilogue and the first two periods are studied separately under the heads of British self-image, Indian scene and Anglo-Indian relations.

In the era of confidence, as interesting as the things discussed by the writers and their style was what they did not discuss. Thus, nationalism and racial relations, which became the major area of interest in the era of doubt, were non-existent in the first period. This was natural for people who neither entertained any doubt about the tenure of the empire

nor about the sanctity of their imperial mission.

They were preoccupied with ideas of preservation of the purity of their blood and culture, the performance of their duty with an undercurrent of fear of the mysterious Indian powers which would conquer the British if they deviated from their way of life. Obviously, they tended to ignore missionaries and businessmen, and disliked the imputation of economic motive to the British in India. Christianity to them was nothing but a badge to denote the uniqueness of the white man.

Their psychology was also reflected in the selection of their setting. They wrote about an almost Indianless rural India, more often than not located on the frontier where the strong paternal ruler could act unshackled by rules. Indians, when introduced on rare occasions, appeared as two-dimensional characters representing types and doing very little. They were conceived as children—childish, effeminate and fatalist—who had to be looked after by the British guardian. This was an age, Greenberger reminds us, when “sparing the rod” was the equivalent to “spoiling the child”.

But in the 1920s and 1930s, the disenchantment that had been completed by the First World War overtook the British. With loss

of faith in the supremacy of their civilisation, the empire also lost its meaning. Rather, as had happened when the empire was in the process of creation, it was considered destructive for the British. Though some writers retained faith in the empire they could do nothing beyond proving its rightness on the basis of old ideas presented with a new vengeance.

Whatever their views about the imperial mission, all writers shared the feeling that the British in India were no longer masters of their own destinies. “A feeling of melancholy for an empire which, if it were not yet dead, was on the verge of dying, was beginning to fill the British image of India.”

This melancholy was complete by the mid-1930s. No longer was it necessary for either the opponents or the defenders of the Raj to take a partisan view. The feeling that now oppressed them was that of alienation from both India and England. The impossibility of a communication with the Indians realised even in the era of doubt highlighted the sense of rootlessness. In the words of Philip Mason, a leading writer of this period, the British “definitely learned the truth of the platitude ...about people being like islands shouting at each other across oceans of misunderstanding”.

They were torn between their love of *their* India and their recognition that India no longer wanted them. It was this torture of belonging nowhere that made them realise for the first time the miserable plight of the Eurasian that pathetic half-caste created by their own great-great-grandfathers. This was not the outcome of empathy, it was transferred self-pity, the image of the Eurasian was the self-image of the Briton domiciled too long in India to go back to England.

The literary value of the genre studied by Greenberger is slight. But the insight it provides in the mind of the British in India is of vital importance. Greenberger has provided a coherent picture that emerges from the literature of imperialism.

—V.C.B.

TELANGANA AND BRIHAN-MAHARASHTRA

It is reported in the press on August 3, 1969, that Sri J.V. Narsing Rao, Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, while speaking before the Urdu Periodicals Association was very critical of the part taken by Maharashtrians, Gujarathis, and Kannadiggas of Telangana in the present movement for separate Telangana. He, it is reported, went to the extent of saying that, Maharashtrians on one side speak of Brihan-Maharashtra and on the other take the stand for division of Andhra Pradesh. Sri J. V. Narsing Rao and his like-minded men, have used in the recent past and are still using this argument against Maharashtrians of Telangana quite frequently. Some time back, it appeared in a statement in the press that Maharashtrians who held a conference on Brihan-Maharashtra in Hyderabad in January last, had no business to take side in this present movement.

I am constrained to make certain clarifications for the benefit of Sri J. V. Narsing Rao and politicians of his school. Brihan-Maharashtra is a federating body with its central office at New Delhi. It is a cultural and a purely non-political organization, without any designs to expand the present boundaries of Maharashtra. No individual can become its member. Any institution with an object of preserving and promo-

ting Marathi language and culture can become its corporate member. The salient aspect of this federal body is that almost all of its corporate members are from outside Maharashtra. Few institutions from within Maharashtra think of becoming its member. Brihan-Maharashtra is a body which tries to bring together, once in a year Maharashtrians who have made their home outside Maharashtra. Annual conferences are held outside Maharashtra. Thus in January 1969, it was held at Hyderabad. Sri J. V. Narsing Rao and his team-mates should note that, since the emergence of Shiv Sena in Bombay, every annual conference of Brihan-Maharashtra has condemned Shiv Sena and its activities as a dangerous social evil in the national life. Brihan-Maharashtra has nothing to do with administrative or political set-up of Maharashtra or for that matter, any state of the Indian Union. It has material help and organizational expertise to offer to its corporate members. It excepts only one thing every individual Maharashtrian living outside Maharashtra: while preserving Marathi language and culture in his own family, he should identify completely with the aspirations of the people of the region wherein he has made his home.

Apparently, Sri J.V. Narsing Rao and his crowd have never cared to understand what Brihan-Maharashtra means and what it stands for. The mission of Brihan-Maharashtra serves to bring together annually, at one place outside Maharashtra, the representatives of Marathi institutions functioning all over India beyond Maharashtra. The purpose? To spread the

message: wherever you may be, be loyal to the region, happiness will be yours.

I think I have made sufficiently clear the irrelevance of implicating Brihan-Maharashtra in arguments and statements by men holding responsible positions.

Now about the Maharashtrians or for that matter any other linguistic group taking part in the present movement for separate Telangana. Firstly, a few Maharashtrians taking sides need not necessarily mean that the sentiment of that whole linguistic group is on that side. Secondly, it is not a struggle between linguistic groups but, a battle for bread. In this turmoil which is going to decide the fate of Telangana as a distinct region, as a conspicuous culture, and as an economic entity with Telugu as its language, how is it possible for one to remain a silent spectator, as Sri J.V. Narsing Rao and his many chaperons expect one to be? In the present struggle for survival of a distinct identity, that is Telangana if Sri J.V. Narsing Rao and his supporters intend to woo the linguistic groups on their side, then they should use better arguments than those which have provoked me to write these lines.

Hyderabad Arvind Koratkar

AN INTERVIEW AT HANOI (Continued from Page 12)

house, is today a lone person left in his family. The "humanitarian" US bombs had killed his parents, wife and children.

I can also tell them the story of 19-year-old peasant girl, living in a village several miles from Vinh—a sturdy peasant girl whose village too had the taste of US bombs. I had met her and photographed her. She had downed with a submachine gun, an American plane on a paddy field near her village.

Who knows if the pilot of that plane, if captured, is not the husband of one of the three American women?

The article *Sadoba on Sadoba* to be published in this issue, has been delayed due to the sudden illness of the author.

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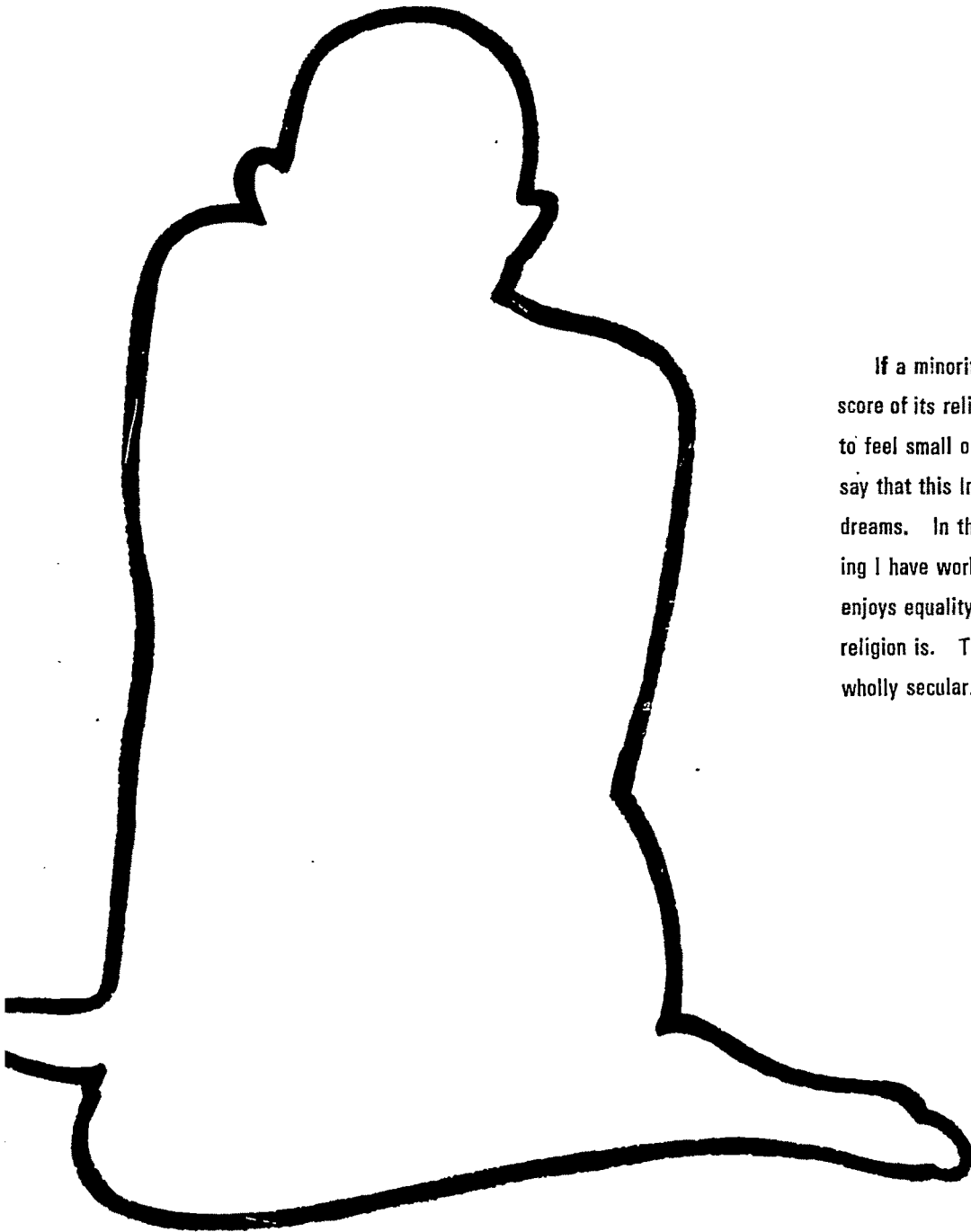
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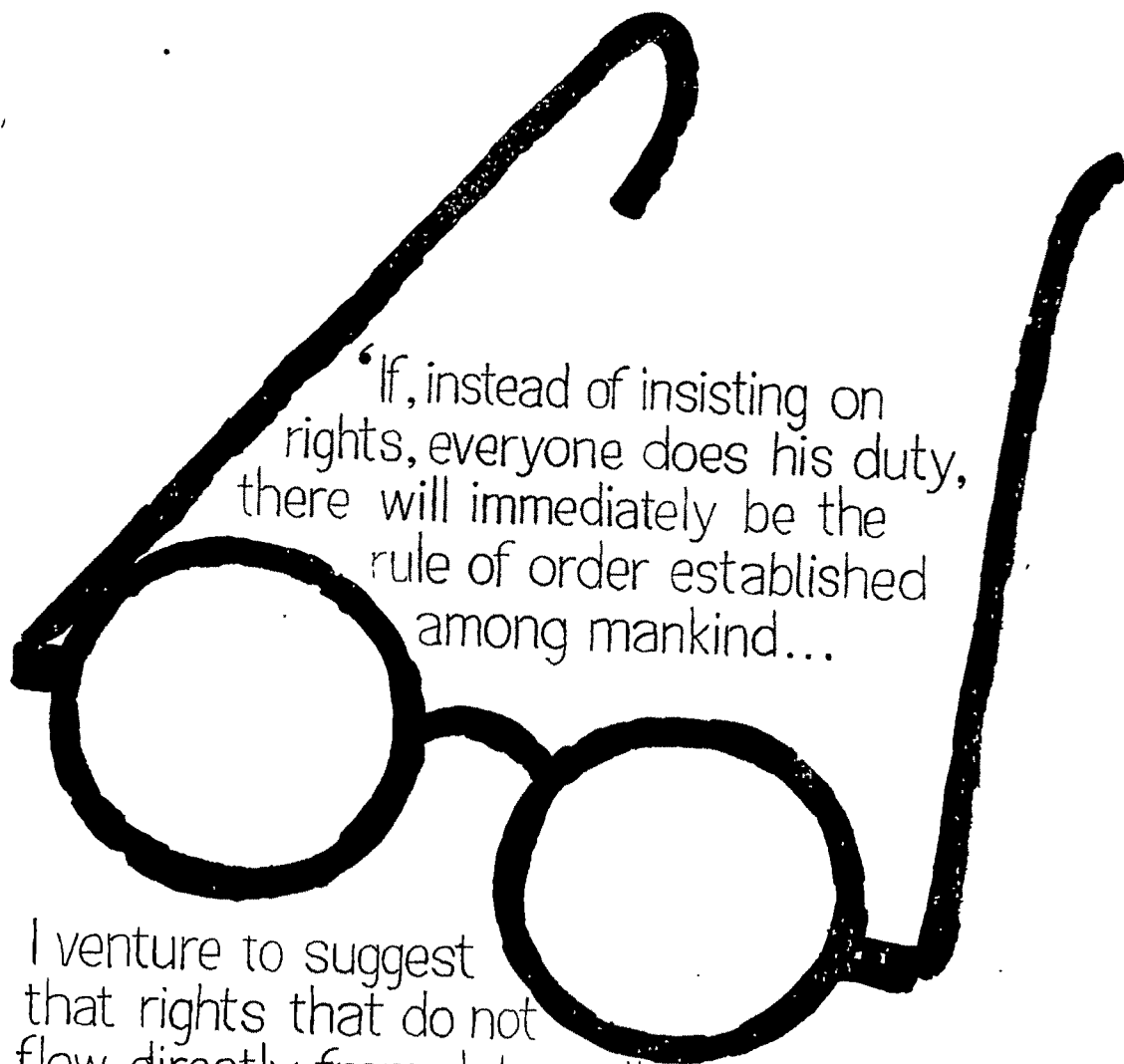
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If a minority in India, minority on the score of its religious profession, is made to feel small on that account, I can only say that this India is not the India of my dreams. In the India for whose fashioning I have worked all my life, every man enjoys equality of status, whatever his religion is. The State is bound to be wholly secular.

Harijan, August 31, 1947

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'If, instead of insisting on rights, everyone does his duty, there will immediately be the rule of order established among mankind...

I venture to suggest that rights that do not flow directly from duty well performed are not worth having.'

Mahatma Gandhi.



Indian Airlines

**"WHERE HE SAT WAS A TEMPLE,
WHERE HE WALKED WAS
HALLOWED GROUND"**

— Jawaharlal Nehru

"The Andhras have captivated me"

WHAT MAHATMA GANDHI SAID OF
"ANDHRA DESH" AND ITS PEOPLE

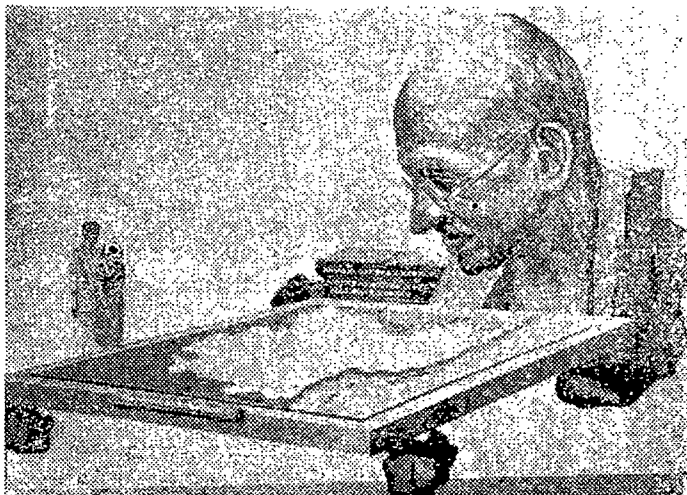
"The Andhras are a virile people, proud of their traditions. They are devoutly religious people, capable of sacrifice. Much is expected from them by the country."

* * * *

"Andhra Desh is full of vigour. The people are strong, powerful, insistent, generous and loving. They have faith in the future of their own province, and India."

"The Andhras have captivated me. Andhra has hardy, staunch workers, it has resources, it has poetry, it has faith, it has the spirit of sacrifices. It has the greatest possibilities in hand-spinning and hand-weaving and grows fine cotton. It has two mighty rivers watering the hinterland. It has ports which were at one time famous."

(Young India, April 13, 1921)



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Unfinished Revolution

THE birth centenary of Mahatma Gandhi is not an occasion for rejoicing but for sorrow that the people of India are still far from the goal of social and economic equality which he cherished and for which in his own inimitable way he strove all his life. The sorrow is intensified by the fact that despite declaring ourselves a secular democracy—a concept he gave us in clear terms—we have allowed the very forces of reaction which opposed him and finally destroyed him physically to continue to obstruct the onward march of our people.

It is universally recognized that the biggest contribution Gandhiji made to our national life was to teach us the value of mass mobilisation and mass action and to teach the people to shed all fear. The inheritors of his mantle, whatever their specific fields of action, lost sight of the goals and clung to the methods he employed, forgetting that he alone knew how to use them effectively. They failed to comprehend the full significance of his message; and some of them deliberately sought to use his emphasis on non-violence to mislead the masses back into the era of inaction and subservience.

Through the years Gandhi's message rings out clearly enough: Religion is an irrelevance in the political life of a nation, while it is no doubt an important personal need in the case of the majority. Exploitation of the many by the few must end. The hungry millions are entitled to work and a fair wage. "To them God can only appear as bread and butter." There has to be a levelling down of the few rich who have cornered the bulk of the nation's wealth and a levelling up of the semi-starved millions. In the battle between the haves and the have-nots the whole weight of the Government should be thrown on the side of the latter.

Land should belong to the people and not to a select few, and should be used to the benefit of the masses as a whole. Hindu society should be rid of exploitation based on caste, and the agricultural worker and the landless, who invariably belong to the so-called low castes, should become entitled to the fruits of their labour, to a decent life as the equals of others. The rich should be trustees of the nation's wealth, but if they failed to behave, the masses should deprive them of their privileged position. His emphasis on ahimsa should not make us lose sight of the radical goals he set for the people.

How far are we from the goal? We have only to look round to see that in the years of freedom the goal has receded rather than come nearer. The capitalist class has grown more powerful than ever before, monopolies have been firmly established, the agricultural worker is yet to gain even a bare livelihood, not to speak of

the "decent life" Gandhiji envisaged, the urban working class continues to be cynically exploited. A new class has indeed grown up in these years which has gained economically as a result of independence, but the vast majority of our people remain more or less where they were when the British quit India.

Despite his martyrdom, communalists are able to organize violence on a big scale, timing such disturbances to coincide with any new trend towards mass action in support of radical economic changes. Harijans continue to be harassed and so also the tribal population. Social and economic equality is nowhere in sight, despite the existence of several parties pledged to this cause.

The centenary should essentially remind us that the revolution which Gandhi began is far from finished, that, in fact, we have permitted a setback to occur. We should remember that the essence of Gandhi does not lie in ahimsa or "trusteeship", but in his deep concern for the poverty-stricken masses of India. So long as poverty remains anywhere in India, and so long as there are entrenched economic interests and conspicuous affluence among a minority, the revolution remains incomplete.

The revolution cannot be carried forward by the labelled Gandhians or even by a handful of dedicated men to whichever party they may belong; it can only be carried forward to success by mass mobilisation and mass action on basic social and economic issues without allowing communal and other bogeys raised by vested interests to divert attention from the goal. It is precisely here that we, inheritors of the great heritage, have failed miserably to live up to it.

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Thus, if any pledge is to be taken by the people of India on the birth centenary of the Mahatma, it is that we, the people, will collectively and unitedly fight the exploiting classes and continue the struggle unrelentingly till the goal of economic equality is reached, that we will not give a chance to communal or other reactionaries to retard our struggle for establishing ourselves as masters in our land.

To fulfil this pledge is not easy: it requires the

dedicated service of our genuinely democratic political parties, our trade unions, our intellectuals and our workers in farflung rural areas. It requires the firm rejection of communal parties and groups, as well as of the parties and groups defending the status quo. We shall achieve the Gandhian goal only if we determinedly remove the many obstructions in the way, ranging from the power of big money to obscurantism. Let this then be our pledge.

POLITICAL NOTEBOOK

Celebrating The Centenary

ARE we paying lip service to Gandhiji as we celebrate his birth centenary, or do we take him seriously? Did we ever take him seriously?

His greatest contribution was *abhay*, fearlessness, and we are trying to strike terror in the hearts of our fellow citizens to compel them either to live at our mercy or be annihilated. Gandhiji gave precedence to Hindu-Muslim unity over freedom, but today in free India every Muslim lives in fear of his life. Gandhiji wanted a social order based on love, but we teach our children to hate their brothers and citizens.

I have before me a primary school text-book in Hindi in which the first illustration is that of Shivaji killing a Muslim, the second is that of child Chhatrasal single-handed slaying a group of Muslims, the third shows Skandagupt invading the land of Huns across the Himalayas, and with these pictures are stories suggesting how deceitful Muslims are and how bad the Huns were.

Gandhiji wanted us to be exposed to all cultures so that we could take the best of them without being alienated from our own moorings, and we treat Islam as an alien religion and openly advocate its "hinduisation". Not that all of us have turned barbarians: they are only a handful of them in our midst. But we tolerate them and

allow them to indulge in brutalities and at times even connive at their activities. In any case, we have done nothing serious beyond passing resolutions and issuing statements and at times expressing feelings of horror and shame. Are we not a nation of hypocrites?

What has happened at Ahmedabad may remind some of those gruesome days immediately before and after Independence when man had become beast, but the real point is that the beast has remained alive all these years and has not been tamed. Immediately after Gandhiji's murder, aggressive communal organisations were banned and their leaders put behind the bars. But shortly afterwards the doors of the Congress were opened to these murderers and preachers of hatred by a resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee at a meeting at Sardar Patel's residence when Jawaharlal Nehru was abroad. The resolution was put in cold storage because of Nehru's opposition.

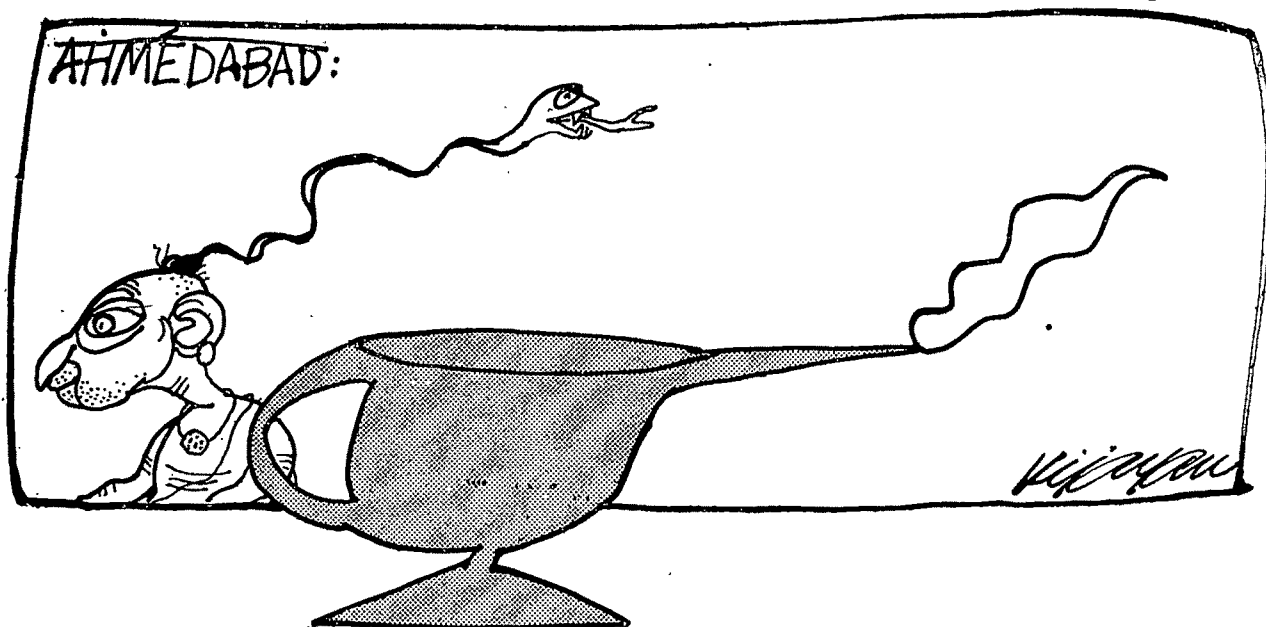
But the trends within the Congress sympathetic to the forces of communalism persisted and even made efforts to capture the Congress organisations. These efforts were frustrated when Nehru took over the presidency of the Congress, but sympathy for communalism remained. In the meantime, the ban on communal organisations was removed and,

in fact, they were allowed to put on the mask of "culture" to help them to continue spreading the poison of communalism in our body politic; they were also allowed to set up a front organisation for political activity so that they could some day realise their ambition of capturing political power.

Gradually, functioning as a "cultural organisation" infiltrating into the services and even the police and the armed forces, speaking in the name of militant nationalism (substituting "Bharatiya" for "Hindu"), these dark forces were able to acquire some respectability and a political following for their front organisation simultaneously training their so-called volunteer army to carry on the work of annihilation of a section of citizens they regarded as alien. In this manner they were permitted to undermine the very basis of our secular democracy.

Communal Virus

As a result, after a short period of lull, the incidence of communal disturbances began to rise, and with every year these disturbances became more ferocious, taking a heavier toll of life than in the previous year, and spreading to new areas till then not affected by the virus of communalism. The tensions generated by economic development, the frustration caused by the



Chinese invasion, the problems created by difficulties resulting from the switch over from development to defence-oriented economy and various other factors were not only utilised by the communal¹ forces for their end; these tensions were also accentuated by communal forces and the national unity built in the wake of the Chinese invasion was very soon shattered in a planned manner.

Glaring Example

All this could happen because there was sympathy for them within the Congress, despite professions of secularism. This became apparent when in the days of Lal Bahadur Shastri, the leaders of communal gangs were given access to the highest levels and, during the Indo-Pakistan war, they were allowed participation in civil defence despite protests from Smt Indira Gandhi. Later, the sympathy of Congressmen for them found expression in the theory of "like-mindedness" and this sympathy was reciprocated by the support extended by the communal forces along with other reactionary elements in the country to the Congress bosses when the latter came under attack from radical sections in the party for non-implementation of agreed programmes.

The most glaring example of the support of the communal forces to the Congress bosses was seen in their reaction to Sri Morarji Desai's ouster from the Government and their attacks on the Prime Minister for the role she played during the Presidential election to frustrate the plans hatched by the Congress bosses and the communal forces to capture power. There is nothing surprising in the communal forces and the Congress bosses having sympathy and admiration for each other and ganging together to capture power; they represent two facets of Indian reaction and both serve as instruments of the Indian monopolists and their foreign partners—the Congress bosses helping their paymasters to acquire more economic power and the communal forces paving the way for the monopolists and their feudal allies to continue exploitation of the people by keeping them bound to superstition and obscurantist ideas and dividing them on religious basis. This, in fact, is the basis of the theory of "like-mindedness" which has gained currency lately.

It is in this background that the Ahmedabad disturbances should be viewed. The timing of these disturbances should be noted and also the change in operational style of the gang-up of communal forces and Congress

bosses. As far as the timing is concerned, it should be remembered that ever since the Bangalore session of the AICC, there have been reports of the danger of large-scale communal disturbances breaking out somewhere or the other. These reports were followed by a sudden decision of the leaders of communal gangs on the eve of the Presidential poll to spread out into the country and visit various States.

Reaction's Offensive

The significance of Bangalore in this context lies in that it marks the beginning of an attempt to radicalise Indian politics, take it out of the rut into which it had fallen, move the people and rally them for bridging the gap between promise and performance and for implementing forgotten promises. The nationalisation of fourteen banks and the removal of Sri Morarji Desai from the Government, unleashed popular forces which could not be controlled by anyone, and for the Indian reaction it looked as if it now had to retreat step by step and give up the advantages it had acquired in recent years. Every attempt to "discipline" the Prime Minister added fuel to the fire. It was at this time that the Ahmedabad disturbances occurred. They were the first major counter-offensive

of the Indian reaction in an attempt to divide the popular forces and check the tide of radicalisation.

This view is confirmed by the Ahmedabad operational technique. Close study of the earlier disturbances showed that the technique was to create tension, provoke the minority community to strike first, involve the people in what is regarded by them to be a counter and defensive measure, after the crowds disperse indulge in stray stabbings over a wide area to envelop it in the disturbances. The stab wounds showed that the hand wielding the knife was trained to use it to kill and use it in a particular manner. In Ahmedabad, tension existed; it was being built up over the last two years, in course of which there were a number of communal disturbances in Gujarat. The Al Aqsa protest march by Ahmedabad Muslims provided a pretext to intensify tension, and a minor incident resulting in a clash between a crowd of Muslims and some Sadhus was used to set fire to the entire city of Ahmedabad, not excluding the posh areas of the city. Whole rows of houses were set ablaze; and instead of stabbing, the killers caught hold of those who rushed out of burning houses, tied their hands and feet and threw them alive in the fire to burn. Not stray stabbings but wholesale murder was the new technique.

Danger Continues

It was not just one of those disturbances which were meant to have local impact; it was intended to be a very widespread thing and this is borne out by the quickness with which it spread to other parts of the State and by the attacks on trains. There were reactions elsewhere also but, forewarned, the local authorities took prompt action. Even now the danger continues that disturbances might break out in some other places.

The Gujarat Government, its political as well as administrative wing, cannot escape responsibility for its role during the holocaust. It was warned six months ago

and again recently by the Union Home Ministry, but it chose to ignore these warnings; after the disturbances broke out, it was approached by the minority community leaders for police action, imposition of curfew, and banning of a public meeting to be held the next day by communal elements, but even at that stage it did not want to do anything. It is not just a case of complacency or inefficiency; it is not even callousness. The Gujarat Government is being accused of communal bias.

Provocative Speeches

Is it not a fact that the leaders of the communal forces who led the mob attacks on Muslim bastis have access to the highest quarters and were, therefore, not arrested till the Union Home Secretary drew attention to this failure? Is it not a fact that in the initial stages the political and administrative leadership winked at the disturbances and till quite late—again, only after the Union Home Secretary reached there and drew their attention—the local anti-social elements were not arrested, although it was openly said that they were indulging in arson and murder? Is it not a fact just before the disturbances began, communal leaders who had openly expressed sympathy with Sri Morarji Desai on his ouster and had attacked the Prime Minister for nationalising banks and rallying the people in support of her

program, delivered provocative speeches while eulogising certain Congress leaders? There are many more things which can be cited in support of the point.

Sri Morarji Desai rushed to Ahmedabad and undertook a fast. But it had no impact on the situation. As against him, Sri Indulal Yajnik, while fasting, went round the affected areas, mobilising people for restoration of peace, providing relief and applying the healing touch. Sri Desai's demand reportedly was that the army should be withdrawn so that the people could come to an understanding among themselves. This was a demand which, if met, would have helped those who were indulging in murder and arson. Besides, the stooges who run the State Administration looked on the situation from a factional point of view; they resented the visits of MPs, Central officials and even the Home Minister and the Prime Minister. But if the officials had not gone and pointed out to the State Administration the weaknesses of their arrangements, and if the MPs and the Prime Minister and Home Minister had not gone there to create a feeling of confidence among the minorities, things in Ahmedabad would have been much worse.

This is the attitude of the so-called Gandhians and their way of celebrating Gandhiji's centenary in his own home State!

G. M.

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by

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Crisis of Confrontation

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

RESIGNATION of Sri C. Subramaniam from the post of the PCC President is not the final but the beginning of a new chapter in Tamil Nadu Congress. A new dimension has now been added to it by the Prime Minister announcing her intention to stick to her original itinerary, notwithstanding the telegram from Sri P.G. Karuthiruman, leader of the Congress Legislature Party, requesting her to postpone her visit from October 3 to October 12. The fat is on the fire, and a new round of inner-party struggle is on.

Sri Subramaniam has opened his account with a sharp attack on Sri Kamaraj. He has accused the latter of having offered the Prime Ministership to Sri Y.B. Chavan on behalf of the syndicate with the hope of enlisting the Union Home Minister's support to oust Smt Indira Gandhi from office. He has also revealed, Sri Kamaraj and the syndicate had received a rebuff that Sri Chavan's commitment was to the extent of supporting the candidature of Sri Sanjiva Reddy, and nothing beyond. Efforts to get an immediate reaction of Sri Kamaraj till the time of writing have succeeded in securing only a laconic "no comment".

It remains to be seen how the Tamil Nadu PCC handles the tour of the Prime Minister in the context of the latest developments. The dominant PCC group led by Sri Kamaraj was annoyed that Smt Gandhi's visit would only boost the standing of Sri Subramaniam in the Pradesh Congress ranks just at a time when it had more or less completed the necessary arrangements for his ouster from the post of the PCC Presi-

dent. Therein lies the answer to the query: Why this insistence on postponing Smt Gandhi's visit to October 12.

The General Body of the Pradesh Congress is scheduled to meet on October 11, with the main topic on agenda being the notice of no-confidence against Sri Subramaniam. Sri Karuthiruman told newsmen that a majority of the 375 members of the PCC had lost confidence in the President and had requested him to step down. He had also charged that Sri Subramaniam had not consulted either the PCC or other senior leaders in regard to the invitation to the Prime Minister to tour the state, nor even in finalising her public engagements.

Interesting Background

Sri Karuthiruman was confident after the no-confidence motion carried with an overwhelming majority, a new PCC President would be elected on that very day, and "it is the right of this new leader to invite Smt Gandhi and arrange for her a grand welcome in Tamil Nadu."

The developments leading to the resignation by Sri Subramaniam are equally interesting and give an insight into the confrontation between the dominant PCC group and the supporters of Smt Gandhi in Tamil Nadu.

At one time, Sri Kamaraj was the sole spokesman of the TNCC, but not so now. The dissenter, inconveniently for him, was at the helm of the Pradesh Congress, and identified with the Prime Minister's camp. As against his earlier reticence, Sri Subramaniam had of late become quite assertive. In reply to being dubbed by Sri

Kamaraj's supporters as the "stooge" of Prime Minister, he usually hit back with "so what".

Far from being reconciled to the Working Committee's resolution on unity and discipline, the Kamaraj group had been mounting pressure on him to resign. His continuance as the "spokesman of the PCC" was certain to weaken Sri Kamaraj's position at the national level. At least one District Congress Committee, operating from North Madras, had passed a resolution calling Sri Subramaniam "a traitor" and demanding his resignation.

Tearing Campaign

The Pro-Congress dailies, *Navasakthi* (owned by Sri Kamaraj) and *Nathigam*, edited by a new entrant to the Party Sri P. Ramaswami, had launched a tearing campaign against the Prime Minister and her "agent" in Tamil Nadu. There have been reports of Sri Subramaniam's critics drawing inspiration from the "Perunthalaivar" (great leader), Sri Kamaraj.

On the other hand Sri Subramaniam knows he is wanted more at Delhi than here, because in the final analysis it is Sri Kamaraj who still controls the party machine through a network of "dependable" followers. He has said, the tirade against him was part of the continuing confrontation at the national level and he was obliged to face up to the challenge to the policies with which he was in agreement.

In his efforts to fight back the onslaught, Sri Subramaniam had annulled the order of suspension passed against five Congress workers by the Madurai District Congress Committee for their act of "indiscipline" in holding a black flag demonstration against Sri Kamaraj last month. He suspended from the party Sri P. Ramaswami for his "vituperative attacks on the person of Smt Gandhi".

He declared that the working Committee's resolution of August 25 should be taken as the last word on the recent controversies and any one agitating against it would be dealt with severely. "So long as I remain the President

of the PCC," he said, "I am committed to enforcing discipline. It would not speak well of those who talk endlessly about discipline of open criticism of the Working Committee's resolution."

Sri Kamaraj, perhaps, felt that his "higher stature" did not warrant a public controversy with Sri Subramaniam who, at best, could only be a "shaft in the Prime Minister's bow". He, however, kept the controversy alive. He made this clear when he addressed a public meeting recently to honour Sri A. Nedumaran, a Congress worker recently released by the High Court from a DMK prison.

Kamaraj's Target

He did not make a direct reference to Prime Minister. All the same, he left none in doubt about his target. He declared that those who "talk now about the achievement of bank nationalisation have really no moral right to claim credit for the same." Why? "These were the people who were pleading practical difficulties all these years when I was pleading for outright nationalisation of all the banks."

Here are other significant passages from the same speech. "I insisted on bank nationalisation as our policy plank to be included in the election manifesto. But I was told then that once this was done, big business would become hostile to the Congress and we would not be getting any money from them for election work. I had to yield ground. But I told Indira Gandhi that, after the election, banks should be nationalised as a top priority. She agreed with me.

"I do not want any certificate from anybody for my progressive views. I am what I am. Perhaps those who are not genuinely progressive may crave for the certificate from others for their progressivism."

Apparently, Sri Kamaraj has not closed any chapter, nor forgotten anything, nor forgiven anybody. He is keen to keep the issues alive. His pride has been hurt rather too deeply. He has been labelled a "reactionary".

This is about the greatest insult one can hurl at him. He will not take it lying down.

To fight back, he has to have his strength. So long as Sri Subramaniam was at the helm of the PCC, he could not claim to speak for the Tamil Nadu party, in its entirety. Therefore, there was encouragement to the "loyalists" to mount open attacks on Sri Subramaniam, while he himself maintained diplomatic silence. This is the tactics he had always adopted and with some success.

Sri Subramaniam never had a group of his own in the party. It was because of his dislike of being accused of indulging in "clique politics", that he scotched the move last year against Sri Kamaraj by two different groups. They had sent a memorandum to the High Command requesting its intervention to "discipline" Sri Kamaraj from interfering with PCC affairs. Over 70 Congressmen who had signed the memorandum, requested the Prime Minister to advise Sri Kamaraj to retire from active politics.

Vituperative Campaign

Sri Subramaniam was furious with former Chief Minister M. Bakthavatsalam, who was deemed then to have inspired this memorandum. He made it clear that he could not separate Sri Kamaraj's personality from the Tamil Nadu Congress and would not encourage any move that might hurt his feelings.

It, however, remained his grievance that Sri Kamaraj did not reciprocate the gesture he had shown. In the last two years, a "clique" that professed loyalty not so much to the Congress as to the personality of Sri Kamaraj had been carrying on a vituperative campaign against him. It had called him a "Swatantra-DMK agent inside the party", a reactionary close to "our class enemy, Rajaji", etc. Kamaraj could have disciplined this clique and stopped their propaganda, but did not.

Two months ago, Sri Subramaniam had offered to resign. He bluntly told Sri Kamaraj that he could not func-

tion effectively in an atmosphere of "suspicion and distrust being promoted by this small coterie." Either Sri Kamaraj should call off this "propaganda of insinuation" or accept his resignation and assume direct personal control of the organisation. Sri Kamaraj persuaded him to stay on. He did not, however, promise him anything. Everything would be all right in due course, he conveyed to Sri Subramaniam, dismissing all of the latter's complaints.

Policy Confrontation

How much of a policy confrontation is this? Sri Subramaniam has taken pains to trace all of the "political and historic perspectives" of this confrontation. He circulated to party activists last week his assessment of the "Political Situation Today", in the form of a booklet, issued by him in his capacity as the "President of the PCC—and not by the PCC as such. Sri Kamaraj was curious whether it was an official publication of the PCC, and his reported answer was: "Yes, it is, in the sense it is a working paper on the basis of which there can be a debate in the party's appropriate forums."

Therefore, it can be assumed that Sri Subramaniam has also launched his own campaign to counteract his critics and those "who inspire them." His campaign was for getting in touch with the party cadre without interference from party bosses." And Sri Subramaniam has given many talking points to those who are on his side in this confrontation.

According to Sri Subramaniam, Socialists who believe in democratic methods constitute the bulk of the party. The second group is a "sizable chunk" of left radicals who believe in democratic methods but, in the ultimate analysis, are not bothered much about methods so long as the Socialist goals are achieved. For the time being this group of left radicals wants the fullest use of "State power" for achieving Socialism.

The Third group is made up of conservative "right-wing leaders." The senior leaders of this group have grown with the

much for the cause of Independence. And because of their past record, they have come to be placed in "vantage positions in the party and the government." The leaders of this group attach more importance to production of wealth rather than to social justice.

In the very nature of things, a confrontation between the first two groups, on the one hand, and the third group of conservatives, on the other, could not have been avoided at all. The surprise was that it had not come much earlier than. The country's fourth General Elections and the subsequent mini-election in the four north Indian States early this year, and speeded up both the need and tempo of this confrontation.

The people, no doubt, were disillusioned with the united front governments but this was not the same as their taking to like the Congress once again. "We had assumed that the process of disillusionment of the masses with the UF governments would result in our becoming automatically popular once again with the masses. This became a mirage. Those who did not like the coalition parties did not like the Congress either, as the outcome of the mini-elections proved."

"It is in this background, the Prime Minister's actions have to be viewed. By nationalising the fourteen major banks, she has shown the determination for speeding the process of Socialist advance. Her actions have created, and I am confident would continue to create, a new image for the party. It is on the strength of this new image that the Congress should seek to regain its popularity. This is especially so for Congress in Tamil Nadu—let us not forget we were licked in the last general election and let us not forget that we need to have such a fighting socialist image."

In his thesis, Sri Subramaniam has carefully avoided going into the controversy over "free voting" in the Presidential contest. Even his critics could not adduce evidence to implicate him in the "indiscipline of free-voters." He did not object to whip being

in the State to party legislators to vote for Sri Sanjiva Reddy. Of course, he did not issue any appeal as the Party President seeking support for Sri Reddy, but there was no demand made on him either by Sri Kamaraj or Sri Nijalingappa for such an appeal.

It is idle to contend that Sri Subramaniam's elaborate appeal has had no impact on the party cadre, hitherto sustained largely on a "Kamaraj cult". Before the poll debacle, the Congress in this State was, no doubt, known as the Kamaraj Congress, even as the DMK was, known as "Anna's party", the Swatantra as "Rajaji's party". A whole new generation has come into the Congress, largely attracted to it because of its current role in State politics as the only opposition party critical of the ruling DMK.

In the State's strange political pattern, the conventional opposition parties, the CPI, CPM, SSP, Swatantra and the like, actually function in the legislature at least as the "allies" of the ruling party rather defending it against attacks from the Congress benches. In order, therefore, to sustain its political tempo, the Congress is under compulsion to outdo the DMK in its fervour for Socialism.

The support being given by the DMK Government to the Indira Gandhi Government at the Centre is embarrassing to the average Congress worker. Together with this, the identification of interests between Sri Kamaraj and "reactionaries" like Morarjibhai and Sri S.K. Patil, has come something like a rude shock to the new generation of party activists, drawn into the Congress in recent years from other Left platforms.

Quite a few of party orators would privately admit of "disillusionment" with Sri Kamaraj's role as part of the "reactionary syndicate". These were the people who had been until recently critical of Sri Subramaniam from an ideological left position, encouraged by tacit approval of Sri Kamaraj. Suddenly they find it impossible to attack Sri Subramaniam any more from the same ideological position!

Sri Subramaniam also counts on the support of an earlier

generation of Congressmen that has grown tired of Sri Kamaraj's "group politics", even at the national level. By themselves, these Congressmen may not be in a position to give a popular image to the party, but they have their "secure" places in the party organisation. "Rally round the new leader" provides the attractive new slogan for them to attempt a come back on the basis of the party's new Socialist image. And Sri Subramaniam is looked upon by them as an intellectual opposed to the type of "personality cult" to which they had lately developed aversion, particularly after the poll debacle of 1967.

September 27

COURT NOTICE

Form of Notice under Section 11 of Act VIII of 1890.

In the court of the District Judge at Delhi.

Present

Guardianship Case No. 101 of 1969.

Champa Devi R/o. Anoop Shahar, Distt. Bulandshahar.

Petitioner

Application for the (1) appointment of a guardian to the (2) person of Pidi, Kulki and Disha a minor inhabitant of 10223, Lohia Mandi, Motia Khan, Delhi.

The Petitioner above named having applied to be (3) appointed the guardian of the (2) person of aforesaid minor, the 8th day of October 1969 has been fixed for the hearing of the application, and notice is hereby given to (4) general public that if any other relative, friend, kinsman or well-wisher of the aforesaid minor desire to be appointed or declared as guardian of the (2) person, of the said minor, or desire to oppose the application of the petitioner aforesaid, he should enter appearance in person in this Court on the aforesaid date, and be prepared to adduce on that day any documentary and oral evidence which he may desire to adduce in support of his claim to such appointment or declaration, or in support of his opposition to the application of the petitioner aforesaid.

Given under my hand and the seal of this Court, this 19th day of September 1969.

Sd/-
District Judge
DELHI.

(SEAL)

Last Warning for Sanity

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

AHMEDABAD is apparently, only apparently, returning to normal, and so is Gujarat. But the problem of restoring confidence among the people in general and between the two communities in particular, albeit urgent, is not so simple as all that.

The horrible killings in cold blood, thousands of refugees in the Sports Stadium crying for help and rehabilitation, charred shops and houses all over the city—all point to the havoc played by the communal goondas in the ten days that shook not only Ahmedabad but the whole of Gujarat and the country. The scale of killings, arson and looting is admittedly far greater here than that in any previous disturbances in the country after 1947.

The Chief Minister Sri Hiten-dra Desai was right when he said that "all of us should be ashamed" of the recent happenings in Ahmedabad. Rajyapal Sri Shri-man Narain, after touring the city, has said that havoc had been wrought by "organised goondas", and that, probably, because of this the Administration had not been able to cope with the planned violence arson and looting.

The DIG of the Border Security Force, Brigadier J. D. Nadirshaw, pointed to yet another factor which made the task to trace "goondas" rather difficult—their lists and whereabouts were not known to them.

This naturally raised the question where was the local Administration and what was it doing? It was evident that even after the incident of September 18 around the Jagannath Mandir, the local Administration had not moved. It was alleged that the

police virtually non-cooperated with the BSF and the military force in apprehending those responsible for the havoc.

In the initial period, the Administration took shelter behind the convenient plea to explain away its failure in maintaining law and order in the city; it was doing its best in the given circumstances, was the usual reply. However, after the visits by a delegation of three Congress MPs from Delhi and then by Union Home Minister Sri Chavan and later by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to this unfortunate city, the officials, high and low, started changing their tone and the arguments.

Now they are virtually shaking off all the responsibility by putting the blame on the inaction of the political leaders. They claim that they had acted to the extent they had been asked to by the State leadership.

Many pertinent questions have been posed by the communal disturbances. Observers have been at a loss to find a cogent explanation for the unprecedented outbreak of violence in a place like Ahmedabad which till recently was being proudly called the first social laboratory established by Mahatma Gandhi in the days of freedom struggle.

The inaction of the Administration and its failure to comprehend in time the gravity of the situation after the initial September 18 incident involving some sadhus, cows and the Jagannath Mandir, on the one hand, and the Urs processionists, on the other, is a matter for a deeper probe. It is, however, an established fact that the Administration remained inactive in the first two

days when the communal sentiments were being fanned and stray incidents had started taking place.

It is common knowledge that left to itself, it did not make any effective use of either the Central Reserve Police, the Border Security Force or, later, of the Army, even when the local authorities had completely failed to keep peace in the city.

There are people here who see in the incidents a "counter-offensive" on the part of reactionary forces" to stem the tide of the recent "progressive orientation" in the political developments in the country. If that be so, why was Gujarat, out of all the States, selected to bear the brunt of this operation? One of the explanations available here is that, probably, the "deeprooted conservatism" of the Gujaratis provided a fresh and fertile ground for those who had been marked for their similar activities earlier in the northern parts of the country.

Political circles now tend to recall Jana Sangh leader Balraj Madhok's visit to Ahmedabad a few days before the flare-up. It may have been accidental or out of sheer habit that Sri Madhok had called upon the Gujaratis to pursue the course of "militant Hinduism".

Communal tension had been brewing in the city for the last several months. Even the Central authorities are reported to have drawn the State Government attention to this quite some time ago. The State administration had, however, remained blissfully oblivious of it.

The contrast between the pace of ghastly events of the last few days and the actions and reactions of the Administration is so glaring that it leaves little ground for any justification of the latter's protestations of "efficiency".

The peace committee meeting called by the Inspector-General of Police decided on September 19 that no public meeting should be permitted in the city. But, all the same, the Hindu Raksha Samiti could hold a meeting on September 20. It may be said here that September 20 and 21

Gandhian Concept of Satyagraha

BIBHUTI MISHRA

It has been reported that Sri Morarji Desai has threatened to launch some sort of satyagraha to get justice from the Prime Minister. According to him, the assumption of the Finance portfolio by the Prime Minister was unjust and unreasonable. He, therefore, wants to bring home to the Prime Minister her mistake and focus attention on the injustice done to him by offering satyagraha. It seems, Sri Desai has taken a number of things for granted without pondering over them.

It is his contention that the step taken by the Prime Minister of taking over the Finance Ministry from him was unjust. Everybody knows that the Prime Minister has the constitutional right to allocate and reallocate portfolios. She is the leader of the team and she has the responsibility to see how the team she leads can render the best service and be most effective.

In this particular case, the assumption of the Finance portfolio by the Prime Minister was not unexpected. She had certain ideas and plans to improve the state of economy. She placed her views before the organisation at the Bangalore session of the AICC, and there they were given a unanimous approval. Sri Morarji Desai also took part in the deliberations and finally gave his support to the Prime Minister's note. After getting clearance from the organisation, it was the duty of the Prime Minister and her Cabinet to implement the programme approved at Bangalore. It should be noted that it was for the first time that the Government had shown so much eagerness to implement the Congress resolutions. Everybody

knows the fate of resolutions relating to land reforms.

The Prime Minister this time was serious about putting through the suggested economic reforms. She took the responsibility on herself by taking over the Finance portfolio which was most vital for the successful implementation of the economic programme. She communicated to Sri Desai her intension to do so and at the same time told him not to take it amiss and requested him to continue in the Government as an elder statesman giving her his valuable advice. Sri Desai should have admired the courage, determination and zeal of Smt Gandhi who is much junior to him in age and is also the daughter of his former colleague Pandit Nehru.

I think, he should recall the example of Parasuram who was angry with Sri Rama for breaking the bow of his guru, Lord Siva. However, finding Sri Rama courageous and a fit instrument for the destruction of the demon King Ravana, blessed him and retired to the forests. It had happened in the past that when the older generation found the younger one ready to take over, it would hand over the reins and voluntarily retire.

But Sri Desai has acted in quite the contrary manner and taken Smt Gandhi's action as a personal insult and withdrawn from the Government. Whatever Gandhiji has taught us makes it clear that we should harbour no ill-will towards anyone. We should not let our ego and hurt feeling, real or imaginary, blur our view of the reality.

It is clear that Sri Desai's thinking at the moment is subjective and his feelings are based

on unreal grievances and his recent utterances are contrary to the teachings of Gandhiji.

Satyagraha as propounded by Gandhiji means insistence on truth, and this is to be used for the "vindication of truth, not by the infliction of suffering on the opponent but one's own self". He made it clear while writing in the *Young India* that it was nothing but tapasya for truth.

It emerges from this that a satyagrahi must first of all be sure of the truthfulness of the cause and at the same time it should be borne in mind that it is not a means for redressing personal grievances or taking revenge on the opponent. It is not to be used as a political weapon of expediency. It is a moral weapon based on soul-force. Satyagraha can be practised only by the brave who have the courage of dying without killing, suffering without making the other man suffer or insulted.

Gandhiji had included a few *slokas* of the second chapter of the Gita in his daily prayer. One should go through them. To quote: "Arjuna said: Krishna, what is the mark of a God realized soul, stable of mind and established in perfect tranquillity of mind? How does the man of stable mind speak, how he sits, how he walks?"

"Sri Bhagvan said: Arjuna, when one thoroughly abandons all cravings of the mind, and is satisfied in the self through (the joy of) the self, then he is called the stable of mind. The sage, whose mind remains unperturbed in sorrows, whose thirst for pleasures has altogether disappeared and who is free from passion, fear and anger, is called stable of mind."

Further Lord Krishna added: "He who is unattached to everything, and meeting with good and evil, neither rejoices nor recoils, his mind is stable."

And a satyagrahi must be a man of stable mind. Such a person does not have any ill-will or personal grievance against anyone.

The law of satyagraha is not ill-will or fulfilment of personal desires. To quote Gandhiji:

"For me, the law of satyagraha, (Continued on page 31)

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My Days with Gandhiji

HERBERT FISCHER

MAHATMA GANDHI was a great personality, and personalities are always interpreted subjectively, according to one's own understanding, the narration here of my association with and understanding of Gandhiji cannot but follow the same course.

I must, therefore, explain the background which brought me to India, what the contact meant to me at that time, and also further developments.

When I came to India, in 1936, Europe was in turmoil—after the world crisis of 1929, after Hitler had come to power in 1933, with the shadows of war engulfing the continent, when normal moral values were tumbling.

In this setting, some people realised what should be done to thwart the march towards war, while others still searching for a way out. But many were frustrated. There were also some who took an interest in the affairs outside their country, for example, the independence movement in India and other countries, and also in the personalities like Mahatma Gandhi.

I was a very young man when I wrote to Gandhiji if I could come to India and stay and work with him. I addressed my letter to "Mahatma Gandhi, India". I

received an answer from Wardha written by his Secretary Sri Mahadev Desai. He said that I could come if I did not mind the hardships of living in India. The word hardship was no deterrent for me. I knew then that I had to go to Wardha, 'but had no idea where that was. However when I reached Bombay, some good friends put me on the right train.

When I reached Wardha, Gandhiji had already left for Faizpur to attend the annual Congress session there. I followed suit.

My main concern during that period was how to fight the danger of war. Gandhiji told me that the danger of war from German soil had to be fought in Germany itself, and if I had this idea in my head, I ought to be in Germany. However, circumstances made a return to Germany at that time impossible. But the lesson was clear—the fight against the danger of war had preferably to be conducted in one's own country.

Another thing which impressed me very deeply in this connection was his attitude that evil must be resisted at all costs. Some time his creed of non-violence is misunderstood and misinterpreted as non-resistance. But he insisted on resistance and; in regard to war, his aim was to change persons and circumstances in such a way as to make war impossible.

The German Democratic Republic has eradicated the roots of war by eliminating the economic power of those who profited by wars—the monopolies of arms production and the Estate owners, the Junkers, as they

are called in Germany. After two world wars had been started by Germany, the people in the GDR have vowed to make up for past mistakes by making the outbreak of a third world war from German soil impossible.

It is gratifying that our efforts have not been in vain and we consider that the policy of the first peace-loving German State—a socialist State of workers and peasants—has greatly contributed towards the fact that since the beginning of this century, the longest period without war has been secured in Europe.

In my opinion, one should always and especially in the case of Gandhiji, pay attention to aims. He himself spoke always of his experiments with truth, which meant he was looking for the best ways of achieving his aims. It was like the experiments of a scientist who would proceed from experiment to experiment until he reached his goal.

Gandhiji's experiments also mean a development of his ideas; he was not dogmatic. He changed his attitude at times. In the beginning, he used to say that he wanted to live in such a way that he need not be born again. At a later stage, he said he wanted to live for 120 or 125 years because so much had still to be done here on this earth. From his earlier attitude of "other-worldliness" he changed towards a very pronounced this-worldliness.

Bapu, the Father

To my mind this signifies his supreme concern for human beings and that he put service to humanity at the top of all his aims. This concern for human beings he did not pursue in an abstract way but in a concrete, practical way, so much so that to many he was really Bapu, the father.

During my stay in Wardha, one of the inmates, a girl developed tonsillitis and her tonsils had to be removed. The doctor assured Gandhiji that it was a simple operation and every care would be taken to look after the comfort of the patient. But against the advice of others who

Mr Herbert Fischer, Head of the Trade Representation of the German Democratic Republic in India, first came to this country in 1936 and stayed with Gandhiji. He was interned in India during the Second World War. He met Gandhiji again in 1946 before returning to Germany.

pleaded that he had more urgent work to attend to, Gandhiji remained in the hospital throughout the period of the operation. He made it clear that the girl was in his care and it was his responsibility towards her.

This concern for the individual found its expression in many ways. Once, a boy and a girl working in the kitchen, had a quarrel to the extent of throwing cooking ladles at each other. Both of them rushed to Gandhiji and made their respective complaints. But his reaction was unexpected. He told them that he would not take any food till they composed their differences. These youngsters were in a dilemma. Finally, both of them came to him and assured him that they had made up and only then did Gandhiji take his food.

Let me give another example of his practical-mindedness in his concern for human beings. During the Faizpur Congress session, I was once taking my bath in the open, as all others did. I kept my clothes a little away. But on my return I found my coat had gone and with it my last bit of money. I told Gandhiji I was not worried about the money, but he immediately corrected me. Money was important because it could be used to feed hungry people and to help human beings.

In his attitude, the quest for service to humanity and concern for human beings were always the decisive factors. For example, once in Wardha I noticed a big snake, a cobra, and it was a question whether to kill it or not. My mechanical understanding of non-violence prevailed and I picked it up with a long stick and threw it across a fence to some vacant plot. Later, when Gandhiji heard of it, we that discussed the event. He told me under such circumstances, I should have killed it, because it constituted a danger to human lives.

Gandhiji stood for human dignity. It meant not only his respect for other human beings, but also his expectations that others also showed respect in the same degree. This, in fact, was the basis of his consequent fight for

independence. To him, lack of respect for human beings was something wrong, something sinful.

In the same way, he attached tremendous importance to the dignity of labour. His principle was that every work done, had to be done consciously as a service to humanity, and in this way, everybody must find a purpose in life.

Respect for Work

This is also an important aspect of the training of young people in the German Democratic Republic. Today, student and youth unrest plague many countries, but the GDR is free from it because of the educational system we have adopted. Our system of education, called the general polytechnical school education inculcates in the school children from an early age understanding and respect for work in all forms.

This educational system is also in conformity with Gandhiji's ideas of basic education which stresses the connection between learning and labour.

In our educational system, all through the school years and according to their age and possibilities, the students and pupils are brought in contact with manual labour, agriculture, industry, mostly in conformity with their inclinations. Thus, the students are prepared for future tasks for advancing technical development, for the tasks ahead of us, for which the students are encouraged to search for the required solutions.

In other words, while studying, the students know already on what subjects they will be working in future and where they will be working. This education goes hand in hand with building their character because they are training themselves for service to the country.

This, I think, is an example of following the aims of Gandhiji even if different methods are at times followed. They are in a way developed and carried forward; and have been carried forward successfully.

Gandhiji demanded of his

followers that they be fearless—the necessity of deciding for oneself the right cause and to go forward with that cause irrespective of what it might bring to the individual. He expected fearlessness not only in big things, but also in small things, in day-to-day human behaviour.

For instance, during the prolonged hunger-strike by the political prisoners in the Andamans in 1937, the whole country was waiting with baited breath for its outcome. Telegrams went back and forth between Sevagram, the Viceroy, and the Andamans. One evening an important telegram arrived from the Andamans and it had to be immediately taken to Gandhiji. I was at that time in Wardha. There was actually no road connecting Wardha with Sevagram, it was only a foot track and not very welcome for people after nightfall. I volunteered to take the telegram, and riding a bicycle, delivered it to Gandhiji. He appreciated my work and, as a young man at that time, it was cherished.

Cause of Humanity

Gandhiji had great appreciation for devoted service even if the persons concerned did not agree with him. At one time, one of the leading freedom fighters, whom I need not name here, had a long discussion and prolonged arguments with Gandhiji concerning the freedom struggle. To almost everything that Gandhiji said, he answered with the prefix "Nahin Bapu". Afterwards, Gandhiji said that though the views expressed by the visitor were diametrically opposed to his own, he considered that there was no finer and more devoted fighter for freedom than his caller.

The question is often asked if one is a Gandhian or not. To my mind, Gandhiji never wanted people to be Gandhians, he did not want followers of a cult, he was opposed to deification of himself. What he wanted was servants of humanity, people devoted to the cause of humanity.

(Continued on page 36)

Tolstoy, Gandhi and the Peasant

MOHIT SEN

THE question of ideological indebtedness is always tricky. Much more so when the person indebted is not only such an outstanding, personality as Gandhiji who shaped, as did no other individual, the entire evolution of a subcontinent towards the essential breakthrough to modernity. The entire life of the man, who said that his life was his message, as well as of the movement directed by him, was so utterly original and so thoroughly indigenous that the question of borrowing anybody else's ideas does not seem to arise.

Yet the evidence is quite categorical on the point. Apart from Gandhiji's own repeated references to Ruskin, Thoreau and Tolstoy, there is any amount of cross reference available to establish the fact that many of the Mahatma's ideas and techniques were, to say the least, the result of the appropriation of the intellectual achievements of other sages.

The crucial point, however, is not this fact but that these ideas of sages were converted into the consciousness, of millions, converted, what is more, into the sustained action of millions; such conversion was only possible because of the manner in which Gandhiji transformed these ideas into the tradition and idiom and need of India as she was in the 1920s. (A good example of such conversion is the manner in which he likened the concept of breadlabour, picked up from Tolstoy, to the Yajna, sacrifice, mentioned in the Gita.) All the three elements in the transformation are important. Tradition, idiom, and need were fused into a single mass in an incomparable manner.

This transformation was of such a dimension that one is reminded of the phrase that to borrow in this manner was to be original to the point of genius. The originality arose from the compulsions of providing an ideological banner and ballast to a mass movement. And because of this, at least as far as Tolstoy is concerned, one feels tempted to say that more than borrowing or even impact, it would be more appropriate to speak of convergence or congruence when describing the relationship between him and Gandhiji. Perhaps nothing great is entirely homespun but anything great is always homemade.

The examination of this relationship, incidentally, reveals the hollowness of the charge made against "importing" of "foreign" ideologies. If the imported commodity remains foreign it can do little

to the mind of India. And if it is changed into something indigenous, then, it helps the growth of the mind of India and is to be welcomed. There is, in any event, always the problem of transformation. Only one who can accomplish the transformation of ideas originating outside India in the manner that Gandhiji did, can make such ideas effective. But, then, these ideas become part of the very stuff of India.

One would like to enter a caveat at the lumping of the influence (in the specific sense indicated above) of Tolstoy on Gandhiji as part of the impact of or even the interrelation between Gandhiji and the West. To the extent that these two great minds converged, it was the convergence of two souls wracked with the problem of the transition to modernity of essentially mediaeval and Asiatic societies. This transition involved the problem of the maintenance or resurrection of identity. It involved, further, the critical appraisal of where some other countries had been led by such a transition. It is distressing to find this significant process labelled as westernisation and the attempted response to it on the part of these two master spirits or, rather, the influence of one on the other, as that of westernisation.

What was specifically western about Tolstoy or Tolstoynism? If it is Christianity that is being referred to, then, one has only to recall that Christianity did not originate in the West and the kind of Christianity or Christian anarchism that Tolstoy made his own was far removed from the institutionalised (or "ecclesiastical") Christianity that prevailed in the West at that time. Above all, the transition that Tolstoy attempted to respond to and transform had absolutely nothing to do with Christianity. Indeed, it was his deeply held view that the entire spirit of the post-Renaissance period was commercialised hypocrisy and contrary to the tenets of Christ. Indeed, the impact on or the convergence of the approach of Tolstoy and Gandhi could take place precisely because the social situations in which they lived were largely similar, though the dissimilarities were also significant.

The Russia of Tolstoy was, to quote the remarks of Lenin, one where "the patriarchal country, only recently emancipated from serfdom, was literally given over to the capitalist and tax-collector to be fleeced and plundered. The ancient foundations of peasant economy and peasant life, foundations that had really held for centuries, were broken up for scrap with extraordinary rapidity."

Paper presented to a Seminar on "Gandhi and the West", organised by the University of Mysore.

He has these further penetrating remarks to make about the totality and significance of the views of Tolstoy: "Tolstoy is original, because the sum total of his views, taken as a whole, happens to express the specific features of our revolution as a *peasant* bourgeois revolution. From this point of view, the contradictions in Tolstoy's views are indeed a mirror of those contradictory conditions in which the peasantry had to play their historical part in our revolution.

Role of Peasantry

"On the one hand, centuries of feudal oppression and decades of accelerated post-Reform pauperisation piled up mountains of hate, resentment, and desperate determination. The striving to sweep away completely the official church, the landlords and the landlord government, to destroy all the old forms and ways of land ownership, to clear the land, to replace the police-class state by a community of free and equal small peasants—this striving is the keynote of every historical step the peasantry has taken in our revolution; and, undoubtedly, the message of Tolstoy's writings conforms to this peasant striving far more than it does to abstract 'Christian Anarchism', as his 'system' of views is sometimes appraised.

"On the other hand, the peasantry, striving towards new ways of life, had a very crude, patriarchal, semi-religious idea of what kind of life this should be, by what struggle liberty could be won, what leaders it could have in this struggle, what was the attitude of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intelligentsia towards the interests of peasant revolution, why the forcible overthrow of tsarist rule was needed in order to abolish landlordism.

"The whole past life of the peasantry had taught it to hate the landowner and the official, but it did not, and could not, teach it where to seek an answer to all these questions. In our revolution a minor part of the peasantry did fight, did organise to some extent for this purpose: and a very small part indeed rose up in arms to exterminate its enemies, to destroy the tsar's servants and protectors of the landlords. Most of the peasantry wept and prayed, moralised and dreamed, wrote petitions and sent 'pleaders'—quite in the vein of Leo Tolstoy.....Tolstoy's ideas are a mirror of the weakness, the shortcomings of our peasant revolt, a reflection of the flabbiness of the patriarchal countryside and of the hidebound cowardice of the 'enterprising muzhik'."

The truth of this analysis will be borne out, above all, by a study of the three major works of Tolstoy. One has to recall Nicholas Rostoff in *War and Peace*, indeed the whole ruin of the Rostoff family stands as a contrast to his success. Still more clearly is this revealed in Levin and his tussle with the peasants wonderfully bodied forth in *Anna Karenina*. The peasants wanted to work "gaily and lightheartedly" while he was "fighting for every penny he could get." One finds Levin, eventually, coming out against the "European model" and, indeed, preparing a whole new political economy where labour would not be considered as an abstract force "but as the *Russian Peasant* with his instincts."

Farming, he advocates, should be reorganised on the basis of the Russian working peasant as he was,

with labour co-operatives as the form of the new structure of ownership of land. One discovers Levin reflecting that "alien civilisation artificially grafted on Russia, particularly the means of communications, that is, the railways, which led to a centralisation in towns, a growth of luxury and the resulting development of new industries at the expense of agriculture, as well as credit facilities and, as their concomitant, stock exchange speculations." In another place he ruminates that "every acquisition that is disproportionate to the labour spent on it is dishonest... like the profits made by banks. This is evil, I mean, the acquisition of enormous fortunes without work." The deep understanding that Tolstoy had of the specific problems and propensities of the Russian peasant in the second half of the nineteenth century is expressed in Levin's view that the Russian peasant felt a "vocation to populate vast, unoccupied tracts in the east."

In *Anna Karenina* there is this constant juxtaposition of the tragedy of passion and sincerity in so-called high society and the simplicity and possibility of sincerity in the life lived close to the soil. At the same time it is pointed out that even for a person like Levin the return to this simplicity is impossible—the actual vision of Kitty even as he contemplates the possibility of a marriage with a peasant girl.

It is not as if Tolstoy is unaware of the loss that the abandonment of retreat from the post-Renaissance or capitalist civilisation would entail but he finds its continuance intolerable. Its mixture with the traditional society he finds even worse. Its transformation by the future, built upon its achievements, he has no faith in. Hence, at times an appeal issues for a throw-back, a revival of the unspoiled village communal life, and at others there is the presentation of a botched civilisation as the ideal—the tragic domestication of Natasha in *War and Peace*, and the equally upsetting domestic felicity of the Levins, with Levin himself now finding compensation in mysticism.

In *Ressurrection* the artistic failure is compensated to a degree, by further clarification of Tolstoy's views. Nekhlyudov's obsession with sin and redemption and the repulsion from sex are, of course, to the fore and obviously speak of the author's moral concern. At least as important, however, is the problem of landed property, the class nature of the state and of law.

Dispossession of Landlords

The question of the dispossession of the landlords and reverting the land to the cultivating peasant, who is both more ignorant and less interested in increased productivity leading to enhanced profits, resulting in a relapse to a lower level of productivity, is squarely posed. But since the higher collectivism of socialism, based on the most modern available techniques, is taboo, the question is never satisfactorily resolved.

It is in this novel, though, that Tolstoy is at his most unequivocal in condemning landlordism. The rather idyllic countryside of *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina* gives way to the harsh reality of disease and death. The people were dying out; had got used to the dying out process, and so had formed habits of life

adapted to it. There was the great mortality among the children, the overworking of the women, and the underfeeding, especially of the aged. And so gradually had the people come to this condition that they did not realise the full horror of it, and did not complain, and we therefore considered their condition natural and proper. Now it seemed as clear as daylight of the people's poverty was the one that they themselves knew and always pointed out, namely, that the land which alone could feed them had been taken from them by the landlords."

The influence of Henry George and his scheme for the nationalisation of land is clearly manifest, but the nature of the tsarist state being also clear, the inclination is in the direction of peasant proprietorship. At the same time the suspiciousness of the peasant, caused by centuries of exploitation and suffering is wonderfully conveyed—as it had been done earlier also in *War and Peace* when princess Maria confronted it after her father's death and during the Napoleonic advance.

To focus attention on these aspects of Tolstoy's approach to the peasant would, however, lead to misleading conclusions and from its remarkable congruence with that of Gandhiji's. In *What is Art?* perhaps more explicitly and vehemently than elsewhere, we are given Tolstoy's utter detestation of the post-Renaissance or capitalist spirit in the sphere where he was a supreme master. Once again the alternative proffered is not a reversal to mediaeval landlordism but to an even earlier phase—the Asiatic mode, or the system based on the village community. This throwback is so violent and sought to be achieved through a stress on labour and spontaneous religious perception, that it almost rebounds into a socialist future. The apotheosis of the common labouring man, the supreme value given to sincerity and the stress placed on charity, are to be taken together with the emphasis on the break-up of power through its decentralisation.

For an explicit linkage of this vision with the peasant, we have his remarks on Semenov's *Peasant Stoires*: "His content is always important: important because it relates to the most important class in Russia, the peasantry, whom Semenov knows as only a peasant can know them who himself lives in the laborious village." A great and wonderful and illuminating phrase—*laborious village*! That is the keystone of the new arch.

The peasant of the laborious village is, however, not to be a rebellious peasant, much less a revolutionary one. He is to be the embodiment of innocence, brotherliness but, above all, a shrewd stoic. The Kutuzov-like passage of history would one day redeem him, bring him to full plenitude and release the world into a new civilisation.

We have this fully bodied in the creation of Platon Karateyev for whom "happiness is like the water in a landing net; you pull it along and it is full—you lift it out and it is empty." Platon Karateyev who so influenced Pierre Bezukhov because the latter saw in him "the perfect embodiment of all that is most genuinely Russian, warmhearted and true...the ideal type of simplicity and truth." But is it an accident that Tolstoy had him shot—so

meaninglessly as it were, almost wantonly and in a sportive manner? Is it only to give us an unforgettable image of the blindness of war? Or could it be to demonstrate that Platon Karateyev's time was not yet?

If the stoic and shrewd peasant has to die because of sincerity and realistic imagination of Tolstoy, the Tolstoyan peasant can also haunt and tempt to suicide. Why else should he appear as the nightmarish apparition repeatedly in Anna's visualisation of the end of her passion and of herself? The peasant is death as well as endurance.

But death appears only as the nightmarish retribution for the luxury and even the passion that is built upon his labour, not as the rising of the vengeful soil itself. Tolstoyan peasants can at best haunt. They cannot move as forces of historical change. And this explains the final desperate nihilism of Tolstoy himself, setting him apart even from the ultimate despair of Gandhiji in 1947.

Dimension of Desperation

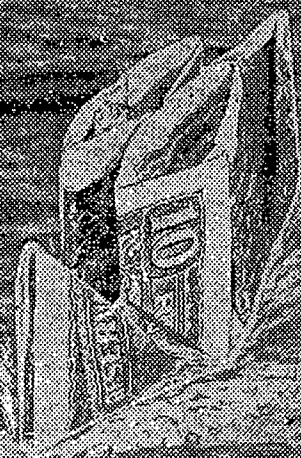
The context in which Gandhiji was placed has obvious similarities with the Russia of the mid-nineteenth century. The decisive dissimilarity was the fact of foreign rule, of British imperialism. This added a dimension of desperation and placed a greater weight upon the peasantry in whom Gandhiji recognised, with all the simplicity and directness of genius, as the central force of the situation, indeed as the central figure of Indian civilization (witness his masterly rebuttal of the logically superior polemic of Saklatvala).

Added to this is the subjective element which is of the greatest importance. Unlike Tolstoy, the Mahatma was a leader and organiser of a vast mass movement. He was the foremost and most successful organiser of the mass anti-imperialist struggle in India, comparable in stature only to Mao Tse-tung (Lenin one leaves out, because he operated at an incomparably superior level of theoretical elaboration as well as action). The problems of the movement, the study of the tactics of the enemy, the maintenance of the unity of the people, preoccupied most of his time.

Yet, Gandhiji opposed British imperialism and struggled to end its Satanic rule since it could not be mended, not merely from the angle of a nationalist who desired the resurrection of his vanquished people. He opposed, to the entire system of British rule, his own vision of what India should be. It is in this vision that we discover the startling similarity with Tolstoy, a similarity based on the value attached to the peasant.

We find this vision recorded in *Hindswaraj*, written in 1909, but which he always accepted as the most important summary of his views. There he states: "It is not the British people who are ruling India, but it is modern civilisation...Medical science is the concentrated essence of black magic...hospitals are the instruments that the devil has been using. India's salvation consists in unlearning what she has learnt during the past fifty years or so. The railways, telegraph, hospitals, lawyers, doctors

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and such like have all to go."

Some thirty years later he reiterated: "I do not believe that industrialisation is necessary in any case for any country. It is much less so for India. Indeed, I believe that Independent India can only discharge her duty towards a growing world by adopting a simple and ennobled life, by developing her thousands of cottages and living at peace with the world.....At the same time I believe that some key industries are necessary...without having to enumerate key industries, I would have state ownership, where a large number of people have to work together....." "Pandit Nehru wants industrialisation because he thinks that, if it is socialised, it would be free from the evils of capitalism. My own view is that the evils are inherent in industrialism, and no amount of socialisation can eradicate them."

Throughout his life he was opposed to what he used to term the "mad rush" and the "multiplication of wants" of modern civilization leading to yawning inequality and a false life. If he strove to the end to avoid the implanting of such a civilisation in India, it was also because of his compassion for the poor and the bulk of the poor were peasants.

In March 1922 he writes: "No sophistry, no, jugglery in figures can explain away the evidence that the skeletons in villages present to the naked eye. I have no doubt whatsoever that both England and the town-dwellers in India will have to answer, if there is a God above, for this crime against humanity which is perhaps unparalleled in history."

Only a few months earlier he had replied to Tagore's criticism of the first non-co-operation movement with an unsurpassed statement of compassion: "True to his poetical instinct the poet lives for the morrow and would have us do likewise. He presents to our admiring gaze the beautiful picture of the birds early in the morning singing hymns of praise as they soar into the sky. These birds had their day's food and soared with rested wings in whose veins new blood had flown during the previous night. But I have had the pain of watching birds who for want of strength could not be coaxed even into a flutter of their wings. The human birds under the Indian sky gets up weaker than when he pretended to retire. For millions it is an eternal vigil or an eternal trance. It is an indescribably painful state that has to be experienced to be realised. I have found it impossible to soothe the suffering patients with a song from Kabir. The hungry millions ask for one poem—invigorating food. They cannot be given it. They must earn it. And they can only earn it by the sweat of the brow."

It was through his ceaseless preaching and equally ceaseless activity that he achieved what Tolstoy could never do, to turn the mind of India to the peasant and his poverty. He did more. He achieved the awakening of the Indian peasant himself, not fully but in abundant measure—a stupendous feat by any standard. It is only the lack of a sense of concrete historicity that would enable certain rather superficial commentators to make the analysis that Gandhiji did all this because it was necessary for the struggle against British imperialism, a

struggle from which the chief initial beneficiary would be the capitalist class. On the contrary, this opposition to British imperialism stemmed from the fact that it had reduced the Indian peasant to this state of destitution. It stemmed from the fact that British imperialism was to him the chief obstacle to the realisation of his vision of a resurrected peasant civilisation.

Lack of Clarity

Lack of clarity there surely was. Utopianism, too, as the development of Independent India, ruled for over two decades by the men he moulded, has only too cruelly shown. But his trusteeship theories and his technique of non-violent mass satyagraha were all linked to the desire to realise this impossible dream. The dream imposed a certain logic manifested in the nature of its realisation—controlled struggle and the attempt at the materialisation of conversion that is trusteeship. In other words, civil disobedience and non-violent satyagrahas did not spring only from certain moral principles. These moral principles, while of undoubted importance, were themselves part of the entire complex or design of the rebirth of peasant civilisation as the core of the new India that was to be built.

If such a rebirth was to be accomplished, the means could only be controlled mass action, step-by-step procedure, constant attempts at conversion. It was exactly a case of the end, justifying the means or the realisation of the law that the relation between ends and means is always an organic and functional one. What should not be overlooked, in this connection, is that there was a relentlessness about the quest, a refusal to compromise on the end, despite temporary adjustments along the way.

If in April 1940, he states; "Who can dispute the fact that the grinding poverty of the masses is due to their having no land of their own?" He is still more explicit elsewhere when he declares: "In the non-violent order of the future, the land would belong to the State, for has it not been said *Sabhi Bhumi Gopal Ki*?...The kisan or the peasant, whether as a landless labourer or a labouring proprietor, comes first. He is the salt of the earth which rightly belongs or should belong to him, not to the absentee landlord or Zamindar...I have no doubt that if we have democratic swaraj, as it must be if freedom is won through non-violence, the kisan must hold power in all its phases including political power."

To realise the future where power would belong to the peasant—here the Mahatma is far more radical than Tolstoy—he trains him through the discipline of sacrifice and struggle. Step by step he reaches the conclusion that the scale and objective of the struggle must be constantly enlarged. In 1942, we find him telling Louis Fischer, in the course of an interview regarding the coming struggle: "In the villages the peasants will stop paying taxes.....But refusal to pay it will give the peasants courage to think that they are capable of independent action. This next step will be to seize the land." Somewhat surprised, Fischer asks: "With violence?" And Gandhiji says: "There may be violence, but then again landlords may co-operate...There may be

fifteen days of chaos but I think we would soon bring that under control."

He returns again and again to this theme of the necessity of the dispossession of the propertied classes, by conversion if possible, but by other means if necessary. In one place we find him saying: "The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor, labouring class cannot last one day in free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the richest in the land. A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is a voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give and sharing them for the common good."

In *Harijan* of May 25, 1947, we find an even more forthright statement, this time with the challenge of action thrown in: "If the present owning classes did not of its own accord become trustees, force of circumstance would compel the reform, or the alternative would be utter destruction. The present power of the Zamindars, the capitalists and the Rajas can hold sway only so long as the common people do not realise their strength. If the people non-co-operate with the evil of Zamindari and capitalism it must die of inanition."

Picture of Independence

With this dispossession accomplished, Gandhiji goes on to describe (not, of course, to be taken in a chronological sense) the new India, thus: "In my picture of independence, the unit is the village community. The superstructure of independence is not to be built on the village unit so that the top weights down on and crushes the 40 crores people who constitute the base. The power will vest in the unit itself which will be economically and politically as autonomous as possible. I have conceived round the village as centre, a series of ever-widening circles, not one on top of the other but all on the same plane, so that there is none higher or lower than the other."

In another passage he elaborates on this theme: "Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units."

This is the totality of the Gandhian commitment, a totality which the imagination of Tolstoy foreshadowed but could never so forcefully articulate since, for the latter, the involvement in mass action remained forever a missing link. The common weakness was also the common strength—the peasant as the bearer of a better life, a more human condition.

The peasant is essentially cultivation in action, cultivation which is change, but change that is not development, an ever-circular movement without the invigorating impulse of spiral jumps. The non-

violence or passive resistance of both Tolstoy and the Mahatma are rooted in the very nature of cultivation, prior to the industrialisation of agriculture as resistant and transforming collaboration on significant soil.

The tragedy of this impossible Utopia is merely the superiority of industrialisation and the superiority of that class which industrialisation inevitably produces, but the link between this process and the differentiation of the peasant break-up of the peasant community along with destruction of feudal hierarchy. The tragic course, is not only in the impossibility of peasant civilisation, but the cruel, wrenching, alien process which makes it an impossibility. To go beyond this to a future based on its historical distribution might look even more utopian.

But the tackling of this challenge has proved to be the realistic course. There has been a vision of Marx's vision; "When a great social revolution shall have mastered the results of the bourgeois epoch, the market of the world, the modern powers of production, and subjected them to the common control of the most advanced people, then only will human progress cease to rest on that hideous pagan idol, who would not drink nectar but from the skulls of the slain."

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The Centenary Celebrators: What they are Withholding

RAM GOPAL

LIKE Buddha and Buddhism, Gandhi and Gandhism are being made the concern of the rich and being withheld from the poor with usual craftiness of manipulators of the people's economy. As is well known, Buddha had abandoned the palace and chose to lead the life of the poorest; but a known capitalist of India installed, a few decades ago, a marble statue of the Enlightened One in a palatial temple on the site of his death.

The distressing sights which turned Buddha away from the palace were the consequence of disparity in economic life, and the remedies he prescribed, after wisdom had dawned upon him, were intended to check misconduct in moral and material life. As time passed, Buddha's teachings were made dogmatic as if they were of no concern to practical life.

Diluted Gandhism

Gandhi also has left, in his own words, a more elaborate account of what he stood for; it may be screened by the designing people and presented in a distorted form to the people, but it cannot be suppressed. The world has made a great deal of progress in science and technology since the times of the Buddha, and Gandhiji's philosophy is recorded in cold print. But, paradoxically, it is a mystery to most people; and it will remain so if scholars sit indifferently, and instead of putting it before the masses allow the interested money-dealers to present a truncated picture.

For about a year the Gandhi centenary preparations have been going on at a lavish scale, and

crores of rupees are to be spent on the celebrations. One may not object to the centenary being reduced to the position of a gay festival, but one cannot keep quiet when one sees the substance of Gandhiji's philosophy being withheld and things innocuous or made innocuous to the capitalist world are paraded with public funds.

Let us have an idea of what is being withheld. Gandhiji advocated economic equality as a necessary pre-requisite to the establishment of an honest society and went ahead of every party of the so-called Left in his concept of it. He expressed himself lucidly and logically in his weekly, the *Harijan* and in his public statements. On his own he was a socialist—that is what he himself claimed. In his scheme of decentralized economy, there was room for big industries which he called "key industries". To quote him: "I believe that some key industries are necessary. I do not believe in arm-chair or armed socialism. Hence, without having to enumerate key industries, I would have state ownership where a large number of people have to work together" (*Harijan* September 1, 1946). On another occasion he expressed himself more explicitly: "I believe in the nationalisation of key and principal industries."

Trusteeship Theory

Gandhiji does not stop there; he goes further in his explanation of socialism. In the *Harijan* of June 3, 1939, he says: "Suppose I have come by a fair amount of wealth either by way of legacy or by means of trade or industry, I must know that all that wealth

does not belong to me; what belongs to me is the right to an honourable livelihood, no better than that enjoyed by millions of others. The rest of my wealth belongs to the community". He suggests that the possessors should become trustees of the extra wealth and use it for the good of the people.

If the sense of social justice does not impel the possessors to become true trustees, Gandhiji would like them to be dealt with differently: I would be very happy indeed if the people concerned behave as trustees; but if they fail, I believe we shall have to deprive them of their possessions through the State with the minimum exercise of violence.....(That is why I said at the Round Table Conference that every vested interest must be subjected to scrutiny, and confiscation ordered where necessary with or without compensation as the case demanded. What I would personally prefer would be not a centralisation of power in the hands of the State, but an extension of trusteeship as in my opinion the violence of private ownership is less injurious than the violence of the State. However, if it is unavoidable, I would support a minimum of state ownership."

Modern Review

Later, in *Harijan* of May 25, 1947, Gandhiji went to the extent of saying that if the possessors "do not become trustees of their own accord, force of circumstances will compel the reform unless they court utter destruction." The inference is evident that "they can hold on only so long as the common people do not realise their own strength."

In his definition of economic quality, Gandhiji dilates on the subject more clearly: "Economic equality is the master key to non-violent independence. Working for economic equality means abolishing the conflict between capital and labour. It means levelling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth, on the one hand, and a levelling up

of the semi-starved naked millions, on the other. A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists. The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor labouring class nearby cannot last one day in a free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the richest in the land. A violent revolution is a certainty one day unless there is voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give and sharing them for the common good."

Gandhism Jettisoned

Those assiduously engaged in organising the centenary celebrations are witness to the fact that the palaces of New Delhi and other manifestations of concentration of wealth are not only continuing but their volume has been multiplying every year. That seems to be no concern of the celebrators. The alternative to violent revolution, as apprehended by Gandhiji, is state intervention. He attacked not only what is called capitalism but the entire system of exploitation of man by man as legally recognised.

He takes his socialism to the extreme point of equal distribution. He says in the *Harijan* of August 26, 1940: "The real implication of equal distribution is that each man shall have the wherewithal to supply his natural needs and no more." Styling himself as "a foremost communist" in the *Harijan* of March 31 1946, he says: "I cannot hope to bring about economic equality of my conception if I am owner of fifty motor cars or even of ten bighas of land. For that I have to reduce myself to the level of the poorest of the poor. That is what I have been trying to do for the last fifty years or more." Economic grades—there are thousands of them—have been made by man, and as Gandhi has suggested they should be unmade by man. In *Harijan* of January 2, 1937, he says: "In modern language, the people are there, they constitute India. But they have not been able to unmake

the man-made inequality, because they have been submitting blindly to all that constitutes the evil of economic injustice."

Gandhiji has left us gems of thoughts to guide human society in different spheres of life. But it is clear from the quotations given above that human society as conceived by him cannot be an honest non-violent society until the economic revolution as suggested by him is brought about. It is one's right to disagree with Gandhiji as many disagree with Marx, but let it be understood that participation in, rather actively organising the celebrations and denunciation of Gandhiji in practice are a sinful inconsistency.

Men whose possessions amount to hundreds of millions of rupees are reported to be generously contributing to celebration funds. They are not deceiving themselves; they are deceiving the millions for whom Gandhiji stood. They know not a paisa of the money would be used to give a practical from to economic tenets of Gandhism.

They know that spinning, which is made the main item of the programme at a Gandhi memorial function, has been made unreal so far as practical life is concerned, for it shall

never acquire the capacity to bring the textile mills to a close. They know that the vast amount of literature being prepared for the centenary, shall not exhort anybody to think of the economic revolution of the Master's conception. They do not lose, in fact they gain, as long as they realize they are exploiting Gandhiji's name with the conscious or unconscious cooperation of men known as his close followers.

One can understand the rich possessors undoing Gandhiji to preserve themselves, but what is one to think of the Political parties, both old and new, which parade his name before the credulous masses and adopt an anti-Gandhi policy for practical politics. They are worse than the capitalist who contribute to the centenary fund as part of their association with "public activity." Alas, the party bosses are murdering Gandhiji every day as if to prove that Godse was no match to them. It will be better to leave Gandhiji alone rather than to ridicule his philosophy during the auspicious centenary year. All honest men have not disappeared into the dens of profiteers and black-marketeers, and it is for them to take up the cause of genuine Gandhism.

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The Gandhian State

HEM CHANDRA RAJKHOWA

THE Gandhian State is a political concept of Mahatma Gandhi developed through long experiments with truth and non-violence during his life time. In an age torn by moral and material conflicts, Gandhiji sought heroically to establish in society certain moral and spiritual values. He was a man of immense political wisdom. But in evolving the concept of State, Gandhiji did not make a scientific analysis, nor did he make a profound study of the concept, nature and evolution of State. His concept of the State is the product of his experiments with truth through non-violent method in Indian environment.

In India, political philosophies have been linked up with morality and social order. Gandhiji's teachings were in tune with this great heritage. He was not a political theorist. He was primarily a man of action and it was only incidentally that he gave expression to these principles.

The political philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi grew out of his non-violent struggle for the liberation of India. To achieve this end, he employed a new weapon, the weapon of passive resistance through non-violent method against the British authority in India. During his long involvement with politics, he developed his political ideas. These ideas continued to grow till the last days of his life.

The concept of Gandhian State can be understood only in relation to his concept of society. Gandhiji wanted the society to be

constructed in accordance with the law of non-violence. This implied fearlessness and self-control among the members of his ideal society. If the people are non-violent, there would be no exploitation in any form and all social activities would be based on the principle of co-operation.

Non-violent State

Mahatma Gandhi advocated a non-violent State. This conception is not completely original. As early as the third century B.C. the Great King Asoka sought to establish a non-violent state in India. After the Kalinga War, the King eschewed conquest by violence and propagated the law of piety in his Magadhan empire and abroad. He sought to elevate the individual morally and spiritually to be in a position to realize the non-violent State.

Mahatma Gandhi, too, realised that a truly non-violent State would be an impossible dream if people were not morally and spiritually elevated. In an ideal society where individuals are fully conscious of their duties towards their neighbours, a non-violent State can be realized. Gandhiji realized that it would take long for mankind to reach such a stage of perfection. According to him, therefore, the State is a necessity, an institution which must be perpetuated so long as men are not perfect. Here he comes closer to Aristotle. To Aristotle, "The state comes into being for the sake of mere life. It continues to exist for the sake of good life." But unlike Aristotle, he seems to agree with Herbert Spencer that it would be a mistake to

regard the State as an eternal institution.

Mahatma Gandhi also believed in the possibility of the State helping to promote the betterment of the individuals. He agrees with Asoka that it is the duty of the State to create conditions conducive to the moral and spiritual elevation of the individual, and not merely for his material well-being. But he disagrees with Asoka that the initiative for individual betterment should mainly come from the State.

Unlike T.H. Green, Gandhiji held that the State is not a "natural phenomenon." He regarded the State as a bondage, an institution that blunts the moral and spiritual transformation of man. As long as the State exists, with all its coercions, there is no liberation, no emancipation, and no deliverance for the individual. Gandhiji believed like Herbert Spencer, that the State was unnecessary, unnatural and immoral; the State was a potential enemy of the growth of moral freedom.

Ideal Society

Gandhiji discards the State as an unnatural agency because it conflicts with the very nature of man. Man is a spiritual being. The basic urge of man is for freedom, peace and happiness. Its fulfilment is possible only in the absence of external control of which the State is the embodiment. Subjugation to external control is a sign of moral degradation, spiritual eclipse. There is no freedom, no progress and development unless the individual liberates himself from all such external restraints.

The State, therefore, is a superfluous. The ideal individual of Gandhiji's conception is a master of his thoughts, deeds and passions. He should be under ideal conditions answerable to none but himself, for he has acquired his best self and reached a higher stage. A society composed of such individuals does not require the authority of the State. Such an elevation of the individual will ultimately usher in a non-violent democratic society free from coercion of the State.

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In fact, a non-violent society will replace the State machinery. To quote Gandhiji himself, in such a society "he rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbour. In an ideal State, therefore, there is no political power, because there is no State." Life as envisaged in this society seems akin to the life in Rousseau's state of nature.

Personal Swaraj

Gandhiji believed in the essential goodness of man and also realized the inherent weakness in him. Limitations among men are the result of their inherent weakness. Therefore, external control as provided by the State becomes essential, until a stage is reached when it can be discarded. Contradictions and human flaws are transitory in nature and with their disappearance the State will be rendered useless. A Stateless society can be evolved only when men acquire complete personal *swaraj*. Gandhi realized that it was too exacting an ideal and difficult to put into practice at the present stage of human development. He, therefore, advocates that the State should act for the realization of such a society.

Since human imperfection does not allow the construction of an ideal non-violent society, Gandhiji suggests a via media between the State and a non-violent society. The individuals of this State will develop *ahimsa* and this will be a step towards

this ideal. He tries to bring about a reconciliation between the society as a restraining factor and the individual as a free man. The individual is the unit through whom alone the moral regeneration can be brought about and the ideal attained. Such a State would be based on non-violence and freedom of individuals. Freedom will be a necessary factor, as it is the manifestation of truth and essential for progress.

What about police duty for the maintenance of law and order? Gandhiji has his unique answer. To quote Gandhiji:

"The police of my conception will, however, be of a wholly different pattern from the present-day force. Its ranks shall be composed of believers in non-violence. The attitude towards the public will also be different. They shall consider themselves servants, not masters. This being the case, the people of their own accord will render every help. Mutual cooperation will then bring about ever-decreasing disturbances. Criminals should be punished for no government worth its name can suffer anarchy to prevail. These punishments should be non-violent, the emphasis being on reformation rather than retribution."

Gandhiji believed that law and order should extend to the realization of social justice. It would mean creating those external conditions which are essential for the development of a rich personality. In such a State, the interests of all the sections of the people will be safeguarded. It would be a welfare State. To achieve such a State *ahimsa* would be practised.

In performing its task, the State will refrain from coercion. If need be it would resort to minimum coercion. Its functions should gradually be transferred to voluntary associations. Exploitation can be ended by decentralising economic and political power. He believes that a country, like India, should base itself on the organization of well-knit and coordinated village committees, practising non-violent democracy, cottage industry and human values. Self-contained villages depending on agriculture and cottage industry, marked by non-possession and complete social

and economic equality, would be the goal of the true Gandhian society.

Gandhiji would entrust the village Panchayats, elected on adult suffrage, with functions of a very wide character, covering all aspects of social, economic and political life. Every village would be self-sustaining and capable of managing its affairs even to the extent of defending itself against the world. It means decentralising power among the units and reducing the functions of the State.

Gandhiji would transfer as much of judicial work as possible to the Panchayats; for the administration of justice should be cheap. The decisions of the Panchayats shall be final, except in cases of corrupt practice or miscarriage of law. Case law should be abolished and the procedure should be simplified. The cases which are taken to judicial courts should be treated speedily, efficiently and at a very low cost.

Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of such a State will necessarily be non-violent and will necessarily be based on truth and equality. The State will maintain external relation "on the friendliest terms with its neighbours, whether they be great powers or small nations, and shall cover no foreign territory. The aim of such a State will be non-violent international order and complete disarmament." The non-violent State will abandon war as an instrument of national policy. Through the cooperation of non-violent States, perfect peace and harmony will prevail in the world and humanity will flower to its highest possibilities.

But in case of external aggression, according to Gandhiji, the State should, if need be, give up its possessions to the enemy but non-cooperate with the aggressors. This will necessarily entail suffering and self-sacrifice, yet ultimately this very weapon will conquer the aggressor.

The Gandhian concept of non-violent State involves a contradiction in terms. Contrary to the Gandhian thought, the State itself is an organised violence. Machiavelli, Hobbes and Trietschki

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hold that the State is a power structure. Macver observes that the chief characteristic of the modern State is its coercive power. To Karl Marx, the State is essentially a class-structure. The State, therefore, appear to us as a power structure above everything else. It is the physical force that gives the State a distinctive character and differentiates it from other voluntary organisations.

Ultimate Aim

The ultimate aim of Gandhian society is establishment of Stateless and classless non-violent society. In pursuit of this noble task Gandhiji evolved a working philosophy. But the non-violence philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi is not in tune with the laws of social development. Disregarding historical approach to social development, Gandhiji favoured an abstract concept. Non-violence is an abstract principle. Violence is a social phenomenon. There are two sides to it, who uses it and against whom it is used. The State machine is used as an instrument of violence by the class of people who hold it.

The ideals of a non-violent stateless society somewhat approximates to pure philosophical anarchism. To achieve such a stateless society, Gandhiji would decentralise power. He would leave minimum power with the State. He favours instituting a system of representative assemblies called Panchayats. Structurally the non-violent state would be a combination of autonomous village units, politically and economically self-sufficient. The autonomous bodies would assume increased importance.

It is, however, an ideal that is difficult to relise. Plato, the Greek philosopher, likewise formulated his theory of an ideal State in his *Republic* thinking that it could be used as a model for social and political reconstruction of the contemporary world. The philosopher was, however, disillusioned. Likewise, the vision of Mahatma Gandhi to build a Stateless non-violent society would perhaps remain a vision never to be realized.

NORTHERN RAILWAY NEW TRAINS INTRODUCED

With effect from 1.10.69 two new trains Chetak Express (Daily) between Delhi Sarai Rohilla and Udaipur, and Utkal Express (bi-weekly) between New Delhi and Bhubaneswar/Puri via Bina-Katni-Bilaspur will be introduced. 11/211 Up and 212/12 Dn. Jaipur-Srigangagar Express will provide an Express service between Jaipur-Sriganganagar and will run in lieu of 235 Up/236 Dn on Jaipur-Hanumangarh section.

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351 Up/352 Dn will run between Saharanpur and Lucknow and onward as No. 1 AL/2 AL between Lucknow and Allahabad with connections at Lucknow, 375 Up/376 Dn will run between Delhi and Bareilly and onward as 377 Up/378 Dn between Bareilly and Allahabad with connections at Bareilly, 2 ALJ will run between Amritsar and Ludhiana and renumbered as 2 AJL and onward as 6 LJ on Ludhiana-Jakhal section with connections at Ludhiana. 2 AH at present running between Amritsar and Hoshiarpur will now run between Amritsar and Jullundur City as 4 JA and onward as 14 JH between Jullundur City and Hoshiarpur with connections at Jullundur City 1 AH Hoshiarpur-Amritsar will be terminated at Jullundur City and 349 Dehra Dun-Amritsar Passenger will run in its path between Jullundur City and Amritsar. 1 ATF/2 ATF at present running between Agra Cantt. and Farrukhabad will now run between Agra Cantt. and Shikohabad as 1 STA/2 STA and onward as 3 SF/4 SF between Shikohabad and Farrukhabad with connections at Shikohabad.

Through Coaches Introduced

One composite 1st, 2nd and 3rd class bogie between New Delhi and Poona and one 2-tier sleeper coach and a 3rd class bogie between New Delhi and Bhopal by 57 Up/58 Dn Amritsar Express, one third class coach running between Jhansi and Bhusaval to be extended to New Delhi on 57 Up/58 Dn Amritsar Express. One composite 1st, and 3rd class coach between Farrukhabad and Delhi by 1 TF 83 and 84/2 TF. One 1st class and one 2-tier third class bogies between New Delhi and Bilaspur by 78/77 bi-weekly Utkal Express. Three 3rd class coaches between New Delhi and Hardwar by 19 Up/Dn 20 Dehradun Expresses. One 1st, one third, one 3-tier sleeper and one composite 3rd and luggage by 215/216 Chetak Express between Delhi Sarai Rohilla and Khandwa.

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Communists, Gandhiji and Revolution

C. N. CHITTA RANJAN

It was not the Communists alone who found it difficult to accept unquestioningly all the socio-economic formulations of Mahatma Gandhi or reconcile themselves to his invocation of religious ideas to mobilize the masses for what clearly was political action aimed at securing independence. Even among his recognized followers who have been loudly swearing by him since his death, there were critics. Not many of them ever fully understood Gandhiji while he was alive, and few of them tried to hide their perplexity then.

An outstanding example is provided by the Congress Socialists many of whom believed in industrialization in a big way and had been greatly influenced by Marxist thought. If such critics from the Left within the national movement did not, except briefly in the trade union movement, find themselves in the same camp as the Communists, the reason was mainly that they felt that the positions taken by the Communists did not often coincide with the requirements of militant progressive nationalism.

They could not accept a party which found it possible to question the bona fides of the Mahatma as an anti-imperialist freedom fighter: their own criticism of Gandhiji, even on the most crucial economic issues, was mostly subdued, for they accepted his leadership and recognized that he was the key figure in arousing mass consciousness in this vast

country. Their association with the Communists on the labour front only helped to underline their non-acceptance of the Gandhian line of rejecting labour as the vanguard of the forthcoming economic struggle as well as of the freedom struggle.

It is true that despite their capacity to produce massive theses from time to time, the Congress Socialists were not always quite clear in their minds when dealing with the practical aspects of mass struggle and mass action in furtherance of the twin objectives of liberation and economic emancipation for the vast majority of our people. But for their parenial confusion, they could well have provided a viable Left alternative that could have been a decisive factor in national politics after the achievement of independence. This was not to be.

The Communists began to play an important part in mobilizing labour and in projecting revolutionary ideas even before they were able to organize themselves into an effective party. They, however, began with a major handicap, namely suspicion of Mahatma Gandhi. Despite Lenin's forthright statements on the subject, the Communists in those years and subsequently also failed to recognize the important role the national bourgeoisie could and was playing in the struggle for national liberation. They could not think of any course except violent revolution for the achievement of the political and economic ends in view, and it was no doubt natural that to them, with their more or less dogmatic approach, Gandhiji should have appeared as a compromiser and, therefore, suspect.

This refusal to understand the place of the Mahatma in the Indian revolution was a misfortune for the country as well as for the Communist Party, for at crucial times they found themselves either ineffective or isolated from the mainstream of the national movement, or both. There is no doubt that they were not consistently anti-Gandhi: they joined the Congress when they came to realize the potentiality of that organization under Gandhiji's unique leadership as a powerful instrument for mass mobilization. If among other Leftists in the Congress there was suspicion about their motives, this too was understandable, because of the campaign the Communists had earlier carried on against the Mahatma. But despite all their faults, the Communists did act in the years of slavery to much greater purpose than the Leftist groups in the Congress; their biggest contribution was the effective organization of the working class under the banner of the AITUC.

"Trusteeship" Theory

Within the Communist movement, especially after 1942, there have been more serious attempts to reassess Gandhi, not only as an anti-imperialist fighter but also as a crusader for the just rights of the exploited majority of our people, for national unity and against attempts at communal division, for the removal of caste barriers in Hindu society and against the continuing oppression of the so-called low castes, especially the Harijans. It was perhaps his determined battle against communal forces that finally helped them to make up their minds about his relevance and importance in history, although they never could reconcile themselves to his constant harking back to what Sri S. G. Sardesai describes as "medievalism and mysticism" or to his economic ideas including the much-misunderstood "trusteeship" theory.

The recently published *MAHATMA: A Marxist Symposium*, containing contributions from S. A. Dange, S. G. Sardesai, Mohit Sen, Hiren Mukherjee,

THE MAHATMA, A Marxist Symposium : Edited by M. B. Rao; People's Publishing House; pp 136.

provides an insight into the process of reassessment undertaken by the Communists. While, indeed, there is no attempt to gloss over aspects of the Gandhian approach which are repugnant to the Communist way of thinking, there is equally no attempt to minimize the mistakes made by the Communists in the past, including their failure to comprehend a phenomenon called Gandhi.

Sri Sardesai's is undoubtedly the most thought-provoking contribution in the present volume; he makes a sincere attempt to consider where his party went wrong in the years of struggle, and why. He begins by admitting that "we Communists did entertain a profound antipathy for Mahatma Gandhi's basic ideological tenets" not only because of their religious overtones but also because in practice they involved "innumerable compromises with imperialist, feudal and Indian bourgeois interests." He frankly concedes that "the CPI could never grasp Gandhi and Gandhism in their totality...all our cocksureness notwithstanding."

There is no attempt to hide the fact that the Communist effort to understand Gandhiji was not to follow him blindly but to gain access to the mass base he had built up and change the direction of its forward movement—in Sri Sardesai's words—"to carry forward the millions under Gandhi's influence to genuine revolutionary action." But since they could never fully grasp his ideas and policies, their success in such efforts was negligible. Sri Sardesai believes that the Communists were not wrong in thinking that Gandhi represented the national bourgeois leadership which ought to be dislodged and replaced by the leadership of the working class. The mistake lay "in the immature, lopsided and oversimplified understanding of its task by the CPI (and) is its failure to grasp the complexities of the task to which it has been called by history."

The mistakes are especially glaring because Lenin had clearly pronounced himself on such situations and had declared plainly that "communist parties must

liberation movement in these countries". He even pulled up M.N. Roy for taking a contrary view. While, in 1922, Roy characterized Gandhi as "the acutest and most desperate manifestation of the forces of reaction", Rajni Palme Dutt in 1927 wrote that "the achievement of Gandhi consisted in that he...sensed and reached out to the masses...and (this) constitutes his real contribution to Indian nationalism". Palme Dutt pointed to Gandhi's policy of mass action the declared that the spiritual content of his utterances were not so important. Twelve years later, however, Palme Dutt was echoing M.N. Roy.

Sectarian Position

Sri Sardesai underlines the fact that while Gandhi pitted himself against the Communists and the revolutionaries, claiming his own methods to be superior, he did not allow the imperialists to take advantage of this fact: even as early as 1919 he did not allow the "bolshevik" bogey raised by the British rulers to deflect him from the course of struggle he had chalked out. Unfortunately the Comintern, only a year after Palme Dutt's first assessment, took a "clearly sectarian" position on the role of the national bourgeoisie, accepting Roy's formulation. Specifically, the session asked Indian communists to oppose the Congress and Gandhi.

This marked the beginning of the series of mistakes made by the Indian Communists and this perhaps was inevitable in the circumstances. The first major error of the Communists was that "in 1930, we contraposed ourselves against Gandhi, against the Congress, and practically, against the mass civil disobedience launched by it", although they did all this because they sincerely felt that it was their task to fight compromise and unleash a "genuinely revolutionary movement".

It was only in the late thirties and early forties, helped by the open letters from certain other Communist parties and by Jawaharlal Nehru's increasingly open support to Marxist ideas,

that the Communists thought it necessary to reconsider Gandhi at all. They re-entered the Congress, recognising its anti-imperialist role and in furtherance of their own "critical, radicalizing role". It was in that period, too, that Gandhiji came out clearly against allowing Leftists to gain a firm foothold in the leadership of the organisation. The "People's War" slogan and the voluntary isolation of the Communists from the 1942 struggle, brought an end to this phase.

The most important point that Sri Sardesai as well as Sri Dange and others make is that despite the quaint language Gandhi used, his economic ideas are not to be brushed aside as entirely reactionary. The former has quoted profusely from Gandhiji's writings to show that he strove in his own way for economic equality, national unity, removal of social injustices and establishment of the supremacy of the people's languages in the nation's affairs. It is pointed out that towards the end he was more and more categorical in emphasizing the use of his weapon of satyagraha and non-cooperation if the rich failed to carry out their obligations to the poor according to his expectations.

Decisive Contribution

Sri Mohit Sen recognizes that we owe a great deal to Gandhi—chiefly an abiding anti-imperialist mass commitment and acceptance by the broad masses of the concept of secular democracy—but points out that if Congressmen in the post-independence years helped the advance of capitalism and growth of monopolies, it was because they pursued Gandhi's "way of trusteeship, of class collaboration, of attempting to debilitate and destroy the forces of the working class and its allies." Jawaharlal's approach to planning, public sector, parliamentary democracy, etc. represented "the best in the Congress in the days of the freedom struggle and, certainly, in that best, the decisive contribution was that of Gandhiji".

Sri Sen traces not only the line pursued by Jawaharlal to

unsuccessful Sarvodaya movement of Vinoba Bhave and the Swatantra philosophy preached by Sri Rajagopalachari, although he takes care to say that the last is a case of cold-blooded exploitation of a certain naivete that characterized Gandhiji's approach to economic issues. Sri Sen also admits that while in the earlier phase the Communists were disdainful of Gandhian methods of struggle against iniquity, in the last fifteen years these methods "have been taken up, used very effectively, infused with new content, leading to the evolution of a new form of mass action". An example of Communists adding a new content to traditional forms is that hunger-strike is not used as a substitute for mass action but as a prelude to it.

He underlines the fact that so far as Gandhi's stress on Hindu-Muslim unity is concerned it is the Left forces which can legitimately claim the Gandhian legacy. The conclusion is that accepting Gandhi as part of India the Leftists should work out their own methods for achieving the ends he had in view and more.

Sri Hiren Mukherjee rightly says that Gandhiji's biggest contribution to Indian life was *abhaya*, or fearlessness. He rejects the facile theory of India owes her freedom only to Gandhi and his followers, pointing out that the heroic role of the revolutionaries, whether singly or in groups, cannot be wished out of existence. But he recognizes readily that it was Gandhiji who was able to take the struggle to the masses and establish total rapport with them, something no party or individual had done on that scale before or has done since. He identified himself with exploited and the lowly and the oppressed. Gandhi was not unaware of the limitations of the class from which the Congress secured its leadership, for he wrote as early as 1928 to Nehru: "...Some day we shall have to start an intensive movement without the rich people and without the vocal educated class"—although he felt that "the time is not yet." Sri Mukherjee concludes that "from Gandhi we have

grouses, we must be grateful", and that "in creating the atmosphere for (people's) action, Gandhi made a unique contribution."

Sri Gupta's contribution is important for the correspondence between the revolutionaries and the Mahatma published by the latter in *Young India* in the mid-twenties, which he has quoted extensively. The exchanges bring out the basic approach of Gandhiji very clearly. Sri Surendra Gopal has summed up the great contribution Gandhiji made by advocating the adoption of a national language and replacing English with the languages of the people. Ven. Anand Kausalyayan concludes an account of personal reminiscences with the observation that "there has been only one true follower of Gandh-

That puts the many claimants to the mantle in their place.

While one welcomes this volume as a valuable addition to literature on Gandhiji, particularly because of the candid admission of past mistakes by prominent Communist leaders, one cannot help thinking ruefully of the difference that a proper and balanced assessment by them in the twenties and thirties would have made to the whole course of recent history, both before and after 1947. One cannot also help wondering whether the reassessment will lead to a better understanding of present realities and a purposeful endeavour for Leftist unity which alone, in the final analysis, can give direction and purpose to the unfinished Indian revolution. But this does not depend on the CPI alone.

Relevance of Gandhiji

KRIPA SHANKAR

GANDHIJI said and did many contradictory things in his life.

He was against the use of violence under all circumstances, not even for achieving freedom. Gandhiji advised Churchill not to resist Hitler by force, but when Kashmir was raided he acquiesced in its armed defence. Although he was intensely opposed to exploitation of man by man and acquisition of property, he held to the doctrine of trusteeship.

He never explained why the producers themselves should not be made the owners and why the means of production should not be socialised. Yet, setting aside all these inconsistencies, there is a systematic thread in the totality of his teachings.

Gandhiji was born at a time when the age-old foundation of village community life was being shattered under the impact of

modern capitalism whose fore-runners were the foreign rulers. The emerging values were completely at variance with those which were the basis of the old life. Money entered human relationship in a big way and acquired the status that it had never enjoyed hitherto.

The British had made land a private property to be sold and purchased, which was never the case before. In fact, it was the absence of this right to purchase and sell land that had imparted a unique stability to the Indian village community throughout the ages although land was tilled and owned individually. Thus was demolished the very foundation of the village communities.

With the introduction of the zamindari system, all the forces of greed and degradation were let

loose. Where non-acquisitiveness formed one of the basic principles of religious life, the tendency to acquire wealth and money on the part of the wealthy classes became the be all and end all of their existence. The introduction of early capitalist relations monetised the economy, and this lent further strength to the basic acquisitive instinct.

Gandhiji had seen the break up of the old values. The way in which the destruction of handicrafts was carried out by the British with a view to create a market for their factory goods in this country, had particularly pained him. The introduction of factory production was not a retrograde step but, in India, on account of her colonial status, the loss of the old world was accompanied with the emergence of a new one.

Nothing new was being created, only the havoc and the ruins of old were strewn everywhere. The few centres where some capitalist enterprises had come up, presented a ghastly sight where uprooted human beings were huddled together in cramped huts and slums, and were debased and were being made to lead a wretched existence.

Old Values Changed

The introduction of cash nexus had completely changed the old values. Although the village communities were a static organisation based on low and primitive type of production, they retained the communal form of living, even though the village community retained its well-knit caste system. Many of the economic operations were carried on jointly. The individual sorrows and joys were shared together. The village community was not an individualistic society. There was no estrangement and alienation in such a community. Men were not strangers to each other.

With the introduction of cash nexus and the emergence of private property in land, a thorough shake-up occurred in the old values. The strong and the greedy emerged on the scene

ready to grab the land of others and to exploit the weak. It was a society where acquisitiveness, selfishness, greed, exploitation, alienation and estrangement ruled supreme.

Revolt Against Decay

As a sensitive man Gandhiji revolted against this decay. He preached the doctrine of love, which he called non-violence, with a view to restore humanism in human relationships. He thought, if love and truth became the guiding principles in the life of men, alienation and estrangement would cease. A loving and refined man will not be selfish or exploit anyone. Gandhiji's approach was on a spiritual level to correct an evil which essentially originated with the introduction of private property.

He preached restoration and revival of self-contained village communities with a view to check the vast forces of greed and acquisitiveness that were being generated with the introduction of machine production and private ownership. He found that in the pursuit of material wealth man's behaviour was worse than that of the animals. Hence, Gandhiji's emphasis was on moral and spiritual regeneration based on non-acquisitiveness.

The western capitalist world had no appeal for Gandhiji where man was completely lost and lonely, although surrounded by wealth and material comforts. Gandhiji wanted a return to nature with simple living and high thinking.

The tragedy of Gandhism was that having seen the decay of moral values under capitalism, it could not go to the root of the evil. It expected that by preaching love and non-violence, human behaviour could be changed, without realising that all the great teachers throughout the ages gave the same message but with little effect.

The Socialist thinkers had categorically stated that it was the private property which was at the root of the decay of man and the foundations of a new order could only be laid when private ownership of means of production

was abolished. Gandhiji persistently refused to be convinced of this. His concept of trusteeship visualised the owners only as trustees of what belonged to others. The evils which Gandhiji wanted to destroy and the moral society which he wanted to build required a total change in property relationship for which Gandhiji was not prepared.

His efforts to change the society failed but his message of love and fellow feeling can never become old. Material wealth can never be the highest goal of human beings. The desire to belong is even more intense in man, and unless he finds acceptance from other members of the society, his happiness cannot be complete.

The tragedy of modern man is that although he is surrounded by wealth he is at the same time surrounded by environment which are hostile and unfriendly to him. Restoration of love and comradeship is the dire necessity of human society. Gandhiji pointed out the emptiness of the contemporary human life and sincerely aspired to enrich and beautify it. His methods failed but his sincerity is beyond question.

CONCEPT OF SATYAGRAHA

(Continued from page 13)

the law of love, is an eternal principle. I cooperate with all that is good. I desire to non-cooperate with all that is evil, whether it is associated with my wife, son or myself."

According to late Sri Gopinath Dhawan who made a detailed study of Gandhiji's political philosophy: "A satyagrahi is essentially a man of peace. He does not go about picking quarrels or planning struggles in advance... Satyagraha can be undertaken for social good and never for personal gain."

This being the Gandhi centenary year, we must search our hearts and understand the true meaning of Gandhiji's teachings, before pretending and making claims to follow him.

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Dr Ganesh Prasad of Political Science Department, Banaras Hindu University, had submitted the following memorandum to the Gajendragadkar Committee enquiring into the affairs of the Banaras Hindu University. Dr Prasad has raised certain basic points in the academic life of the University and has highlighted the teachers' lapse in not imparting forcefully to the students our national tradition of tolerance and secularism.

BHU : Certain Basic Problems

GANESH PRASAD

“UNIVERSITY education is both a creation and a catalyst of social change” (P.B. Gajendragadkar). The pre-independence educational system, with all its defects, mentally equipped the elite to embrace liberal humanism and socialist humanism, and to rationalize lofty ideals and values. In the thirties and forties, even some educated scions of the well-to-do families accepted and advocated socialist creed.

All this could be possible because education fostered knowledge and reflection. Today the educational system dehumanises the elite and makes it glorify iconoclasm as “creative destruction”, as a student leader approvingly characterized the purpose of the Hindi agitation. The phenomenon demands serious attention.

The recent happenings in the Banaras Hindu University are an eye-opener. Though endemic in character, they are fully symptomatic of the age. The main responsibility for them is that of the link-generation. During the pre-independence days, it took inspiration from Gandhian moral or Nehruite mental self-discipline, or from both. After independence, these disciplines somehow lost their hold on this generation. For, by and large, the link-generation got pre-occupied with the rat-race in a pseudo-affluent society.

In a way, the youth and old age of this generation belong to two worlds. And yet the older generation believes that its advice and exhortation to the present-day youth to cultivate discipline will bear fruit. It simply cannot

succeed till it changes its own ways.

In the political sphere, leaders have become bosses or are replaced by them. In the educational sphere, dons have become operators or are replaced by them. A boss misguides the youth and an operator deceives him. The one blames the other for spoiling the youth. And they ceaselessly compete with each other in institutionalizing the Ayarams-Gayarams. The Establishment, controlled by the rump that the Congress increasingly became organisationally and ideologically after 1945, is not in a position to assure security of a deserving career to the youth. After the age of Nehru's poetry of progress, the nation ceased to have a rational norm.

Spiritual Vacuity

Living in an atmosphere of misguidance, deception, insecurity and normlessness, the youth shares spiritual vacuity with the nation. Consequently, youthful buoyance, chivalry and adventure have yielded place to anti-humanist, anti-rational, anti-social anti-cultural and anti-national conduct.

The tale of the post-independence educational system and of the BHU well illustrate the fable. “The Bear and the Man”. Over-enthusiasm to make models of them has disfigured, if not ruined them. One thing has, however, been achieved. They have come to represent the eclectic hotch-potch that the nation's constitution, social structure and social thinking are.

Following the recommenda-

tions of the Mudaliar Committee (1958) an ordinance regime was established. The committee and the regime aimed at reforming the University, to hold it as a mirror to the other universities. The outcome belied their expectations. The teachers' and students' faith in justice, fair-play, liberal ideals and democracy was made insecure. The ghost of that period still haunts the teacher community and the revived Teachers Association. Its impact on the character of students' agitation and leadership is quite distinct.

During recent months, so many people said so many times that the founder, Mahamana Mahan Mohan Malaviya, had erected two little rooms to house the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. But none said that the Mahamana had built the University to inculcate the spirit of humanist nationalism in the youth. The University Grants Commission has, in its over-enthusiasm to make this national institution a centre of all learnings, fostered all sorts of micro-disciplines. At one time “general knowledge” was compulsory for under-graduates. The tradition of humanist nationalism was undermined.

Perhaps the rump does not want the youth to develop respect for the values and ideals that enthused their own youth. Today the history of Indian national movement is taught to hardly 20 or 25 students on the campus—to less than half the number of the RSS activists—as per the Vice-Chancellor's data. The result is that the two little rooms overpower the original spirit of a great national institution.

The more the vitals of a liberal education were set at naught, the greater was the flow of the UGC grants. Today, BHU is perhaps the most affluent com-

munity in the nation's educational world. A good graph can be drawn showing the correlation between the increase in the UGC grants and the decrease in the academic standards of the University. Under these conditions, sisyphian intellect, kilogramic research, and DDs proliferated (DD means Doctor of Dhobiology). Teachers, scholars and non-conformists were disillusioned and frustrated. They were elbowed out by the operators, sychophants and gendarmes. The latter category forms a sort of fraternity whose membership is dictated by no other consideration than convenience.

Disproving Rousseau

At times the UGC money seems to disprove Rousseau's prophetic words: "Money, though it buys everything cannot buy morals and citizens." To expect the fraternity to command respect from the students, to inject confidence into them and to guide them in a democratic country, or even to give a correct picture to the Establishment, is moonshine. In effect, the University resembles the wooden head in the fable of Phaëdrus—beautiful but without brains.

The long pace of the ordinance regime terminated in the winter of 1965-66 when, under the conditions of neutrality observed by the Establishment, the students agitated against the proposed deletions of the word "Hindu" from the name of the University. They went about the streets of the town as true representatives of the present-day Indian culture—with "Inqilab Zindabad", "Har Har Mahadev", and twist dance.

The shadow of Mahamana's legacy had to be preserved even if its substance was lost. For, not a single undergraduate student of Political Science knew the meaning of "Inqilab Zindabad". The leader of that agitation and those of the "Hindi" agitation in the winter of 1967 dominated the students' movement. These leaders subsequently secured membership cards, rather labels, from political parties just for the sake of political convenience.

Then came Dr Tiguna Sen.

His short tenure of about seven months (1966-67) was marked by negative achievements. The suffocating atmosphere of the ordinance regime ended and a fresh democratic air began to blow on the campus. But these achievements could not be stabilised, much less transformed into positive gains. The events of 1967-68 session and thereafter bore the imprint of the long ordinance regimes, the short-lived democratic atmosphere, and the socio-economic changes in the countryside.

During the ordinance regime, the Establishment and the academic bodies had virtually become agencies for registering the will, even idiosyncracies of the Delhi authorities. Now, the academic bodies, following the attitude of the Establishment, registered the demands, at times unreasonable and even ridiculous, of the unseasoned student leaders. The surrender was total and panicky. In other matters, the Mughals, as Dr Sen used to call the Heads of Departments, became little Fuehrers.

The student leaders were a typical product of the prevailing condition in the country and on the campus. In the absence of a positive norm, student leaders became iconoclasts shouting irrational slogans and making unreasonable and peurile demands. They were, it must be remembered, thrown up by movements (1965-66 and 1967) enjoying neutrality of the Establishment. They lacked political education and experience. On the total and panicky surrender by elders they naturally became swollen-headed. They turned into a terror to the authorities. They had scant respect for facts or reason. There was a time when this set of leaders, masquerading as progressives, seemed to dominate the University.

There was yet another set of leader representing the socio-economic change in the countryside—the sons of the new rural rich. The affluent kulak class is the prop of the rump. It is also the backbone of the Right parties. The sons of the kulaks have not seen, read about or heard of recession; they have seen only

increasing amusements of their parents. They have retained their parents' casteism but have replaced their lathis and dhotis by pistols and drain-pipes. Neither by temperament nor by training are they moved by suffering. The kulaks and their progeny covet political status and leadership. The young kulak leaders, too, became terror in the University—of course, not necessarily masquerading as progressives. They had scant respect for non-violence or reason. Both the sets of leaders are the representatives of the "derelict" class, as Nehru called the Indian middle-class.

Early in July 1968, the two sets of student leaders created pandemonium in the University Court meeting. A scapegoat was made of Sri Raj Narain's dramatic performance for the in-fight in the student community. The Establishment and the fraternity took a sigh of relief thinking that the in-fight might mean a holiday from the terror and unmitigated nuisance to which they had yielded at each step during the out-going session.

PAC Combination

Late in August the union elections took place. The young places coming from distant places established their *bona places* as true representatives of the spirit of the Mahamana, Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru. Their conscience rejected U.P.'s kulakism sauced with Bihar's casteism and served on the platter of Indian culture. Poor innocent lads! They could not imagine that the combination aided by the PAC would work havoc with their lives and belongings.

The socialist-communist set secured the key office of the President. It gave proof of lack of political maturity, education and guidance. Instead of consolidating its success, it indulged in unsocial, uncivic and unbecoming activities. This naturally led to rustications and disciplinary actions. The other set of leaders felt jubilant and supported the Establishment and the fraternity.

In fact, to regard these leaders as representatives of socialist consciousness, agents of political parties, representatives of Indian

culture, or custodians of order and discipline, is ignorance and escapism, to say the least. What happened in the mid-term elections was rehearsed on the BHU campus, though on a minor scale. The activities of the kulak set were at times reminiscent of the Hitler youth. The university was between two fires.

Thus the character of recent events of the BHU campus reflects the social changes in the country. What happened here may be repeated at other centres of learning. True, the Indian youth had been an iconoclast. But then he had his own icons which were humanistic, noble and progressive. The present-day iconoclast is a

terrorist with or without Gandhian non-violence. He threatens to destroy the university library and thereby reminds the fraternity of the existence of that sacred institution on the campus. When the national mind is dominated by irrational norms, the road to fascism becomes easy. No amount of non-basic reforms will mitigate the menace. We have not injected the spirit of science in him.

The basic problem is what the youth is taught and how his mind is moulded. The educational system must, therefore, foster humanism, secularism, knowledge and reflection. Then alone will it be a catalyst of progressive social change.

years, it would be only fair to say that the response of the authorities concerned has been patently slow, though not completely unfavourable. If that is so, then, why have the students resorted to violence? Since the key to understanding lies in the answer to this question, it is absolutely essential to focus our attention on the ends sought, means used and their desirability vis-a-vis each other.

The most widely publicized fact is that while the issues related to education have appeared only on the periphery, the central position has been occupied by political matters such as the American conduct of the war in Vietnam, the Suez crisis, the revolt in Hungary and nuclear armament. The fact that all over the world the students, individually as well as collectively, irrespective of the level of economic and technological development of their respective countries, have protested against these political events, indicates the increased political awareness and growth of humanitarian outlook.

This, in the years after the Second World War, may be attributed to the rapid development of the means of transport and communications and manifold expansions of the educational facilities (particularly in the field of humanities and social sciences). It has resulted in the destruction of the social, psychological and geographical barriers, on the one hand, and on the other, brought about a close rapport between the better informed human beings inhabiting this planet.

One who is utterly naive would deny that the commitment of the "Left Activists" to humanitarian values is less than absolute, and that they are not better informed about the world, comparatively speaking. Even the worst enemies of the "New Left" have never questioned this. In fact, what has been questioned is the appropriateness of the negative and disruptive tendency of the Left student activists, particularly because they constitute an insignificant minority of the entire student population and also because they

Student Activism : A Point of View

VED GUPTA

THE phenomenon which has been labelled as "student activism" has aroused unprecedented interest and evoked serious concern only during the last one decade. Although there is no dearth of historical evidence suggesting an active participation of students in revolutionary movements, both social and political, in the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century, the fact remains that the recent wave of violent outbursts, has very little in common with the earlier student movements.

There is hardly any campus where student activism has not raised its head recently. The particular causes underlying it and the relative emphasis attached to various issues, of course, vary from country to country and from campus to campus, depending on the nature of the educational system and its relation with the society at large.

Student activists have attacked the educational system mainly on two counts. First, the

authoritarian character of the educational system has been decried and the demand for "participatory democracy" on the campus has gained currency, with the sole exception of the Scandinavian countries such as Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland, where the students already exercise a profound influence upon the policy and decisions by virtue of their active participation in the management of the affairs of the university. Secondly, it has been envisaged that the complete revision may be undertaken of the curriculum-content, which has become irrelevant and impractical in the context of the highly industrialized society. Curiously enough, only those who are studying social sciences, humanities and liberal arts, and not those who are engaged in natural or professional sciences, have put forth this demand.

These demands appear to be quite reasonable, and on the basis of all that has appeared in print during the last seven or eight

have no alternative blueprint for the society.

Is there any force in these insinuations? Before answering this question, it is to be kept in mind that this is the concern voiced by the "adult world", and there can be no better indication of the "generation gap" than this.

The Left activists belong to the generation which was born and brought up in the wake of the Second World War. The generation which fought this war has, by and large, shaped the world affairs till recently. Like many before, it professed a particular set of norms and values, designed certain institutions for futhering the same, and brought up the new generation on this very complex.

If the older generation championed peace, democracy, enlightenment, humanitarianism and egalitarianism then, it can be safely asserted that the new generation is not less, but only more firmly committed to these values. The resemblance between the two is further striking on the points of value attached to career, profession and status. In this background, the minor differences in matters of personal life

such as addiction to drugs, sexual relations and religious beliefs pale into insignificance.

Where, then, lies the source of the conflict and what makes it so fundamental and all-pervasive that the student activists have resorted to violence for resolving it? In this connection the following observations are important. First, the older generation is more hypocritical of the two. It professed peace, democracy, egalitarianism and humanitarianism and practised war, autocracy (in colonies), worst kind of racial discrimination at home and abroad, and came to boast of its possession of the most sophisticated nuclear weapons which are capable of destroying the entire humanity.

Secondly, the reflexes of the older generation are conditioned by the past as is indicated by its refusal to do away with its suspicions of different view-points and its bias in favour of certain social, political, economic and educational institutions which, because of their bureaucratic character, have become an obstacle in the way of realizing social and economic justice and democratic participation. It is the desirability of this change which

the "New Left" has been striving to bring home.

Thirdly, although the violence evokes criticism and condemnation in speeches and writing of the "adult world", on the practical plane the adults have always resorted to it for their own purposes.

In the light of these observations, violence of the activists do not appear to be completely unwarranted. Quite educative is the experience of the Scandinavian countries where students have not favoured violence because of the appropriate existing channels of communications between them and the authorities. Equally, if not more instructive is the solid support of the student activists which Ataturk enjoyed in Turkey because of his honest zeal for reforms.

Thus, student activism or "New Left" constitute a positive rejection of the present power-structure which epitomises power for its own sake in favour of a society of future which vaguely speaking is to be "non-bureaucratic", radically democratic and truly socialistic. Any attempt to dismiss it as a utopian dream would certainly prove to be a folly in the coming decades.

MY DAYS WITH GANDHIJI (*Continued from page 16*)

I would like to end on a personal note. For me, my stay in Sevagram was a great experience—one which enabled me first to know Gandhiji and then to assist in the reconstruction of our won country. In every field, particularly with the help of education, we have succeeded in changing the mental outlook of our entire people. Visitors to our country have testified this to be the greatest miracle.

After a prolonged period during which people's minds were directed towards militarism, towards war, cruelty, fostering the idea of racial superiority, of being a master race entitled to suppress others, all these have now been removed from the minds of the people of the German Democratic Republic. Today, people in my country consciously stand for peace. Propaganda for war is punishable even according to our Constitution, as

also any propaganda in favour of racial and religious discrimination.

We have not only changed the minds of the people but have also given practical proof that the former policies were wrong and led the German nation to disaster. Those who wanted to make Germany bigger, had only succeeded in making it smaller.

Now, with a higher density of population than ever before, higher even than that of India, and starting from very difficult post-war conditions, the GDR has proved in twenty years of its existence that its peaceful policy and friendship with other countries is the only correct path and the only way yielding positive results. Today, industrial production in the GDR has increased five times compared to what it was in 1950, and the standard of living is higher than ever before and continues to rise.

Everyone in my country is

now convinced that it is worth taking this path, that it is in the national interest in the true sense of the word. At the same time it is a service to humanity and an international achievement.

If Gandhiji were alive today, I would feel sure he would be very pleased with this achievement.

Why are so many of Gandhiji's ideas realised in the GDR? Basically, because he was essentially a humanist and the fundamental aim of the GDR is also service to humanity. Our Constitution makes it explicit that at the centre of all our activities stands MAN.

It is this coincidence of ideas that makes me confident that the friendship between our two countries, the German Democratic Republic and India, will continue to grow.

(*This article is based on an interview given to MAINSTREAM.*)

were the worst days of communal carnage in the city's life. The same evening a few dozen shops on the Mahatma Gandhi Road were burnt. Amraiwari was, however, the worst-affected area. In the ten days over a thousand are estimated to have been killed and many more wounded. It is of little use to narrate the tales of other areas like Chaman Pura, Girdhar Nagar, Barampura, Rakhwal Road, Idgah, Bapu Nagar and Asarwad, each of which had witnessed and suffered the orgy of violence.

Even in this darkness there was a glimmer of hope. The tragedy would have been of a still greater dimension but for the sobriety displayed by sections in both the communities. The refugees in the Sports Stadium have numerous stories to tell of how they were given shelter, and later helped to escape, by people belonging to the majority community.

It goes without saying that the visit of the three Congress MPs, Sri Chandrajit Yadav, Sri Randhir Singh and Sri Ahmed Madni, was the first indication to

the Administration that the Centre had taken a serious note of the developments.

The State leadership was visibly disturbed, but for the common man this spelt the badly needed reassurance. It was left to the Jana Sangh to openly question the intentions of the Congress MPs' delegation, and call it an effort to malign the "anti Indira State leadership".

Even when the communal passions were at fever pitch, the attack on the Imam Manzil in the world-famous Sabarmati Ashram pricked the conscience of the common Gujaratis. Imam was a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi in Africa, and had come along with him to India to join the freedom struggle.

The present resident, himself a veteran follower of Gandhiji and son-in-law of the late Imam, faced the threat of being killed along with his family for full 12 hours before the police could reach the spot. If it had been left to the Administration, one can easily imagine the dimension of the tragedy that would have overtaken the Sabarmati Ashram.

What is more important is that the communal elements have played havoc in a predominantly industrial city where the working class movement had been nurtured for the last four decades in the Gandhian traditions. The Indian National Trade Union Congress, claiming to be the inheritor of the tradition and leader of the Ahmedabad workers, evidently proved most ineffective in rallying the working people against the now-recognised planned move of the communalist goondas to disrupt communal harmony.

Ahmedabad, after Ranchi, is the second important industrial city fallen victim to the communal frenzy. If the democratic movement fails even now to take the warning, it will have to pay the price for its complacency. It can ill-afford to depend on the communally divided Administration.

The Ahmedabad disturbances are yet another warning to the country's democratic and secular forces, probably the sharpest in the series, during the last three years.

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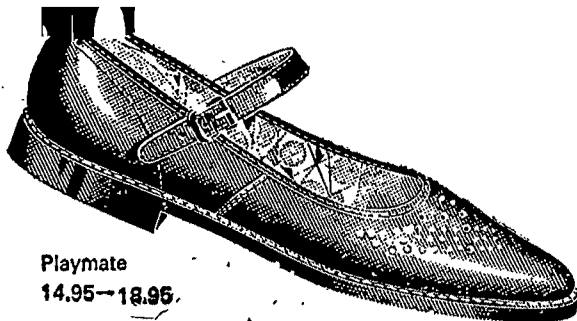
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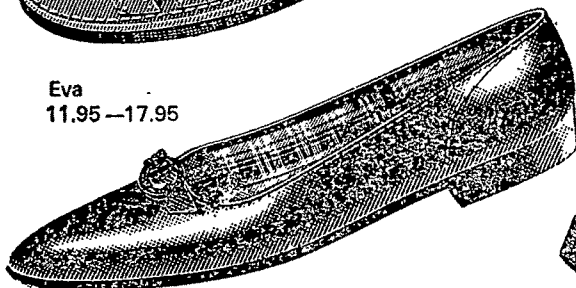
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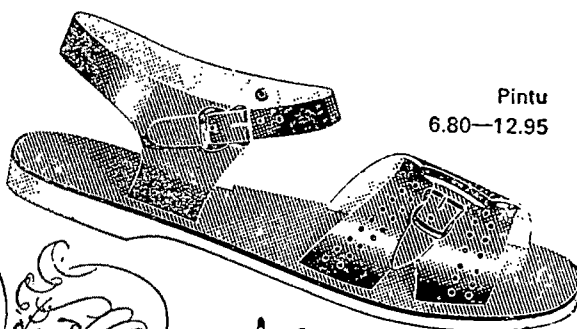


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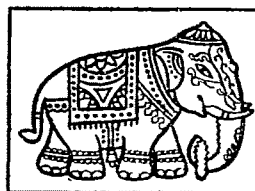
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End This Dithering

It is close on two months now that the people have been waiting for the Government's follow-up measures after the nationalisation of the fourteen private sector banks. Apparently, Smt Indira Gandhi's ministerial colleagues and the Secretariat bosses, who have been asked to prepare the blueprints of the measures necessary after the bank take-over and to indicate those which could be implemented forthwith, have been dragging their feet.

Except for a department set up in the Finance Ministry to coordinate the running of the nationalised banks, and the proposal to consult the Chief Ministers on land reforms sometime in December, precious little has been done so far.

While the Prime Minister herself does not consider the bank take-over as anything more than a very initial step, smug complacency pervades the Central Secretariat, and the official publicity machinery maintains complete silence on this score. Smt Gandhi's colleagues in the Government appear to give the impression that it is more comfortable to bask under the glow of public appreciation than engage in the rather hard task of completing their assigned home work.

Citing the Prime Minister's absence from the Capital as the reason for the delay in "finalising" secretarial ideas, is but an untenable excuse. Her note for the Bangalore AICC session is a sufficient guideline for those who seek a way out of the vicious circle of stagnation, complacency and, finally, sabotage of the policies to which the Government is now committed.

As against this, the vested interests have continued to move in the direction of nullifying every positive, radical measure which have been or might be adopted by the Government. They are determined to resort to any means, even the most diabolical, to stem the popular upsurge unleashed after the bank take-over. The communal carnage in Gujarat is just a sample.

Meanwhile, they have managed to secure powerful and vocal support from within the administration itself. More than the representatives of the private sector, the LIC Chairman has opposed the conversion of the Corporation's loans to private sector concerns into equity capital. The Planning Commission has decided that the economic approach of the draft Fourth Plan would not require to be altered even under the changed circumstances. Its Chairman has dismissed bank nationalisation as only a "marginal" point as against the popular view that it is a starting point for the promised fundamental changes in the Government's economic policies. Not for nothing has the Federation of Indian Chambers of

Commerce and Industry, shedding past abhorrence of the Planning Commission, offered eulogies for its "pragmatic" approach. Sri R. Venkataraman's comments about the Dutt Committee's report on industrial licensing policy were not something entirely unique.

The monopolists and the vested interests are devising ever new strategy to defend their citadel of exploitation and would not quietly sit back and surrender. Every moment they are able to gain as a result of official dithering, would be used to sow seeds of confusion among the people to divert their attention from the goals set, and to frighten them into inaction by threats of blood-baths.

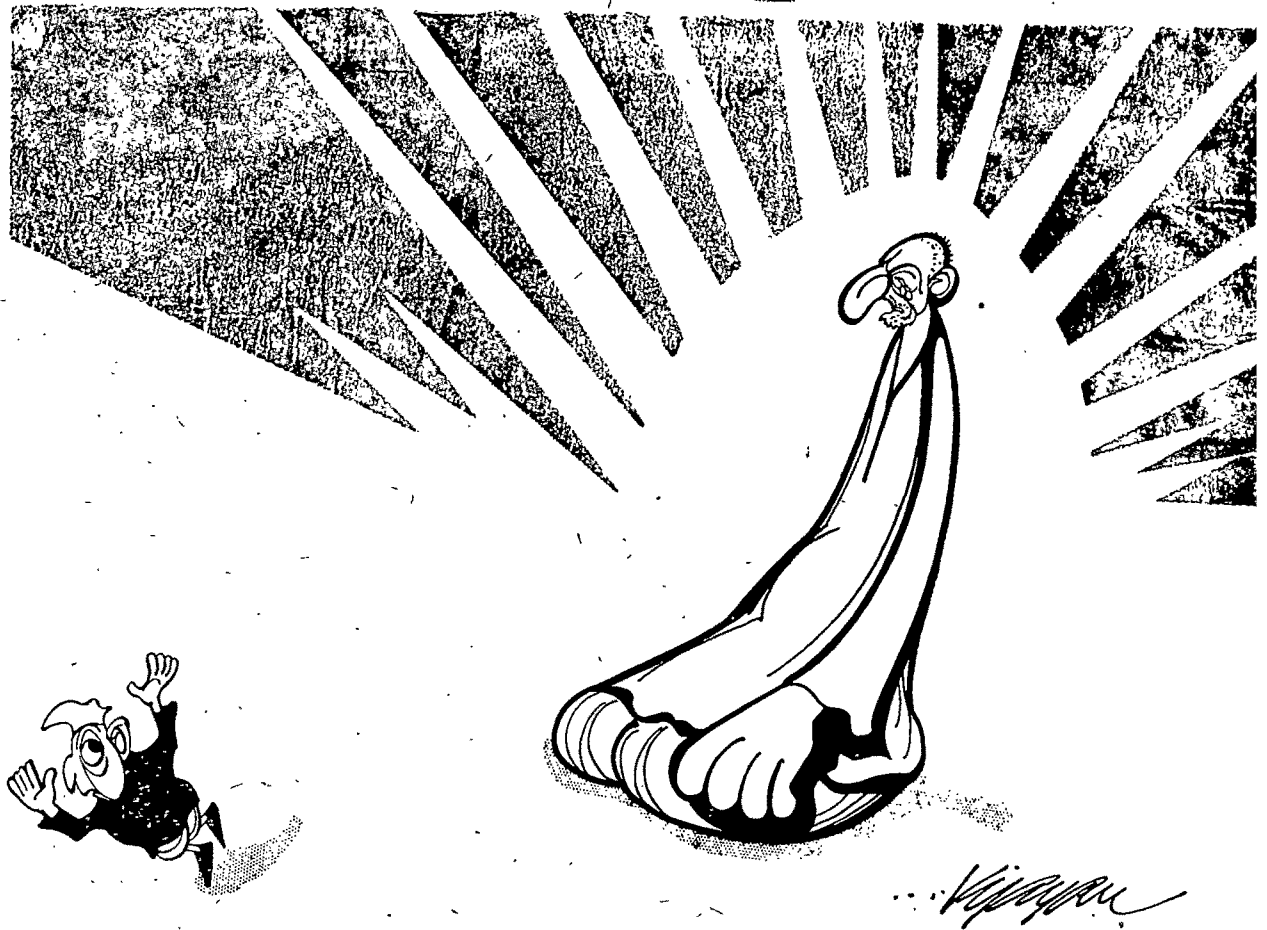
The situation is so grave that unless the people themselves, who had so spontaneously welcomed bank nationalisation, come out once again in a massive way to defeat reaction's machinations, their initial gain in the direction of introducing a radical change in their lives, will slip out of their hands. Prime Minister's whirlwind tours to rouse popular enthusiasm behind a radical economic programme would be of no avail if the exploiters of the people are provided with the opportunity not only to reinforce their defences but also to launch a counter-offensive. A massive popular movement can and must end the official dithering.

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The Moment of Truth

POLITICAL NOTEBOOK

Penance and Admonition

It is rather strange that an honoured guest of this country should have to do penance for the crimes of his hosts. Over two lakhs of people who cheered the arrival of Badshah Khan at Palam airport, and thousands of others who lined the route of his journey into New Delhi, were not prepared for the stern admonition from this straightforward and upright man—those who did not heed Gandhiji were not likely to listen to him.

He will undoubtedly be a

disappointment for those who would like to “use” him for projecting themselves and keep him surrounded so that “unauthorised” persons would not get near him. It was perhaps so obviously done that Badshah Khan himself had to cry out against the ostentatious “hospitality” arranged in his name. He had come here to meet people, to talk to them, take their advice and give them his. He must have found the atmosphere suffocating.

In his straightforward manner, he told the Capital’s pressmen that while working for freedom, he had thought that independence would become an instrument for taking the country forward and make the life of all sections of people more comfortable. What had actually happened? Badshah Khan was unhappy that selfless people were hard to find, in India as well as in Pakistan, who could fulfil that expectation. In both the countries the rich had become richer and the

poor poorer.

The Frontier Gandhi also took this opportunity to make a crucial point clear—the demand for Pakhtoonistan. His conception of Pakhtoonistan was a fully autonomous State within Pakistan and not an independent state. After this clarification, it would be difficult for those who had so far been using the slogan of Pakhtoonistan as a means to embarrass Pakistan against its demand for Kashmir.

The leaders of the right-wing communal parties, including Sri M.L. Sondhi, the Jana Sangh MP from Delhi, have thus been deprived of a handy weapon to rouse communal passions on this score by hurling dire imprecations against Pakistan.

He has also said, a few persons whom he could meet and talk freely with, had informed him that the leaders of this country were not only divided, but very few of them thought about the country.

These are words frankly spoken as a follower of Gandhiji would feel and express. The advantage with Badshah Khan is that he has not been a part of the establishment and had not yet had an encounter with what the lust for power can do.

But hovering over all his thoughts since he stepped on the Indian soil has been his concern at the acute communal disharmony. Having himself been a symbol of secularism, having all through his political life been an ardent exponent of Hindu-Muslim unity, the sight must have been galling. It is difficult to say if his penance had any effect on either the custodians of our secularism, or the dark forces of communalism.

Hapless Victims

There is little doubt that the message of the penance of Badshah Khan is directly addressed to the Union Home Ministry, and particularly to Sri Y. B. Chavan. The people will now await his Ministry's measures not only to heal the wounds of the hapless riot victims in Gujarat, but also to make the recurrence of such barbarities impossible here

and in other parts of the country.

Sri Chavan has denied that the reports and assessments of the riots in the past had been put in cold storage and no lessons had been drawn from them. If so, then how have these failed to percolate to the States which are the actual on the spot dispenser of law and defender of order?

It is public knowledge that in Ahmedabad, police had not or were not allowed to effectively intervene to stop rioting and killing during the first three days. The Union Home Ministry which had definite knowledge of the diabolical plots being hatched, and on that basis had even warned the State Government earlier, had obviously no way of making concrete suggestions to the State Government and the police to put down the rioters, as it did after the situation had gone out of the control of the State police and army had to be called in.

One wonders if the Union Home Ministry had been able to really assess the magnitude of the danger when it first cautioned the State Government, and having cautioned it, if it had cared to check the precautionary measures to forestall a holocaust.

Events have amply proved that no step which could by any chance be called preventive, had been taken by the State Government either on its own initiative or under instructions from the Union Home Ministry. What is the value of forewarning if there is no follow-up for its implementation.

Sri Chavan is absolutely correct when he says that the forces of communalism have to be fought politically. What should be the practical shape of the fight? On the one hand, people have to be roused against the communal forces, baring before them the machinations of the vested interests behind the riots and making them conscious that whenever the people march forward to radically change the conditions of their life, the vested interests devise these holocausts, as the British rulers did in the past.

On the other, the full strength of the State power must be brought down on the heads of the provo-

cateurs, miscreants, and their ring-leaders. The punishment has to be exemplary to be sufficiently deterrent, to scotch any further communal disturbances and root it out from wherever it is located.

It is the combination of these two, political fight by rousing the people, and the use of the State power to ruthlessly put down the communal monsters, that can really banish the scourge from this country. Experience of what happened at Ranchi, Meerut, and several other places before the riots broke out in Gujarat, show that neither of the two was brought into use, leave aside the question of using a combination of both to make communal disturbances impossible on our soil.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's successful tour of Tamil Nadu shows that unless actually stopped from visiting a State, as in case of Assam, the syndicate is unable to obstruct the consolidation of the forces arrayed against it inside the Congress.

Sri Subramaniam was forced to resign from the office of the PCC President in order to make Smt Gandhi realise the strength of the syndicate in the State. But it could not prevent her from going to the people and explaining that her policies were being attacked because they were directed towards the betterment of the people's lives.

The huge gatherings she addressed during the tour of various parts of the State, unquestionably prove the popular response to the radical economic programme she has proposed at Bangalore, and to the first step in its implementation with the nationalisation of fourteen private sector banks.

The clumsy manner in which the present PCC bosses, guided by Sri Kamaraj, tried to "teach" discipline to Smt Gandhi failed to detract popular attention from the first ever positive popular move of the Government. But it did underline the protracted war of attrition that the syndicate was determined to carry on, notwithstanding the unity resolution of August 25.

However, it is one thing to decide to fight on, but quite another when it actually comes to a fight. Starting from Sri Nijalingappa's sermon from the Nandi Hills and his fulminations in Bombay and elsewhere, to his assertion that the formation of a Congress Ministry in Bihar was quite feasible, everything looks like the antics of the famous knight of Cervantes' creation.

The unfortunate happenings in Gujarat having baulked the syndicate's efforts to stage a grand show in the Ahmedabad AICC session, it had pinned its hopes on the Central Parliamentary Board meeting to make another attempt at denigrating the Prime Minister. It had planned to use the issue of Sri Brahmananda Reddy's resignation from the office of Chief Minister of Andhra, as an example to others that switching loyalties would not pay, at least on this occasion.

But who does not know that at a time when a large part of Andhra Pradesh and a good chunk of the Congress leadership itself felt that Sri Reddy's stepping down would largely contribute to the creation of a calmer situation to solve the Telangana problem, it was Sri Nijalingappa, aided by Sri Kamaraj, who had ruled it out? At that time they were in need of Sri Brahmananda Reddy's support for their factional manoeuvres to instal Sri Sanjiva Reddy in the Rashtrapati Bhavan.

However, the subsequent events made the Chief Minister switch his loyalty again, and that is the main reason which makes the syndicate revengeful. Finding an acceptable solution of the Talangana tangle is not their concern.

In case of Bihar, it is common knowledge that a Congress ministry cannot be formed there. It is impossible on its own strength, and coalitions with other groups in the Assembly can only land the Congress in the same predicament which forced it out of office earlier this year.

This was the considered opinion of all the sober elements in the Bihar Congress and Prime Minister, during her recent visit to Patna, agreed with it.

But the insistence of the Harihar Singh group and its patrons on forming a ministry with whatever coalition possible is reported to be conditioned by other pressing considerations. It is now taken for certain that the report of the Aiyar Commission on charges of corruption by leading Congressmen when they were in office, will be out in November. It would be impossible to initiate any defensive action from outside the Government. The formation of a ministry thus becomes imperative for those who are likely to be affected by the report.

Since the Prime Minister has not been agreeable to forming a Congress ministry in Bihar, the syndicate has taken it up as a fit case and espoused the cause of the once vanquished patrons of the Harihar Singh group. The

CPB has deferred its decision on Bihar, but has not ruled it out because the syndicate is still hopeful of reviving dead opportunities.

But, then, the very fact of the tenacity of the syndicate should warn the supporters of Smt Gandhi that complacency would not pay. If it gets an opportunity, it will hit back with the ferocity of a mauled leopard.

There will be many opportunities for small skirmishes and big battles in the coming session of Parliament, and the syndicate will not lose heart if these get extended to the next session. It will finally test the strength of Smt Gandhi in the Budget session when it hopes to be able to pull her down from her office. All the efforts are geared to that end.

S.P.

A REPORTER'S DIARY

A Voice For The Syndicate

A new political weekly is to make its debut in the Capital very soon. It will acquaint the public, those who would care to purchase it and also the large numbers who are likely to receive it gratis, with the genuine, authentic and "unadulterated" views of the syndicate.

Neither Sri Nijalingappa nor any other member of the syndicate will then be troubled with the need of every often issuing contradictions of the newspaper reports.

According to the "introduction" that is to justify its appearance "at this crucial juncture", it will meet a "long-felt need", or something of that sort.

Absence of a journal of this type was, no doubt, felt since the Bangalore AICC session, and particularly during the pre-presidential poll period. Authentic and authoritative statements,

without unnecessarily being hampered by the presence of correspondents and tape-recorders, could have been made available for public consumption in that case.

Despite the wide publicity to the syndicate doings in those fateful days, not all the reports had shown it in favourable lights. Moreover, appearance of other viewpoints alongside had robbed the public of getting an exclusive view of things. (But such a fast changing situation, as was the case those days, would call for a daily. Probably, the idea is to later transform it into a daily. The Jana Sangh has also decided to daily organise the people's thinking.)

Moreover, an exclusive journal solely devoted to a particular purpose at a particular time, helps to add vigour to the infighting that is now the rule of the game

in the Congress politics, the unity resolution of August 25 notwithstanding. Need is all the more now since Smt Indira Gandhi has undertaken a tour of different States, including those considered close preserves of the syndicate stalwarts, and is succeeding in getting their hearing even after a "recalcitrant" PCC President is forced to quit his office.

Indirect Link

However, an imperative of this game is that the main participants must not be directly connected with it, at least not shown in print. It is for this very reason that the syndicate has not found it possible to own up Sri S. K. Patil's journal as its mouthpiece, even though it could so very capably monitor and reproduce its views every week.

The declaration has, therefore, been filed by Smt Sharda Mukherjee. However, what intrigues me is the name of the weekly. The alternate names forwarded to the Registrar of Newspapers for approval of one, are "Red Fort" and "Lal Quilla" I am told.

I am also informed that the weekly will be self-financing from the very beginning because of the large advertisement support already promised. The initial running capital already raised will remain as a stand-by for promotional purposes. I am, of course, not informed if the amounts spent from it would be replenished from time to time and by whom.

STRANGE LOGIC

SRI Dahyabhai Patel, MP, has made out a "case" against India recognising the German Democratic Republic. Among several other arguments including the "Ulbricht-inspired occupation of Czechoslovakia", Berlin wall, stoppage of "refugees" going to West Berlin, he has put forward a novel one.

According to Sri Patel, while India has received the "lion's share" out of the West German aid to developing countries, the aid from East Germany is "almost nil". Sri Patel has not, of course, taken into account that

while we have diplomatic relations with West Germany, which enables us to have Government to Government credit arrangements, this facility does not exist in respect of East Germany.

Adverse Balance

Here I am refraining from giving an account of the huge adverse balance we suffer from in our trade with West Germany and how it affects our balance of payments position. Nor would I like to go into details of the restrictions that West Germany has put on our exports to that country.

What I would like to point out here is that despite the absence of diplomatic relations, our trade with East Germany is balanced on the basis of rupee payment agreement, which is advantageous to us. The total turn-over of the trade between India and GDR rose from Rs. 3.4 crores in 1955 to Rs 44 crores in 1968.

Recently we have signed a long-term contract with the GDR for the supply of 14 cargo ships of the total value of Rs 50 crores. GDR is to supply 3,000 20 HP tractors in 1969 and 7,000 tractors of the same horse-power next year. Negotiations are nearly complete for the setting up of a tractor factory here in collaboration with the GDR. There is little doubt that economic collaboration between our two countries could be further expanded if we had diplomatic relations with the GDR.

We have sought aid from different industrially developed countries. But more than that we have sought opportunities for

trade which West Germany has relentlessly denied us and that is why we have run up such a huge adverse trade balance.

Sri Patel also insists that the question of "one Germany" or "two Germanys" is "for the German people to decide", and because of our own problems, "we simply cannot afford to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries".

Obvious Mistake

He is making an obvious mistake or, perhaps, it is deliberate. Where has it been said that recognition of the GDR would mean our derecognising West Germany, unless Sri Patel is taking his cue from the Hallstein Doctrine which the West Germans themselves have discarded as a firm policy? For instance, West Germany has diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union which was the first to recognise the GDR.

Sri Patel's arguments have strange logic. It is only those who are determined to malign this country, who can insinuate, as Sri Patel has done, by talking of the huge amount of aid received from West Germany, that this country's diplomatic relations are conditioned by the amount of aid promised and given.

Meanwhile, may I present the following quotation from a journal published in the USA, about whose political predilection he should not have any doubt? This is what the *Newsweek* of September 29 wrote: "Considering that East Germany is now the world's seventh-ranking industrial power, the diplomatic fiction that the East German State does not exist, is becoming untenable."

Saral Patra

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SULEKH C. GUPTA

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Refurbishing A Broken Image

OBSERVER

THE Jana Sangh leadership has, of late, taken a lot of pains to emphasise that it is a "middle-of-the-road" party, championing the cause of the middle classes. It could not, therefore, be accused of being pro-monopolist, as many have done since the days of the presidential election.

This, evidently, is not a case of reiteration of its position, as explained in its annual session in Bombay earlier this year, but of a necessity under a compelling situation. Jana Sangh stance during the recent climactic days, with the Government's radical economic measure of bank nationalisation catching the imagination of the middle classes which it claims to represent, has actually robbed it of its mask to reveal a cracked image. Its refurbishing has become imperative even if it can no more restore the myth of being a "monolith".

Its opposition to, and later ambiguous explanations on bank nationalisation, exposed its pro-big-business character before the public. Its alignment with the rightist caucus in the Congress, the syndicate, revealed its true colour. The tactics of introducing a "third" candidate in the presidential poll, only highlighted its miserable failure to cover its real face. Circumstances forced it to officially own an already known fact that its second preference votes were committed to the syndicate candidate, Sri Sanjiva Reddy.

It did not take long for the Jana Sangh leadership to recognise the unprecedented political isolation of the party from its followers. However, instead of admitting its stand as a mistake, in whatever form it could, the

Jana Sangh leadership chose the course of extricating itself from the dilemma by blaming "indiscipline" in the Congress for its own miscalculations of the popular and political forces ranged against its politics.

With a considerable amount of hedging and irrelevant references, the Jana Sangh working committee late last month avoided a direct expression of its opinion on bank nationalisation and dismissed the issue as a *fait accompli*. It was wary of committing itself to a definite stand; the knowledge of its own followers having accorded bank nationalisation a tumultuous welcome was too fresh to be tinkered with.

Safe Posture

It took safer position of playing to the gallery—the working committee resolution pointed out the private ownership of foreign banks operating in India as a glaring lacuna in the bank nationalisation scheme. Even here, it played safe and refrained from calling for the nationalisation of the foreign banking concerns also.

The only definite stand it took was in respect of the need to re-shape the Fourth Plan to provide resources for the development of the private sector which, according to the Jana Sangh, had now been made totally dependent on the Government for its credit requirements. It also talked of "a programme to provide full employment to all able-bodied persons" and a reduction in the growing economic disparities, but with no illusion that these would not be recognised as the sops that they really are.

Such ambiguity in the Jana

Sangh pronouncements would appear strange to those who do not take into account the recent developments within the party organisation and particularly in the leadership. In the midst of the prevailing frustration and confusion, the leadership had to face a veritable challenge from within its own ranks at the highest level. The public controversy between a former Jana Sangh President, Sri Balraj Madhok, and the dominant leadership on a number of issues connected with the tactical line of the party since the General Elections in 1967, is significant in this connection for more than one reason.

It was the first ever open challenge to a party leadership running a steel-frame organisation riddled with RSS cadres at all levels, which refuses to countenance any dissidence in its ranks. Sri Madhok, who considers himself to be close to the RSS ideologically, had for long acquired the status of an exception, notwithstanding the leadership's dislike for this sort of postures.

Secondly, for over two years now, Sri Madhok has been pressing for a Jana Sangh initiative to form a grand alliance of like-minded parties and groups like the Swatantras and the Patelites in the Congress to be arrayed against the Leftists and the Nehruite Congressmen.

The party leadership was not opposed to it in principle, but shirked any initiative in this regard for very obvious reasons. The leadership did not find it profitable to give up its image of a mass party which the Jana Sangh had acquired lately, nor could it agree to alienate its lower middle class and middle class following at this juncture.

Waiting Game

It favoured a waiting game till the political climate in the country matured for such a concord. Instead, it showed a preference for a "pragmatic" policy, dismissing Sri Madhok as an incorrigible dogmatist, revelling in "intemperate" statements out of tune with the time.

The interesting part of this controversy is the impression created that Sri Madhok's disenchantment with the present Jana Sangh leadership would mean a weakening of the RSS stranglehold over the party, paving the way for it to change into a mass, democratic party in keeping with the changing times. The Jana Sangh leadership itself would be too glad to perpetuate this impression.

However, a knowledge of the structure and the functioning of the party would make it abundantly clear that not a single decision is taken by the leadership on any crucial political issues without the approval of Sri M.S. Golwalkar, the RSS chief. Sri Madhok has only provided the leadership with an opportunity to present the controversy as a struggle between those in the Jana Sangh who want to stand on side of the common people, and others (Sri Madhok) who would like to yoke the party to the chariot of the Rightists in the country.

Sri Madhok, on the other hand, has clearly pointed out that his was not a crusade against the fundamental tenets of the Jana Sangh policy, but a revolt against the somnambulist characteristics of the leadership which had to ultimately accept his way of thinking even while arguing against it.

Sri Madhok has pointed out, as an example, the Jana Sangh decision to adopt a policy of "no truck" with the Communists in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh after its experience of the coalition governments in these States—a policy which he had advocated immediately after the General Elections but was overruled. More recently, the party had to ultimately come out in favour of casting its second preference votes for Sri Sanjiva Reddy in the presidential election, even though his suggestion had been brushed aside earlier.

The party leadership has tried to refute the charges by a counter-charge that Sri Madhok had issued a statement opposing the Central Government employees' strike of September 19, 1968, in violation of the party policy, and had thus harmed its image. Sri

Madhok's contention is that the leadership had never formally accorded support to the strike, but had only pleaded against victimisation of the employees after the event had taken place, and that he was not opposed to such an overture at a later stage.

Easy Way

Policies so far pursued by the Jana Sangh is public knowledge. In respect of economic policies, its concern for the private sector and criticism of the public sector is not new. The last meeting of the Jana Sangh working committee, of course, took special care to chalk out a programme of nation-wide campaign on August 15 to secure loans for "drivers of handcarts, bullock-carts, cycle-rickshaws, scooters, taxis" and others from the nationalised banks. This was an easy way to show that the Jana Sangh was second to none, not even to Smt Indira Gandhi, in its concern for the down-trodden. However, August 15 came and passed off without even a ripple.

It is also not for the first that the Jana Sangh has shown its predilection for an elaborate programme in support of popular causes, but these have generally been to tide over certain immediate problems. At its Bombay annual session, too, it had "adopted" a programme of massive nation-wide campaign for the "upliftment" of the scheduled castes, even though no resolution came before the delegates for either discussion or voting. It was publicised with a fanfare on the day after the session was over and the delegates had left the city.

The programme was then considered urgent because the views of the Shankaracharya of Puri and Sri Golwalkar on caste system had already received wide publicity and met with public denunciation. Therefore, it was considered necessary for the Jana Sangh leadership to make a public declaration, albeit on paper, of its determination to fight against untouchability.

The last working committee meeting also demanded "firm" implementation of the legislations pertaining to land reforms.

"Evictions must be stopped," it demanded. But the working committee quietly forgot the performance of the Jana Sangh in the United Front Government in Bihar. It is still fresh in public memory that when the Bataidari legislation was sought to be implemented in Bihar to safeguard the interests of the sharecroppers and tenants, it was the Jana Sangh Minister who had threatened blood-bath against it.

Communal Riots

The Jana Sangh leadership has also laid claims to having shown active interest in solving the problems of national integration. But how can the people help reminding themselves, after the recent communal carnage in Gujarat, of the terrible happenings in Meerut, Allahabad, Ranchi, Puppuri and other places during the period of the first united front governments and the contribution of the Jana Sangh in shaping those events?

As in the past, the Jana Sangh leaders have discovered foreign hands in the communal disturbances in Gujarat also, and on that account would justify the events that followed.

However, in respect of Gujarat, there is a possibility of the party making out a slightly different case, because of the public knowledge of Sri Madhok's presence in Ahmedabad for a few days even before the start of the disturbances there, and his provocative public pronouncements about developing "militant Hinduism" and "nationalisation of the Muslims" in India.

Sri Madhok having become a persona non grata, the leadership would probably not own responsibility for what he might or might not have said at the Ahmedabad Military and Rifle Training Association. It would rather own up the "refugee rehabilitation" work done by the Jana Sangh workers in Ahmedabad, to be on the safe side.

Proven Fact

However, it is also a proven fact that wherever a strong democratic movement exists, where the

people are politically conscious, provocateurs, whether foreign or indigenous, can be easily beaten back. The Jana Sangh leadership characterised the formation of Malapuram district in Kerala as the establishment of a "mini-Pakistan" and got its volunteers from different parts of this country to offer "satyagraha" against it.

The people of Kerala proved that communal provocation could be defeated by political consciousness. The Jana Sangh efforts failed miserably even when acute political wranglings had badly divided the United Front Government there.

Jana Sangh had to face the same failure in West Bengal in its effort to boost Sri Atulya Ghosh against the United Front of the progressive, democratic parties. The West Bengal Congress boss was reportedly offered the support of his "swayamsevaks" by the RSS chief, Sri Golwalkar, to stem the "tide of Communism" engulfing the State.

The Jana Sangh move towards the formation of a "united, national" party, in line with the proposal of Sri Madhok, has also suffered a serious set-back. The party leadership has vehemently denied that it had ever committed itself to the formation of such a party. On the other hand, it is claimed, its precondition for its ultimate fusion with the Swatantra and BKD was and is a common, agreed programme.

Apparently, the Jana Sangh has not given up all hopes about such an eventuality. Yet, at the same time, it prefers to demarcate itself from others; in its public posture, the Swatantra is described as a rightist party with which a "middle-of-the-road" party like the Jana Sangh could not merge.

Despite the temporary dampening of its ardour caused by the presidential poll result, the Jana Sangh has discovered a ray of hope in the new posture adopted by the Swatantra Party. From its aversion to "democratic socialism", the Swatantra Party is now prepared to look at it favourably and consider it as a point of discussion among the prospective constituents of

a "national democratic front" after its own image. The need for a "socialist" label is as much necessary for the Swatantra Party as for Jana Sangh in the changed circumstances.

Interesting Light

An interesting light has been thrown on the illusion and reality about the Jana Sangh by no less a person than the right-hand man of the Maharani of Gwalior, Sri S. C. Angre. As an emissary of the Maharani, he has been closely associated with the entire process of negotiations between the Jana Sangh, BKD and Swatantra Party and worked for its success. The Gwalior Maharani was herself reported to have taken the initiative and secured even Sri Golwalkar's blessings for the merger move.

In a letter published in a recent issue of the Jana Sangh mouthpiece, the *Organiser*, Sri Angre recalls: "So far as I am aware, the Jana Sangh had played an active role in initiating the 'merger' talks." Further, "Consequently, your paper's wholesale condemnation of these talks looks paradoxical and has led to all kinds of wild conjectures about the real intentions of the party." He also gives the comforting advice to the Jana Sangh leadership: "It is only the Jana Sangh and the like-minded nationalist parties which can crush these forces (Communists) of disintegration and disorder, provided they resolve their 'minor differences' and agree on a common programme."

Thus, according to this knowledgeable representative of the princess, the "differences" between the "middle-of-the-road" Jana Sangh and the "rightist" Swatantra are only "minor", which could be easily ironed out, and not that major as being made out by the leadership for public consumption.

More revealing, however, is the warning sounded by Sri Angre; is it permissible for a paper "which is taken by one and all as the mouthpiece of the Jana Sangh" to commit such a "serious indiscretion by bracketing the princes with profiteers"? What has emboldened Sri Angre to

adopt such an attitude?

Princely Support

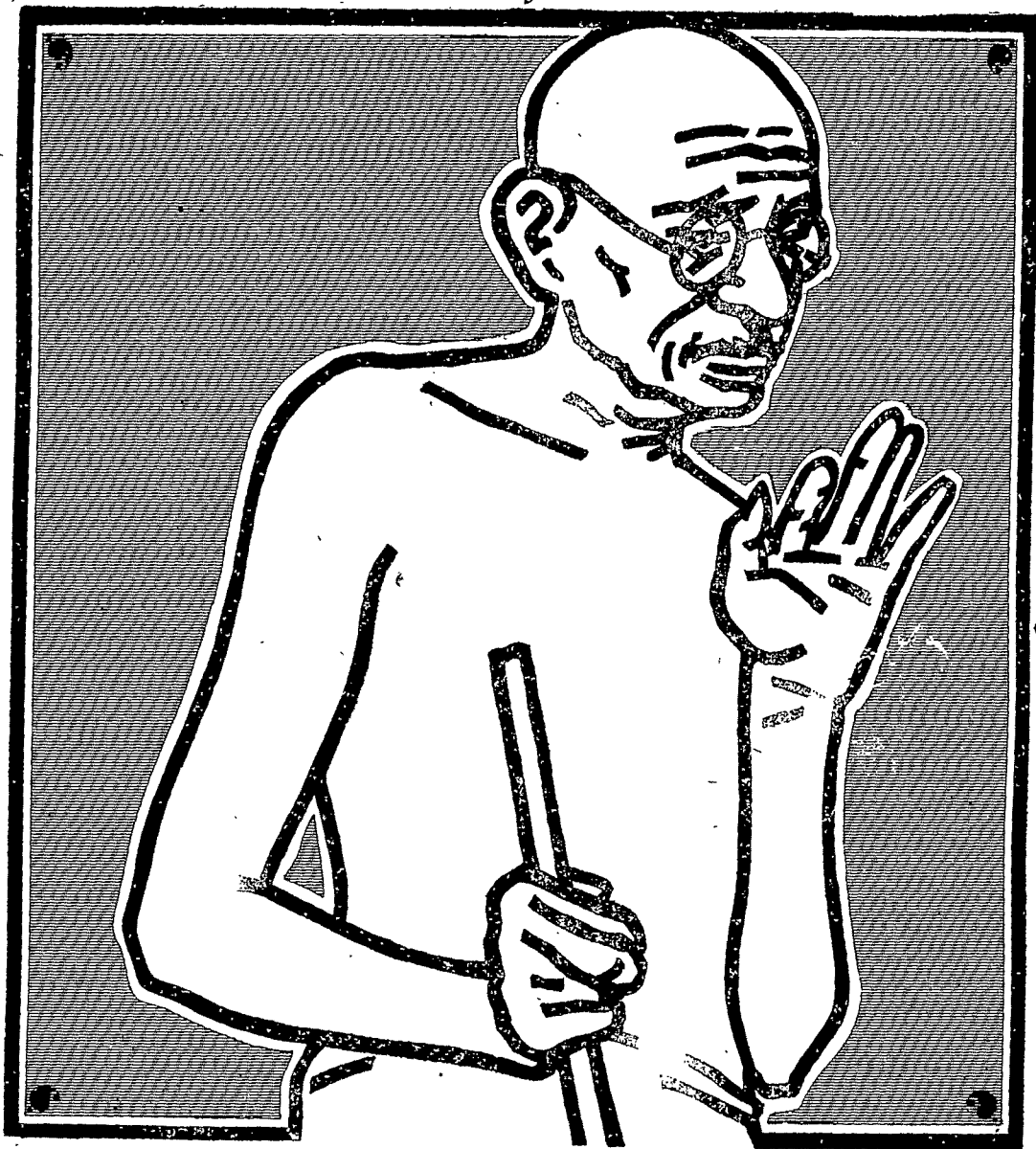
In his own words: "Even the Jana Sangh enjoys the support of some of the most popular and respected princes in the country and its top leaders have publicly acknowledged their contribution to the growth of their party's influence and popularity among the masses." Consequently, the Jana Sangh leadership must refrain from "making such a slanderous and highly objectionable statement against the princes." Apparently, the leadership has not thought it advisable to publicly join issues with Sri Angre. There has, so far, been no reply to this whiplash.

In keeping with the adage that trouble does not appear alone another misfortune has befallen the Jana Sangh leadership, and that, too, in Madhya Pradesh. The election of the former Deputy Chief Minister and now the leader of Opposition in Madhya Pradesh Assembly, Sri Virendra Kumar Saklecha, has been declared void by the High Court on grounds of corrupt practices. He has been debarred from seeking election to any legislative body for six years. The Indore Bench of the Madhya Pradesh High Court passed severe strictures against Sri Saklecha for influencing the electorate in the name of religion.

It has to be remembered that Sri Saklecha was the Home Minister in the non-Congress SVD Government, and communal and caste disturbances had taken place in Madhya Pradesh during the tenure of the SVD Government.

The upholder of Bharatiya Sanskriti, the Jana Sangh leadership, is no doubt making all efforts to retain its hold over its following with various postures, and pull it back from merging with the mainstream of the common people struggling for a better life. But, being under the influence of the RSS storm-troopers loyal to their high priest Sri Golwalkar, the "middle-of-the-road" Jana Sangh can only play the role of sappers and

(Continued on page 36)



“I do a great deal of railway travelling. I observe the difficulty of third-class passengers. But the Railway Administration is by no means to blame for all their hard lot. We do not know the elementary laws of cleanliness. We spit anywhere on the carriage floor, irrespective of the thought that it is often used as sleeping space. We do not trouble ourselves as to how we use it; the result is indescribable filth in the compartment. The so-called better class passengers over-awe their less fortunate brethren. Among them I have seen the student world also. Sometimes they behave no better. They can speak English and they have worn Norfolk Jackets and therefore claim the right to force their way in and command seating accommodation.”

—MAHATMA GANDHI



NORTHERN RAILWAY

Subtle Anti-Indira Slant

KRANTI SEN

WHO benefited from the cancellation of the Prime Minister's Assam tour and who was responsible for it? The Chaliha Government advised Smt Indira Gandhi against her coming to the State in view of the "tension" created by the movement for a second public sector oil refinery.

But the fact remains that the Sangram Parishad, composed of five Left parties and the Jana Sangh, had never expressed opposition to Prime Minister's visit, nor did it threaten any demonstration against her. On the other hand, the very day the announcement came about the cancellation of the tour, a prominent leader of the Sangram Parishad said that the Parishad was not concerned with her tour but would carry on the satyagraha.

Certain facts about the developments in the current movement need closer scrutiny to get a clear understanding of the circumstances that led Chief Minister Chaliha to persuade Smt Gandhi to avoid a visit to the State at this juncture.

It is no secret that public sentiment for the refinery notwithstanding, the response for the projected satyagraha, in organisational terms, had been lacking, forcing the Sangram Parishad to put off the movement from time to time. This time, while it claimed to have enlisted 10,000 volunteers to court arrest in the course of the fortnight-long satyagraha commencing from September 15, several Parishad leaders expressed doubts about their avowed strength.

Mass Response

Yet, when the satyagraha

actually started, the "mass response" actually swept the Parishad leaders off their feet. In the course of the first five days, more than 60,000 men, women and youngsters had courted arrest. The leaders felt embarrassed that they had in fact underestimated the support from the masses. But had they paused for a moment, they would have perhaps enquired how this "mass-response" had failed to reflect in the pre-satyagraha enlistment of volunteers.

The plain fact was that thousands of persons, having little or no connection with either the Parishad or its objectives, had got into the movement. From the third day on, Congressmen joined in considerable numbers. Some prominent Congress workers, including an ex-MLA, were seen leading the satyagrahis. Independent MLAs belonging to Sri Gauri Shankar Bhattacharya's United Legislature Party, who is not in any way associated with the refinery movement, also joined in.

Since the law and order machinery of the State was incapable of "arresting" so many at a time, the arrests were mostly nominal. Instead of taking down the names and addresses of individual satyagrahis, the magistrate or the police official concerned would "declare the whole assembly illegal" load them into the waiting vans and buses, and take them to jail. They would all be released later in the day.

In fact, for some of them, courting arrest became a fun, and the same persons turned up day after day for such "illegal" gatherings, swelling the figure of "arrests" by thousands. Nobody

bothered to enquire what had prompted Congressmen to join a movement directed against the Congress Government and what magic wand had been waved to set in motion an unending stream of satyagrahis.

At Jorhat, Sri Dulal Barua, MLA of the ULP, and Congress leaders like Sri Sarbeswar Bardoloi, a former MLA, took a prominent part in the movement. It was then that the Jorhat unit of the Sangram Parishad decided to organise a "bandh" on the day of the Prime Minister's visit, although the central body had no such plans. Suggestions were made that the Parishad should give a call for "bandh" wherever Smt Gandhi went.

Students Dominate

At Gauhati, the de facto capital of the State, September 18 was fixed as the "Students Day". A list of satyagrahis was prepared. But what happened altogether unexpected for the Parishad leaders. All the schools and colleges were closed; boys and girls, even those in the primary classes, came out in thousands and insisted on being arrested. This was the time when the Parishad leaders lost their initiative and kept themselves busy with restoring some order and discipline among the students who, till the time of writing, continue to dominate the scene.

There have been reports of high-handedness by a section of the students who had harassed truck and private car drivers, forcing them to carry the slogan-shouting students around and also of getting the vehicles filled in at the petrol pumps without any payment. A group of students had stormed into the Gauhati airport and "taken over" its control room. Some petty shopkeepers and fishermen had complained against manhandling by groups of students.

Meanwhile, sentiments were worked up against Smt Gandhi and there was a deliberate but subtle attempt to turn the agitation for the second refinery into a movement against the Prime Minister personally. Propaganda against her took the form of

recalling what her father had said about Assam during the Chinese invasion in 1962—"Our hearts go out for Assam"—practically "giving up" the State for lost to the enemy.

Then again, people were reminded of Smt Gandhi's speech in November 1967 at Jorhat that the Asoka Mehta Committee's report on Assam reorganisation could not be accepted by the Centre because the Hill leaders had rejected it. (Incidentally, this speech was also used in January last year to foment the Republic Day riots in Gauhati.) A point to note here is that all this propaganda had emanated not from the Leftist circles but from just the opposite quarters.

Curiously enough, this anti-Prime Minister slant to the refinery movement came just in the wake of reports that Smt Gandhi was in favour of a political decision agreeing to a second refinery in Assam, even while the experts Committee recommended only a petro-chemical complex.

State Industries Minister Biswadeb Sarma came out with a statement that "nothing short of a refinery" would satisfy the people of Assam, and that State Government was "fully committed" to the demand unanimously made in the State Assembly. A similar statement was also issued by the Pradesh Congress President, Sri Bijoy Bhagawati.

As impression was, thus, sought to be created that both the State Government and Pradesh Congress were in full sympathy with the demand for a second refinery, while it was the Centre led by Smt Gandhi which was opposed to it. In other words, dominant group in the Congress was trying to take advantage of the movement, launched by the Sangram Parishad to divert it against the Prime Minister. But why? Thereby hangs another tale.

Pro-Syndicate Posture

The dominant group in the PCC, led by Chief Minister Chaliha, had taken positions coinciding with those of the syndicate during the Presidential elections. A whip was issued by

Sri Chaliha, as the leader of the Legislature Party, that the Congress MLAs should vote for Sri Sanjiva Reddy.

But, by then, the rank and file Congress members had been sufficiently enthused in favour of Smt Gandhi, following her lead at the Bangalore AICC session, the nationalisation of fourteen private sector banks, and her determined stand against the bosses after the ouster of Sri Morarji Desai. This was something not to the liking of the State Congress bosses.

Almost adding fuel to the fire, Sri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed's recent visit to the State helped the pro-Indira group of Congressmen further to consolidate their ranks. The displeasure of the official group was made clear to Sri Ahmed at a PCC meeting where, according to some members, a wordy duel ensued between the Union Minister and the Deputy leader of the Congress Legislature Party, Sri Mohendra Mohan Chowdhury. One of the reasons for their annoyance was that Sri Ahmed, their *bete noire*, had emerged from the recent crisis as the staunchest supporter of Smt Gandhi and she relied much on him.

Again, it was at the instance of Sri Ahmed that Prime Minister included a visit to Goalpara in her itinerary. This was another cause for the irritation to the Pradesh Congress bosses. Not only was it arranged by-passing the Chief Minister, but it spelt a victory for Sri Sarat Chanda Sinha, PCC Vice-President, a lone supporter of Smt Gandhi in the Pradesh Congress executive who had hailed Sri Giri's election as a "victory for the forces of socialism".

Foreign Machinations

Another aspect of the refinery movement is highlighted by those who suspect machinations of foreign oil monopolies to create conditions that would make Smt Gandhi's visit to Assam impossible. Since an additional refinery would, to that extent, reduce India's dependence on foreign oil monopolies, would not they be interested in thwarting any move

to set up a second public sector refinery in this State?

It is difficult to answer the question straightway. The CIA's techniques are too subtle and sophisticated to be exposed that easily. On an earlier occasion, this reporter was told by an important official that the Intelligence had knowledge of the existence of CIA agents in Assam and North-East India, and had kept the Government informed of their activities. But no tangible action had been taken.

It is, however, a matter of common knowledge that there are a large number of beneficiaries in Assam from the US-sponsored organisations like the World University Centre, etc., who not infrequently induct themselves into mass movements to serve their own purposes.

One episode in connection with the refinery satyagraha needs to be examined in some detail. On September 19, the Kamrup Chamber of Commerce, a body of Marwari businessmen, issued an appeal to its members to keep their establishment closed on the following day to "show solidarity" with the refinery movement. The call was given without consulting or even informing the Sangram Parishad.

Even though the call was meant only for the KCC members, it was spread throughout Gauhati as a call for a strike and a hartal by the merchants. The Gauhati station of the All India Radio promptly broadcast it, without checking up with the Sangram Parishad. The KCC call as such was applicable to the Gauhati town, or at the most, Kamrup district. But newspaper offices received telephonic enquiries from distant towns like Dibrugarh and Tinsukia if there would be hartals in their towns, too.

It is now gathered that a news agency, financed by the Marwaris and known for its links with the RSS and the Jana Sangh gave wide publicity to the KCC's call.

When the surprised leaders of the Sangram Parishad rebuked the KCC representatives for this unilateral call, the latter issued

issued a statement withdrawing the hartal.

It is interesting to note the timings of these events. The call was issued at night. The withdrawal statement came about half-past ten. Only one newspaper could carry the withdrawal statement in its issue next morning. The other persons did not receive it in time. Meanwhile, the Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup was requested to convey the news of the withdrawal statement that very night to the citizens of Gauhati. This was not done till about the following mid-day, so that the hartal, which had been officially withdrawn, did take place.

System Failure

The concerned authorities pleaded that the delay in the announcement was due to the "failure" of the "system". It seems significant when one recalls that the "system" had similarly "failed" on the fateful January 26 last year, and the authorities could not make any announcement, when the rioters were on a rampage throughout the city.

Looking at it objectively, the hartal call of the KCC could have only led to serious troubles. Some might have drawn their shutters, while other might have forced them to open. The result, in any case, would have been clashes between different groups. In the tension prevailing in the city, a single incident could have sparked off a major conflagration. It could have only sabotaged the refinery movement and harmed the cause of Assam.

The way the KCC's call for hartal was magnified and spread throughout the State, suggested some planning and organisation. As a matter of fact, complete hartal was observed in a number of towns in Upper Assam on September 20, whereas it continued till the afternoon that day in Gauhati.

Moreover, excesses committed by some of the students, over whom the Sangram Parishad had no control, were played up which added to the tension. The hartal call and its subsequent withdrawal created more confusion. An atmosphere of suspense and ten-

sion was artificially built up which came as a handy excuse for the State Government to advise the Prime Minister against visiting Assam.

In the bargain, the dominant Chaliha group in the Pardesh Congress has emerged triumphant. The Sangram Pradesh might also feel pleased that the mass "response", has been overwhelming. But the fate of the refinery still remains undecided.

If Smt Indira Gandhi were

allowed to visit Assam, she could have made some announcement at least to partially satisfy the people of the State. But, then, her presence would have also affected the balance in the State Congress to the advantage of the democratic movement. Again, her visit might have allayed the general feeling in the State of neglect by the Centre. But now all these are in the realm of might have-beens.

September 22

Vedanta and India's Progress

NIRANJAN DHAR

HUMAN progress is found to follow the path of uneven development. Thus we see that some nations advance while others stand more or less stationary. When the Industrial Revolution was taking place on the northern shore of the Mediterranean, the people of the southern shore although quite aware of it, did not take much interest in it.

Coming to more recent times, we find that North America made rapid progress but South America did not. In Asia, Japan caught up with Europe quickly. India, however, kept on languishing in the backwaters of history.

The clue to this uneven development of countries had been mainly found in what the psychologists have called a particular type of "mental virus". Essentially it means a certain way of thinking which induces an individual to act in a specially energetic way. A man can achieve something only when he is infected with this "mental virus". Symbolically it has been described as *n Ach* which is but an abbreviation of the phrase "need for achievement."

Now we know that every nation has an ideological foundation which determines its way

of life. In the case of the Hindus, the Vedanta provides this ideological foundation. For centuries it has been exercising so great an influence on their minds that it has been virtually equated with the Hindu view of life. The Vedanta, howsoever interpreted, preaches an extreme form of idealism.

We know that the materialist thought has liberating significance which is altogether absent from the idealist variety. Idealism, unlike materialism, cannot help man acquire knowledge about the physical world. This knowledge is, however, indispensable for the development of productive forces and our rising standard of living.

The Vedanta should, thus, be held accountable for the continued socio-economic backwardness of India. The Vedanta further impedes the growth of a vigorous life by emphasising positively the life-denying values of life.

There are, however, some scholars who have refused to subscribe to this view. According to them, the Vedanta is in no way responsible for the degeneration of India. On the contrary, it was at the root of all her past glory. In support of their con-

tention, they generally point out the role supposed to have been played by Calvinism in Europe. The Calvinist philosophy of work for the greater glory of God, as some sociologists have shown, contributed largely towards the industrialisation of the Western world.

Gita's Teaching

There is a great similarity between the Calvinist philosophy of work and the exposition of work in the *Bhagwad Gita* which has been appraised as the fruit of the tree of the Vendanta. The Gita persuades all to perform their best for the common good of the society and not for the gratification of personal desires. Like Calvinism, the Gita's teaching might have also been made to work for the modernisation of the Indian society. The ultimate cause of the backwardness of the Indian society has, therefore, to be sought elsewhere than in the Vendanta.

This contention on the part of the protagonists of the Vedantic view of life requires a careful examination.

The Vedanta has its own metaphysics, psychology and ethics. It takes a transcendental view of reality and human nature. According to this view, there is an order of existence which goes beyond the empirical order of things. It constitutes the primary forms of reality. The empirical order is subordinate to it and derives its *raison d'être* from it. The ontological duality is reflected in the spiritualist conception of human nature as well.

Man is endowed with impulses, urges and capacities appro-

priate for the visible order of things. But, *at the same time*, he possesses cravings and powers for establishing contact with the transcendental reality. To realise this spiritual side of his nature, thus, becomes the *summum bonum* of man's life, and the demands of the physical side becomes more or less subordinated to the achievement of the so-called higher side. Even the total sacrifice of the material side of human nature is also not completely ruled out.

Negativist Conception

The negativist conception of life which the Vendanta takes makes all actions equally pointless. It leads to the suppression of all natural impulses and does not seek to bring about a state of things where the maximum amount of socially desirable impulses can be satisfied. The quality of natural life is sacrificed deliberately for the sake of a "spiritual" fulfilment, although, some basic impulses have to be willy nilly fulfilled if life is to go on at all. But no actions are morally demanded of the self for improving the quality of this life.

In addition to the most basic and insistent animal impulses, the *Bhagwad Gita* prescribes purely desireless actions conforming to the pattern of behaviour characteristic of one's station in society. One will continue to discharge such actions till both the natural world and the social world will drop away from the emancipated self.

Such an extreme idealistic position cannot be conducive to material progress. If, ancient India achieved any material progress, it was not because of the

theory of work enunciated in the Gita, but in spite of it. The religious position of Calvinism was not so extreme. But still we cannot say that it had played any effective role in modernising the socio-economic structure of the western society.

In this respect the religious sociologists appear to have overdramatised the role of Calvinism. After all, any religion, even when it does not completely neglect the natural side of human personality, cannot but regard it merely as a lower part of our personality, the higher side being the fulfilment of that part of the personality which brings a man into communion with the transcendental order of reality. From the very nature of the case, therefore, the contribution of any religion towards the socio-economic betterment of a country cannot but be very limited.

If Calvinism played any progressive part in the European society, it was not because of its theory of work but because of the fanatic belief of its followers that they were a superior set of people and somehow they were responsible for the salvation of mankind. Now what was true of the Calvinists was true of virtually many other religious groups. It is because the first generations of the new reformist religious groups generally remain infested with a high degree of *n Ach*.

This also explains why the Brahmos of Bengal, during their early hey days, functioned as pioneers not only in social reforms but also in economic spheres. In 1828 Raja Rammonun Roy took a prominent part in forming the Commercial and Patriotic Association to engage in agriculture, trade and commerce. After his return from his tour of America and Europe in 1893, Vivekananda began to preach forcefully the message of the socio-economic betterment of our country. He seems to have largely imbibed this outlook from the Western world. By 1899, however he exhausted his vitality and fell back in a mental stupor characteristic of a Vedantic monk. After all, a God-centred humanitarianism is never a genuine humanitarianism.

Beef In Ancient India

by

RAJA RAJENDRALALA MITRA

Being a reprint of Chapter VI of the author's book *Indo-Aryans* Vol I, published originally in 1881.

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Injustice to Kerala

A. K. GOPALAN

THE Fifth Finance Commission's Award has come as a shock to the people of Kerala who were expecting a sizable chunk from the total award of Rs 4266.04 crores. The Tyagi Commission has adopted a political approach to the economic needs of Kerala, a State which has been going through a severe financial crisis, with a heavy budget deficit and ways and means difficulties.

Instead of appreciating the needs of this deficit State, the Commission has deliberately punished the people of Kerala for electing a non-Congress Government to power. This much was broadly hinted by the Chairman himself when he visited Kerala in January last. Our worst fears have come true with the award.

The award was discriminatory to the State. Facts and figures will reveal this. Kerala's share is only Rs 193.43 crores in the total award to States, against the Fourth Finance Commission's Award of Rs 188.61 crores out of a total of Rs 2885.85 crores. Even though the total amount going to States has gone up by 47.83 per cent the share of Kerala has gone up only marginally by 2.56 per cent. While the total award shows only marginal increase, the share of Kerala in divisible pool has steeply gone down from 6.54 per cent in the Fourth Finance Commission's award to 4.53 per cent in the present award.

This approach to Kerala was adopted by the Commission at a time when the State was expecting a favourable devolution of Central taxes and grants-in-aid. All the hopes have been shattered. This compels the people of Kerala to resist this step-motherly treatment.

Kerala is one of those States which have been affected by the backward effects of the process of capitalist development in India. This happened despite some of its natural advantages and fair degree of early industrial development. Kerala is well known for its plantation industries, having almost a monopoly in pepper, rubber and lemon grass oil in India. It is also a large producer of tea, cashew nuts, tapioca, coir, spices, etc.

Sri A. K. Gopalan, MP, submitted a memorandum to the President of India protesting against what he considers to be a "grossly discriminatory" award of the finance Commission "which will only accentuate and not ease the financial crisis in the State" This article by Sri Gopalan is based on that memorandum.

With all these natural resources and pre-independence industrialisation, Kerala remains one of the most industrially backward States in India after eighteen years of national planning. The following table will show the position of Kerala *vis-a-vis* other States and all-India average.

Table I

Estimated average annual Industrial growth of States and All-India for the period 1951-64

Ranks	States	Estimated Average Annual Industrial growth rates (per cent per year)
1	Orissa	19.4
2	Punjab	19.9
3	Mysore	10.8
4	Maharashtra	8.4
5	Rajasthan	8.2
6	Andhra Pradesh	7.3
<i>All-India</i>		7.4
7	West Bengal	7.2
8	Madhya Pradesh	7.2
9	Uttar Pradesh	7.0
10	Tamilnadu	6.8
11	Bihar	5.4
12	Gujarat	5.3
13	Assam	4.7
14	Kerala	4.0

The per capita income of Kerala has been much below the all-India average in spite of its natural advantage and well-skilled human resources. Successive five-year Plans and annual Plans did not lift the State out of its backwardness. On the contrary, they have only helped accentuation of regional imbalances and growth of financial and industrial oligarchies. Inevitably, such a massive command over resources by a few has also aggravated the special distortion in the economic development of the country.

During the First Five Year Plan, no serious effort was made to develop the natural resources of the State. The allocation for industries in the Travancore-Cochin State during the Plan period was only Rs 22 lakhs. Neither did the State get much during the next Second and Third Plans. Pursuing as it does the capitalist path of development, the Central Government utterly neglected Kerala.

During the First Five Year Plan period, Kerala received no share of the Central investment in industrial ventures. During the Second Five Year Plan period, out of a total of Rs 663 crores of Central investment, Kerala received only a paltry sum of Rs 70 lakhs. This position was slightly improved at the time of the Third Five Year Plan. The amount of Central sector investment allotted to Kerala was Rs. 71 crores out of a total of Rs 1261 crores for the following projects.

Table II

Projects	Rs. Crores
1 Ship-building Yard (Cochin)	20
2 Oil-Refinery	17
3 HMT Unit (Alwaye)	8
4 Precision Instruments Factory (Alwaye)	8
5 Expansion of FACT (Alwaye)	8
6 Phyto-Chemical Factory (Neriamangalam)	10
Total	71

But, in reality, many of the projects earmarked for Kerala were not installed in the State. Only certain schemes like the Machine Tools unit at Alwaye and the expansion scheme of the FACT were completed during the Plan period and some progress was made in the case of the oil refinery project. The Phyto-Chemical Factory project was abandoned by the Government of India. The Precision Instruments Factory was later transferred to another State after the site was acquired.

The long cherished shipbuilding yard is still eluding the State. After putting the project virtually in cold storage for years, it is now learnt that the final project will be much smaller in size and scope than what was earlier contemplated. Thus, the actual Central investments in industrial projects in Kerala during the Third Plan, amounted to only Rs 26.4 crores as against the original allotment of Rs 71 crores.

Kerala has immense potential for growth. The State has unique concentration of rare minerals like ilmenite, rutile, monazite, zircon, silimanite and China clay. The argument that the State cannot have heavy industries for want of iron ore is no more valid.

The recent discovery of quality magnetite ore in the Calicut region and the bauxite deposits in several parts of the State to hold promise of future industrialisation, provided the Centre's attitude towards the State is changed. Kerala's special features have ne-

ver been taken into account by the Central Government and the various Commissions constituted by it.

SPECIAL FEATURES OF KERALA'S ECONOMY

The economy of Kerala is endowed with many special characteristics. Kerala, which occupies 1.27 per cent of the total area of the Indian Union, accounts for 3.85 per cent of its population. According to the 1961 census, population density in the State is 435 per sq. kilometer as against 138 for all-India. The density of population in the State in 1969 is estimated at 532. Consequent to the increase in population, per capita land in the State has come down from 0.29 hectare in 1951 to 0.23 hectare in 1961.

Agricultural productivity in Kerala is one of the highest among the States in the Indian Union. At the same time, Kerala happens to be the only State with a chronic deficit in foodgrains to the extent of about 54 per cent. Though deficit in food, the State is rich in foreign-exchange earning cash crops. Foreign exchange earned from Kerala's exports during recent years is larger than the volume of resources made available to Kerala through taxes and grants. With hardly 1.27 per cent of country's agricultural land the State is contributing more than 20 per cent of the total agricultural exports and over 12 per cent of the total exports of India.

In Kerala, industries are mostly agro-based, traditional and backward in character. The per capita daily earnings of a factory worker in Kerala, in 1965 was Rs 3.54 as against Rs 6.13 per all-India. The traditional industries like coir, handloom and cashew, employing a very large percentage of the workers account for the low per capita daily earnings. The low level of technology in the industrial sector can be seen from the fact that the capital investment per worker in the State is only Rs 2,737 compared to Rs 5,830 for the country as a whole.

The State has unique resources in marine fisheries. With only 10 per cent of the coast line of the country, Kerala accounts for 40 per cent of the all-India marine fish production and 85 per cent of the foreign exchange earnings from sea-food products. This year the foreign exchange earnings from Kerala sea-food products is estimated to be over Rs 30 crores. The vast expanse of the marine waters of Kerala with some of the well-known fishing grounds of the world offers immense scope for development.

The off-shore waters lying beyond 10 to 15 miles from the coast remain to be exploited. The tapping of these off-shore waters will generate additional employment and income to people besides much protein food and valuable foreign exchange to the nation. A proper exploitation of marine wealth through deep sea fishing requires heavy investments in the form of large trawlers and processing plants which the Centre alone will be able to finance.

Highest Unemployment Rate

In addition to the variety of natural resources which Kerala is endowed with, the State has an abun-

tant supply of highly educated and skilled labour force. Kerala which has the highest degree of literacy is also the State with one of the highest rate of unemployment, particularly educated unemployment. The number of persons who are totally unemployed at the beginning of 1968 was estimated to be over 7 lakhs.

In addition to this there are thousands of partially employed and under-employed persons. Moreover it is estimated that the new entrants to labour force during the Fourth Five Year Plan is over nine lakhs. Thus, the State is faced with a very serious problem of unemployment both among educated and unskilled workers.

Above all, the State is faced with the serious problem of unemployment among the coir, cashew and beedi workers who are thrown out of employment due to mechanisation and the general economic weakness of these traditional industries.

Therefore, steps will have to be taken to maximise employment opportunities by giving employment-intensive schemes and also stabilising the existing employment, by supporting and developing the traditional industries, by creating new avenues of employment and by dispersing small and medium industries in the rural sector.

FINANCE COMMISSION'S ROLE

Kerala remains a backward State in a so-called federation like India. So far, a clear separation of the finances of several layers of Governments is not effected. The States in India have very few elastic sources of revenue and the major tax heads are concentrated in the Central Government. Consequently, the inevitable revenue gap for the State is quite appreciable in India and as a result arrangements have to be made for transferring finances from the Central Government to the States.

The Finance Commission is expected to play the role of a wise man to judge between the conflicting claims of the States, on the one hand, and the Centre, on the other, and also to judge the financial needs of the States. The Fifth Finance Commission by its award has failed to carry out the desired objectives.

According to the award of the Fifth Finance Commission, Kerala would receive only about Rs 5 crores more during the entire five-year period (1969-70 to 1973-74) under the present award (Rs 193.43 crores) than under the award of the Fourth Commission (Rs 188.61) crores for a period of five years.

Ever since its formation, Kerala State has been experiencing ways and means difficulties and heavy budget deficits. In the Memorandum submitted to the Fifth Finance Commission, a "Forecast of Revenue and Expenditure on Revenue Account (Non-Plan)" for 1969-70 to 1973-74 has been made. The position of Revenue Account that emerges from the forecasts of revenue and non-plan expenditure for the period is summarised below (see Table III).

As against this huge gap of Rs 410 crores over the five-year period of the Fourth Plan, the Fifth Finance Commission has recommended a devolution of Rs 193.43 crores only (Rs 143.78 crores of taxes and Rs 49.65 crores as grants-in-aid). Thus an unbelievably unbridgeable gap of Rs 216.61 crores emerges. It is

Table III

(in Rupees Crores)

	1969-70	70-71	71-72	72-73	73-74	Total (1969-74)
Revenue excluding share of Central taxes, grants-in-aid under Article 275 of the Constitution, and grants for plan schemes	85.09	28.08	91.56	94.65	98.03	457.41
Expenditure on revenue account—Non-plan (including committed expenditure on annual plan schemes)	156.82	160.83	167.18	174.17	184.04	843.04
Deficit	71.73	72.75	72.62	79.52	86.01	385.63
Add Net additional liability on account of the borrowings anticipated during 1969-74	0.39	2.65	4.89	7.12	9.36	24.41
Final Gap	72.12	75.40	80.51	86.64	95.37	410.04

left to the State to fill in this gap, which clearly is an impossible task for Kerala with its special problems.

It is certain that the award would upset the budgetary position even during the current year (1969-70) itself because the revenue deficit during this year is estimated at Rs 11.4 crores which was hoped to be made good by larger aid from the Centre.

No Additional Resources

Even when the Fifth Finance Commission gave its interim award earlier, the State was not satisfied because it had not secured any additional resources. Government had represented to the Commission that the scheme of devolution should be so evolved as to cover the "normal inescapable expenditure". It had further urged that the Central grants-in-aid should be given in the form of "general and unconditional assistance for special burdens and peculiar problems of Kerala."

The "special burdens and peculiar problems" listed by the State Government included commitments on account of food subsidy, revision of pay and dearness allowance, clearances of backlog of school facilities and committed expenditure of over Rs 7 crores in respect of completed annual plan schemes.

The Commission, however, seems to have ignored all these special features as could be seen from its award. The share of Kerala has come down from 6.54 per cent of the total divisible pool in the Fourth Finance Commission's award to 4.53 per cent in the present award. In the case of the majority of States the share has gone up significantly. Similarly, the increase in the share of Kerala as a result of the award of the Fifth Finance Commission is only marginal (2.56 per cent).

The fact that the revenues of the Indian States from their own sources are not sufficient to fulfil their responsibility even of a developmental type,

is now well known. This [deficiency of finances in relation to their commitments, is aggravated by the sharp disparity between the developed resources of the richer and the scanty revenues of the poorer States.

One of the more important functions of a Finance Commission in a federal set-up is to seek to reduce and, if possible, to eliminate this disparity by equalising transfers from the Centre. From this point of view, the award of the Fifth Finance Commission has not only been unhelpful to even out disparities and inequalities among the States but has accentuated this problem of regional and States imbalances as could be seen from the examples of Kerala, Assam, Orissa, etc.

Centre's Financial Powers

Moreover, the period of planning has witnessed an enormous expansion of financial power of the Central Government whose dismission have progressively increased in relation to the combined resources of all State Governments put together. For instance, the current revenues (gross) of the Centre has risen from Rs 453.58 crores in 1950-51 to Rs 3,128.04 crores in 1967-68, an increase of about 690 per cent. On the other hand, current revenues of the States, excluding transfer from

the Centre, have risen from Rs. 380.50 crores in 1950-51 to Rs 1,545.75 crores in 1967-68—an increase of only 306.6 per cent.

To an extent the same trend is seen in regard to the rise in revenue expenditure. This process of growing divergence between the power and resources of the Centre and States is due to the gross financial powers vested in the Central Government by the Constitution.

The recommendation of the Finance Commission are not binding and the final decision lies with the President or Parliament. Therefore, the President and Parliament should take a very serious view of the failure on the part of the Fifth Finance Commission to recommend an even distribution of the transferred financial resources from the Centre to the States and between the States.

If the present award is approved by the President of India, it will create many major financial crisis in some of the State like Kerala. Many of its projected schemes to give employment to thousands of unemployed have to be abandoned. Its plan projects also will be affected. The Finance Commission, which was aware of all these matters, has not done justice to the State. The people of Kerala will definitely resist the attempt on the part of the Finance Commission to punish the State by its political award.

APPENDIX—I

The Amount Accruing To the States Under The Fourth And Fifth Finance Commissions

(in Rupees crores)				
States	4th Commission Total	% to Total	5th Commission	% to Total
Andhra	234.18	8.11	339.25	7.95
Assam	144.96	5.02	195.21	4.58
Bihar	197.46	6.84	407.38	9.55
Gujarat	121.55	4.21	182.75	4.28
Haryana	39.19	1.36	59.61	1.48
J & K	68.10	2.29	106.84	2.50
Kerala	188.61	6.54	193.43	4.53
Madhya Pradesh	162.03	5.62	274.02	6.42
Maharashtra	260.038	9.02	383.66	8.99
Mysore	215.42	7.46	197.42	4.63
Nagaland	58.46	2.03	60.72	1.89
Orissa	231.85	8.03	250.68	5.88
Punjab	57.51	1.99	89.16	2.09
Rajasthan	130.41	4.52	221.65	5.20
Tamil Nadu	207.02	7.18	295.10	6.92
Uttar Pradesh	373.02	12.93	620.12	14.54
West Bengal	197.41	6.84	369.03	8.65
Total	2885.86	100.00	4266.04	100.00

APPENDIX II

The Amount Accruing to the States under the 4th and 5th Finance Commission Awards (Taxes & Grants-in-aid).

(in Rupees crores)

States	Fourth commission	5th Commission Taxes	Grants	Total	Increase in percentage
Andhra	234.18	274.24	65.01	339.25	44.87
Assam	144.96	93.24	101.97	195.21	34.66
Bihar	197.46	407.38	Nil	407.38	106.31
Gujarat	121.55	182.75	Nil	182.75	50.35
Haryana	39.19	59.61	Nil	59.61	52.11
J & K	66.10	33.16	73.68	106.84	61.63
Kerala	188.61	143.78	49.65	193.43	2.56
Madhya Pradesh	162.03	274.02	Nil	274.02	69.12
Maharashtra	260.38	383.66	Nil	383.66	47.35
Mysore	215.42	179.43	17.99	197.42	(-)-8.36
Nagaland	58.46	2.77	77.95	80.72	38.08
Orissa	231.85	146.01	104.67	250.68	8.12
Punjab	57.51	89.16	Nil	89.16	55.03
Rajasthan	130.41	170.16	51.49	221.69	69.96
Tamil Nadu	207.32	272.29	22.82	295.10	42.34
Uttar Pradesh	373.02	620.12	Nil	620.12	66.24
West Bengal	197.41	296.41	72.62	269.03	86.94
Total	2885.36	3628.19	637.85	4266.04	47.83

APPENDIX III

Central assistance to State Plan Kerala

in Rupees crores

	1st Plan	2nd Plan	3rd Plan
State Plan actual expenditure	26.1	30.2	182.3
Central Assistance	10.3*	34.4	123.0
(i) Grants	—	8.5	19.1
(ii) Loans	—	25.3	103.9
Percentage of Central Assistance to State Plan expenditure	39.5	42.9	67.5

*Separate figures not available

Ferment In Tea Gardens

M. ATCHUTHAN

FROM August 18 to September 3 over two lakhs of tea garden workers of West Bengal went on a general strike. The strike was jointly led by all trade unions. Both the West Bengal Government and the Central Government were of the view that the strike was justified since the legitimate grievances of the tea garden workers still remained unredressed.

Despite the trade union unity, and the support and sympathy of the Government, the general strike in tea gardens lasted seventeen days as against only a week long jute strike. This itself is an indication of the organised stubbornness of the employers. The tea plantation companies are, for the most part, controlled by the British and Indian big business houses. On the other hand, the IJMA cartel in jute, after a strike of only one week, chose to climb down and made a settlement with the workers. This was due to serious dissensions within its ranks as also the realisation of its weak case.

However, despite the example of IJMA, the tea garden employers behaved like the stubborn jungle kings they have been for the past century or more and only after a hard bargain a settlement could be reached on the seventeenth day of the strike. In the course of the negotiations, the most heatedly contested issue was whether the tea garden labour, who toil hard to earn several crores worth of foreign exchange, should or should not have even a minimum of job security and reasonable wages and working conditions in the twenty-second year of independent India.

The plantation companies have reaped several times over the invested capital (and the land for developing the plantations they got almost for a song) by way of profits earned on tea. In recent years, despite the increase in production of tea, employment in plantations had actually gone down. In West Bengal tea gardens alone, while tea production rose from 76 million kilograms in 1956 to nearly 100 million kilograms in 1967, the overall employment in tea gardens fell by about 80,000 during the same period.

The sharp decline in employment in plantations is a matter of deep concern. Five years ago, this was discussed on a tripartite level. As per the decision of the Tripartite Industrial Committee on Plantations (11th Session, New Delhi, October 30-31, 1964), the Government of India appointed a One-Man Fact Finding Committee to inquire into the reduction in employment in tea gardens. The Committee headed by Sri N. N. Chatterjee, the then Joint Secretary in the Union Labour Ministry, reported :

“(i) In a number of gardens, not all the vacancies which arose since 1959 have been filled up. It is a widespread practice in plantations to take advantage of the natural wastage to reduce the labour force. In all fairness to the workers, the filling-up of such vacancies by the dependants of the workers should be the normal practice in North-East India at least, where labour has very little mobility.

“(ii) All over India, one notices a tendency to reduce the permanent labour force and to increase temporary labour force. In North-East India, regular

employment in the tea plantations has definitely gone down. The main reasons for this decrease are adoption of mechanisation and other labour-saving devices, including improved cultural practices, combining of operations, tendency towards casualisation so that provident fund and certain other benefits are not provided.

“(iii) There has been a material change in the land-labour ratio since 1959. The West Bengal Government's suggestion that the temporary labour force should not exceed 20 per cent and that 80 per cent should be on a permanent basis is worth considering.”

Easy Profits

Employers have evidently exploited this method of earning easy profits because by reducing the permanent labour force, they save on the cost involved in providing a minimum of labour protection as statutorily enforced since the enactment of the Plantations Labour Act, 1951.

Even in relation to the permanent workers, the statutory provisions are implemented more in the breach. For instance, provision for housing is a “statutory obligation” on the employers. But, as the report of the National Commission on Labour could not fail to record :

“Assam and Bengal : Housing was invariably provided for settled labour (labour residing in the garden premises as against basti labour residing in the adjacent villages), which was about 80 per cent of the total labour force. Nearly 90 per cent of the houses were *kutcha* without windows or verandhas and with an average size of 180 sq ft. Split bamboo walls which did not completely join the roofs provided ventilation, but afforded poor protection against rain and cold in winter. All houses were free of rent, but repairs were the responsibility of the residents : the material for repair was supplied by the employers once in two or three years. Ninety per cent of the gardens did not have latrines. The usual source of water supply was an open surface well, though the tank or river was a supplementary source. Access to

workers' quarters was prohibited to all except the workers' relations and friends."

Why the planters should be shy of showing off their "housing" for labour is perhaps understandable! The position regarding medical facilities, another statutory obligation, is no better. The National Labour Commission has observed:

"Absence of adequate arrangements for domiciliary or specialised treatment is reported in almost all estates. This assumes special importance in the State of West Bengal and Assam where the incidence of TB and leprosy is reported to be high amongst plantation workers and their families".

Unsatisfactory Conditions

The very wordings of the Commission's recommendations on this score suggest the unsatisfactory conditions existing even now: "In order to ensure that hospitals are properly equipped and disparity in the standards of medical facilities available to officers and workers be reduced, the State Government should prescribe a list of medicines, drugs and equipment for the hospitals. Suitable arrangements for detection and treatment of occupational diseases is another requirement which needs to be met."

The "sterling" companies and the "rupee" companies have been extremely anxious, however, to save on even the limited statutory obligations. It is also the experience of the trade unions that, in the gardens taken over by the Indian big business houses, the rapaciousness was even worse.

The Tea plantation Wage Board which took about five years to come to a decision, had recommended a "fair wage" of Rs 1.75 for men, Rs 1.64 for women and Rs 0.95 for adolescents in Darjeeling Hills, and slightly higher in the Terai and Dooars in West Bengal. These rates were far less than the previously fixed statutory minimum wages notified by the State Government with provision for dearness allowance adjustments.

The Wage Board also froze the dearness allowance at 200 points

(1949=100) and because of this freeze, the tea garden workers have been deprived of even the paltry compensation recommended even when the annual average of the working class consumer price index rose to 209 in 1967 and 215 in 1968.

A wage freeze at a time of rising prices was bound to create intense unrest. In Kerala, following a general strike in the plantations last year, the Wage Board's rates had to be sharply increased, and as a side effect of the settlement in Kerala, wages were revised in Tamil Nadu and Mysore.

The plantation managements argue that they provide a certain quantity of subsidised rations and hence, to that extent, the workers get relief from rising prices. But the quantity supplied is inadequate. Moreover, as one of the strike notice demands proclaimed, the facility of subsidised rations was not given to the so-called "temporary" workers who form quite a substantial percentage of the labour force. This concession has only been secured after the strike.

Another argument of the managements was that wages were fixed on "family basis", assuming that there were two or more earning members per family. Apart from the inhuman nature of this proposition (that man, wife and child should have to toil to get minimum subsistence) as the fall in employment and colossal rise in unemployment in tea gardens suggest, the credibility of the employer's plea is somewhat dubious.

Menacing Character

The unemployment in plantations, because of the rise in population, shrinking employment opportunities in tea gardens, and absence of any other industry in these regions, has assumed a menacing character. And it is worth pointing out that the revolt of the tribal peasants of Naxalbari was in the tea garden areas of North Bengal.

The plantation companies retain huge areas of cultivable land which are not used for growing tea bushes, and the land hungry tribal peasants rightly

demand distribution of such land. Some tea gardens allow the dependants of the workers to cultivate part of the surplus land, but this is not done systematically and is often used to encourage dissensions among workers.

Thus, there exists both a land problem and a land-labour ratio problem in tea plantations, and both the problems have wider social implications. The planters are evidently atop a volcano, but they choose to behave as jungle kings. Or, perhaps, they realise that things are getting hot and are in a hurry: intensify the plunder as long as they can.

There were reports that replanting was not being done systematically and in several gardens, the tea bushes would become virtually useless in a short while. Some of the British planters have sold out the gardens and have re-invested in Kenya. The Indian companies which have taken over, are more concerned, as the unions alleged, in squeezing out the maximum profits from the garden, by means fair or foul, rather than look to the future of the industry.

A basic question involved in the tea garden wage dispute was whether the country could "afford" to raise the wage rates which might price-out Indian tea from the international markets? In fact, the high-pressure lobbying done by the managements and which proved successful for a time, was on this line. According to the trade unions, the plea of the employers was untenable.

First, the fact is that India other developing countries exporting tea are deprived of a fair price for the produce because of the stranglehold of the British monopoly houses dominating the world tea trade and virtually dictating the prices. This can be countered by the exporting countries trying to improve their bargaining strength by mutual co-operation rather than competition. The India-Ceylon joint efforts in this direction is, therefore, to be welcomed.

Secondly, the trade unions consider that there is a strong case for take-over of foreign trade in tea by the State. There is

genuine apprehension that under-invoicing is rampant. Moreover, some of the tea garden companies, the exporting houses and the buyers at the other end are operating a closed ring to cheat the country of a fair price for tea.

Windfall Earnings

Thirdly, it is a fact that tea exports fetch much higher range Rupee prices even taking into account the slight fall in unit value of certain qualities of tea. (It is officially admitted that the unit value of Darjeeling tea has not declined.) The exported tea is sold at world prices, and if the rate of say 1.2 dollars a kilogram at the pre-devaluation rate fetched Rs 6, now it would fetch Rs 9. Part of this windfall earning was appropriated by Government through export duties.

But despite such windfall earnings, neither the planters nor the Government thought it fit to raise the miserable wage rate of the tea garden worker until the workers went on a strike, as in Kerala and West Bengal.

The agreement reached in West Bengal tea gardens at the end of the seventeen-day strike might provide a temporary respite but a real improvement in the situation would depend on the follow-up action by the Government and the employers. A wage fixing machinery is to be set up and new rates are promised before April 1970.

Meanwhile, a wage increase of 14 paise per day and a variable dearness allowance increase of six paise per day have been granted to the workers as an interim arrangement. The employers also gave an adhoc-ex-gratia payment of Rs 10 to all workers and wage rates of certain categories have also been raised.

Crucial Issue

On the crucial issue of land-labour ratio in order to safeguard the workers' job security, the provisions of the agreement are significant. "The employers agree without prejudice to either parties' contention on the issue, to fill up all the permanent vacancies of workers which have occurred

since January 1, 1969", and also to "maintain their permanent roll strength", including the creation of additional jobs as stipulated.

It was envisaged that estates below 250 acres would employ 20 additional hands, and bigger estates, 25 to 35 hands each. A clause in the agreement states that "the issue of land-labour ratio is thus settled and is treated as closed."

There are, no doubt, important gains for the workers in the stipulation about the additional jobs as provided for in the agreement but the wider aspects of the problem of unemployment in tea garden areas would require more specific attention. Besides, the piece-meal settlements in Kerala

and West Bengal alone do not make way for resolving the problem on an industry basis.

The wage settlement in Kerala had its impact on neighbouring Tamil Nadu, but the largest tea producing State of Assam has remained largely immune from these progressive developments. It is time that the necessary initiative is taken as the national level to deal with the ferment in the tea gardens, and high time, indeed, for all to realise that new social forces are emerging and the social problems which have arisen will not remain unresolved just because some people think that they should continue to reveal in their old world majesty of jungle laws.

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Disguised Unemployment and Economic Development

BANI CHATTERJEE

THE phenomenon of disguised unemployment is a characteristic feature of densely-populated peasant economies. Too many people depend on agriculture for their livelihood. Apparently they seem to be working but their employment is unproductive, that is, they produce nothing. The total production of a unit of land does not at all suffer even if they are removed from that unit. They are redundant.

For instance, the optimum use of a unit of land requires five persons and, because of pressure of population in underdeveloped countries due to lack of any other alternative employment, ten persons are working on it. Quite manifestly five persons are superfluous and they may be said to be disguisedly unemployed. According to Ragner Nurkse, by disguised unemployment we mean, "a number of people are working on farms or small peasant plots, contributing virtually nothing to output, but subsisting on a share of their family's real income." They are employed physically but not economically.

Disguised unemployment in an underdeveloped economy differs from involuntary unemployment of Keynesian type. Unemployment in advanced countries is due to the deficiency of effective demand; whereas disguised unemployment in an underdeveloped economy emerges out of the scarcity of capital and other resources in relation to population.

Thus, while unemployment in a matured economy can be removed

by mere expansion of monetary demand, unemployment in an underdeveloped economy cannot be removed by any such action. The physical inelasticity of agricultural production stands seriously in the way. The supply of wage goods is so scarce in the short run that when money supply is induced, it simply results in the inflationary behaviour of prices.

Sometimes people confuse "disguised unemployment" with "underemployment." But there is a significant difference between the two. A disguisedly unemployed person produces nothing, whereas an under-employed person produces something although it is less than the optimum. Disguised-unemployment occurs in the agricultural sector whereas under-employment may occur in the industrial sector as well.

Some economists maintain that disguised unemployment is only a seasonal phenomena and that at the peak of the harvest season all the labour is fully employed. This is undoubtedly true in some countries. But there are other countries where some percentage of total agricultural labour-force remains apparently employed throughout the whole year without making any positive contribution to the total output. For example, in Egypt various crops are sown at different times in the year and there is hardly time when some crop or the other is not being harvested. There, too, the range of disguised unemployment is estimated to be of the order of 40 to 50 per cent.

Mass Phenomenon.

In India, disguised unemployment is a mass phenomenon.

There is excess of labour in proportion to land and capital equipment. There is no optimum allocation of resources in agriculture. Hence, the whole production process is inefficient, leading to waste and uneconomic production. The picture is all the more worsened by the enormous increase in population and the slow rate of technological advance. There is emergence of continuously rising disguised unemployment. Prof J.B. Bhattacharya has rightly remarked, "India provides a classic case of rural under-employment particularly under-employment among the farmers."

Disguised unemployment in India is a perennial problem. During the Second Five Year Plan, the size of disguised unemployment in India was estimated to be of the order of 30 to 35 per cent. The organisational set-up accounts for this. A farm consists of family holdings and production operations are done by the members of the family as a group. Workers are self-employed hence whatever output is derived from production, rests with the family and is enjoyed by all the members irrespective of their individual contribution.

However, this disguised unemployment can become a boon if turned into a fruitful source of capital-formation. If the methods of cultivation are reorganized and the unit size of the average farm is raised nearer the optimum size, a substantial volume of labour force can be removed and can be put to lucrative employment elsewhere.

It is a well-known fact that the surplus manpower, which is unemployed in disguise, conceals saving potential behind it.

If such a person is removed from the farm to the factory, the subsistence, on which he was living, is converted into a surplus and becomes utilizable for the purpose of putting some other workers to useful employment. The unemployed person was consuming a certain quantity of wage-goods on the farm. This quantum of wage-goods can be utilised to provide employment to other workers. The employment of the first worker paves the employment of the second. The greater the

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number of disguisedly unemployed who can be given work on capital construction projects, the larger the amount of such surplus and the greater the pace of economic-development.

In the language of Ragner Nurkse, "The productive labourers are performing 'virtual' saving; they produce more than they consume. But the saving runs to waste, the saving is abortive; it is offset by the unproductive consumption of the people who could be dispensed with, who contribute nothing to output.

"If the productive peasants were to send their useless dependents—their cousins, brothers and nephews who live with them—to work on capital projects and if they continued to feed them there, then their virtual saving would become effective saving. The unproductive consumption of the surplus farm population would become productive consumption."

For example, let us suppose, a person disguisedly unemployed consumes Rs 200 worth of wage-goods and suppose Rs 400 worth of wage-goods are required to give employment to a worker in capital construction programme. Now, if two persons are removed from the list of the disguised unemployed, the amount of wage-goods released will be able to provide employment to an additional worker. Employment provided to two labourers really meant employment for three.

Virtuous Circle

There is here, something like the familiar multiplier principle. The size of the multiplier which is called the "consumption multiplier" by Prof C.N. Vakil and Dr P.R. Brahmanand, will depend on the difference between the wage-unit (equal to the amount of wage-goods to provide employment to a worker) and the subsistence unit (released by the removal of one of the disguised unemployed to employment). The smaller the difference between the two units, the larger will be the consumption multiplier. As is obvious, economic expansion moves in a "virtuous-circle", quite distinct from vicious circle

of poverty which is the characteristic phenomenon of the poorer two-thirds of the world.

It, however, requires certain conditions to be fulfilled. The process can be initiated only if the increase in the volume of employment is made to exceed the new addition to the labour force consequent on the growth of population. So long as our plans seek to absorb the additional labour-force that comes into the market as a result of population growth, the disguised unemployed remains untouched and along with it the saving-potential. Once, however, our investment passes this critical limit, cumulative process of expansion sets in.

But the idea that the subsistence of workers hitherto unemployed can be at once realised and can be put to use for supporting new investment, is a bit too simple. It may have some justification in totalitarian regimes, where a government can offer employment and impose levies through some kind of coordinated policies. But the financial policies associated with a democratic set-up like ours are less powerful and leakages are likely to reduce the value of consumption multiplier very nearly to unity.

Increased consumption

The transfer of a portion of agricultural labour will lessen the burden of persons living in the rural sector which may stimulate their consumption. Increase in consumption will necessarily lessen the saving-potential. Also, the persons who were previously unemployed and were satisfied with what was made available to them by their relatives, employed on productive projects, will press to consume more to maintain themselves in working orders. Moreover, the transfer of goods may involve some transfer cost which may depress the saving-potential further.

Besides, the transfer of labour becomes inflationary which again compresses the saving-potential. Labour employed in industrial projects will command more purchasing power and increase the demand for food and other commodities resulting in the rise in

their prices.

Dr A.M. Khusro has correctly remarked that "Nurkse, perhaps, minimised the importance of these leakages, but it is obvious that these are inflationary in character in the sense that when provision is made for them, the surplus of food that remains to be transferred does not match the normal demand for food by the transferred workers."

The problem, however, is not insoluble. Even if there is a leakage in subsistence fund, it can be covered by means of resources obtained from outside. By mobilising external resources in the initial stages, it would be possible to convert disguised unemployment to capital formation. If the leakage is due to higher consumption, it may be compensated by the saving of urban people. If the higher consumption is largely of food, it can be made up by imports. If the leakage is due to transport cost it can be reduced by scattering the projects in rural areas. Every effort must be made to prevent the leakage.

The main problem is how to stop the farmers from consuming more. They will not curtail it voluntarily as they usually live from hand to mouth. It is difficult to tax subsistence farmers, but we can increase their rents and tax the land-owners. Japan, for instance, kept up a stiff land tax which was highly effective and was an important factor in Japan's economic development in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Taxation in kind may be attempted, or some kind of requisitioning and controlled deliveries as in the USSR could be resorted to. In any case, saving by the State is indispensable for the mobilisation of the saving-potential implicit in Disguised-Unemployment.

Capital Projects

The capital projects may be either in the field of agriculture or industry, or both. They may well be community development projects specially designed to make use of local labour surpluses or of seasonal slack periods in the
(Continued on page 38)

Resume Trade Between Neighbours

TAPAN DAS

THE arrival of a World Bank mission in Pakistan to study the "prospects of the country's economy" and the "current exchange rate of the Pakistani rupee", has once again highlighted the serious economic crisis through which it is passing now.

The magnitude of the problem has so far eluded a solution, and the economic experts are still racking their brains if devaluation of the Pakistani currency might not be the only way out of the current difficulties bred by inflation. Examination of the "current exchange rate" of the national currency by the World Bank mission only underlines the urgency of a solution.

The experts may be debating (as it happened in the pre-devaluation period in India) the extent of this devaluation consistent with the prestige of the Yahya Khan regime. Hasty contradiction of the rumours have, as expected, come from the Pakistan Ministry of Finance. The behaviour pattern of the officials and the common people is the same as was in India. The more vigorous the contradiction and the more convinced the people are that devaluation of the Pakistani rupee cannot be staved off any more. It is a matter of time only.

The deterioration in the economy has caused a severe strain on the day-to-day life of the 128 million people of Pakistan. Cost of living has risen alarmingly during the past five years, registering an increase of 20 per cent, but without any cushioning at the base.

The disastrous policies of the previous regime have mortgaged

the country's economy to the West. The policy of depending on foreign aid without developing local productive facilities, has led the country to seek more and more foreign assistance, not so much for economic development as for debt servicing and repayment of capital. The entire amount of fresh international assistance received by Pakistan in 1968 was utilised for this purpose, whereas the developmental works were starved.

Pakistan's burden of loans has reached the red-line level—20 per cent of the country's export earning capacity. Today, its debt-servicing and repayment charges are well above 20 per cent of the net earning from foreign trade. Pakistan has paid nearly 727 million dollars in 1966-67 towards repayment of capital and debt servicing. It will require another 957 million dollars for 1969-70 for interest repayment alone, which is more than 20 per cent of its export earning in 1968-69.

Pakistan's total foreign debts till the end of 1968 amounted to 2,292.83 million dollars. Out of this 236.29 million dollars have been repaid, leaving a balance of 2056.54 million dollars, or nearly 90 per cent of the total foreign assistance received till 1968 end. Pakistan's indebtedness to the World Bank, from which it is seeking fresh loans, is of the order of 248.83 million dollars till 1968 end.

Alarming Situation

The alarming nature of the situation is apparent from the fact that 44 per cent of Pakistan's development budget for 1969-70

will have to be made up by foreign assistance. But there is yet no suitable alternative in view to bridge this yawning gap. On top of this, the confusing political atmosphere in the country has added its own contribution to bring about a shocking absence of clear thinking.

The way out of this baffling situation, suggested in certain quarters, could be an effort towards scaling down the foreign exchange component of the investment in the country's Fourth Plan (1970-75) to 30 per cent or below through import substitution, especially by developing indigenous basic and heavy industry. Efforts could also be initiated to improve the country's export performance to enable it to finance most of the current import needs.

Notwithstanding the high-pressure publicity campaign inside the country and abroad about economic progress the official statistics for 1967-68 show that Pakistan continued to import 10 per cent of her requirements of foodgrains 80 per cent of steel, 65 per cent of fertilizers, and 75 per cent of the total requirements of her capital goods. The past two years have not made any material change in the situation.

In addition, the 1965 conflict with India, even though for a short duration in terms of actual armed hostility, still continue to exert its ruinous impact on Pakistan's economy. The period of hostility alone cost Pakistan something around Rs 500 crores. On top of this, the continuous armament replenishments and replacements have eaten away nearly 60 per cent of the country's total budget.

Not that Pakistan has reached a dead-end and it has no alternative before it to change the trend and halt the fast deterioration in the economic situation. If the present rulers of Pakistan care to remove the blinkers from their eyes and shed political prejudices, they would find their next-door neighbour, India, an extremely suitable trade partner.

Trade with India not only enables Pakistan to overcome some of the bottlenecks in the econo-

my, but also provides it with the much needed breathing space. While it will help Pakistan to cut the cost of imports to a considerable extent, the resultant savings may be utilised for meeting its requirements of sophisticated capital goods not available here. According to an internal study made by the Planning Commission of Pakistan, its purchases from India can go up to Rs 250 crores with the goods available at the most competitive international prices.

Political Prejudices

However, political prejudices transcending economic considerations, has forced the Pakistani rulers to stick to a suicidal policy. While Indian offers for the normalisation of trade relations are being continuously shunned, Pakistani exporters are being encouraged to conduct a trade war against India.

These exporters who enjoy monopoly trade in certain essential commodities under the direct patronage of the Government, receive special bonus vouchers as incentives, and utilise the advantage to cut prices in order to dislodge India in the international market for jute, textiles, and other commodities.

If the Pakistani rulers are serious about taking the country out of the current economic crisis, they should have no hesitation to respond to India's offer for resumption of trade between the two countries in this sub continent. India has unilaterally lifted the embargo on trade with Pakistan on May 27, 1966, and had requested Pakistan earlier on March 16, 1966, to agree to the opening of all border check-posts.

The normalisation of trade between India and Pakistan will not only put a stop to frittering away valuable foreign exchange by the two countries on imports at a much higher cost the goods that can be easily supplied by the two countries to each other, but also can open up new vistas of cooperation in foreign trade.

For instance, in the international jute trade, in which our two countries meet the major

part of the requirements of the world market, the international buyers continue to depress world jute goods prices taking advantage of the existing trade war. If the two countries are able to come to an understanding, the huge loss now suffered by both the countries can be stopped, and a stable world price can be worked out which would be profitable to both the countries.

Even without making any extra effort, Pakistan can purchase from India several urgently needed commodities like coal, aluminium ingots, iron and steel and products, rubber tyres and tubes, glass products, railway materials, wires and cables, cotton textile machinery, sugar, chemicals, and so on and so forth. In return, it can sell to this country raw jute, cotton, fish and other goods. A start can be made with a bilateral trade agreement for a specified period and amount, which can be enlarged later.

However, the Pakistan rulers have abandoned this prospect in favour of a policy which hits its national interests more than it harms India. Pakistan does carry on trade with a number of countries with which it does not necessarily have the friendliest of relations.

Economic Prudence

Today, Pakistan is importing steel at 30-40 per cent higher cost than available from India. Pakistan should have its own steel complex, and in both the wings. There can be no quarrel with that proposition. But, it is no economic prudence to import all categories of steel from far away countries at a tremendously high cost, when a major part of its requirements could be got from India. The differential in the transport cost itself should justify such a course of action.

Coal, an essential commodity in modern industrialised society, is being imported by Pakistan from China at a rate of 250 per cent higher than the price at which it is available from India. East Pakistan alone is incurring an additional expenditure of Rs 60

lakhs annually to meet the increased cost of imported coal for the railways, water works and power plants, etc.

Pakistan had to pay Rs 68 per tonne for the 2,50,000 tonnes of coal imported from China in 1968-69, as against the Indian supply rate of Rs. 38 per tonne before the 1965 Indo-Pak conflict. The high cost of Chinese coal has forced Pakistan to seek other sources of supply. In 1968-69 itself, Pakistan imported 1,27,000 tonnes of coal from Poland and 50,000 tonnes from Australia.

Looking at the picture from this end, it shows that the value of India's raw jute imports have increased from Rs. 9.16 crores in 1965-66, that is, before the 1965 conflict, to Rs 20.57 crores in 1966-67. Import of raw cotton cost India Rs 80 crores in 1968-69. And it is to be remembered that Pakistan has been the major supplier of raw jute and raw cotton before September 1965 conflagration.

There is another lucrative trade avenue for our two countries. Calcutta city alone with a population of over 5.5 million, requires 80,000 tonnes of fish annually. The present supply of fish delivered to Calcutta markets meets only four per cent of the city requirement. As a result, the high price of fish in Calcutta has pushed up the price of fish in other West Bengal districts also. This is where East Pakistan can easily step in with its surplus fish supply and thereby add a fillip to its fisheries industry.

Trade Pattern

The pattern of trade that had subsisted between the two countries in the past may serve some useful purpose for opening fruitful negotiations for the resumption. In the pre-partition days, trade between the regions now in the two countries was complimentary. For instance, East Pakistan's raw jute was processed in Calcutta's jute mills. After partition, the trade between India and Pakistan touched an annual figure of Rs. 180 crores.

However, it was not sustained at that level and suffered steep decline as the years passed, mainly due to political considera-

tions. It came down to Rs. 75 crores in 1950-51 and dipped to a paltry Rs 25 crores in 1964-65. A few small transactions, mainly in raw jute and coal, and that too, through third countries, accounted for Rs 9 crores in 1965-66.

It is possible to change this trend, restore Indo-Pakistani trade, and even to increase its volume if only political prejudices are not allowed to intervene in this sphere. There are, no doubt, several issues of dispute between the two countries, but mutually beneficial trade had never been their starting point, nor can it in any way prejudice

their solution.

On the other hand, resumption of trade would create the possibility of developing mutual exchanges in various other fields and eventually paving the way for gradual settlement of the outstanding disputes between the two countries. It is as much in the interest of the people of Pakistan as the people of this country, for we two form the most natural trade partners. The resumption of trade between India and Pakistan is feasible immediately, notwithstanding the political postures adopted by Pakistan in various international forums.

as is made out by the pollsters but by the vote of the radical youth which has attained the voting age. Out of the 224 seats won by the SPD, it is to be assumed that substantial number of members are radicals, or are obliged to take a radical line in the Bundestag. However, the new SPD Free Democrat coalition with a slender majority of 12 in the Bundestag (Christian Democrats 242, SPD 224, Free Democrats 30), cannot be expected to make decisive departures either in home or foreign policies.

If the election platforms are any indication of these policies, it is clear that the SPD's new programmes will be more inward looking, dealing with economic problems.

The Free Democrats, on the other hand, had been concentrating of late on foreign policy and it is likely that Walter Scheel, the leader of the Free Democrats, may take over as Foreign Minister. This is more likely to be welcomed by the socialist countries because the SPD has discredited itself with its "new eastern policy" which ended up in a fiasco in Czechoslovakia.

Helmut Schmidt, leader of the SPD parliamentary party, who attended the British Labour Party conference recently, is reported to have told a press conference that West Germany would continue the foreign policy initiatives taken by Willi Brandt, the SPD leader, when he was Foreign Minister. And he made clear that recognition of the GDR would not be an immediate question.

As regards the frontiers, he said that Bonn would be prepared to sign a treaty of non-aggression which would include respect for the present territories and boundaries. It is also possible, he said, that Bonn would sign the non-proliferation treaty.

Bolder Approach

The SPD has of late been committed to these policies and it is to be hoped that efforts would be made to implement them. As regards the re-unification of the two Germanys, the Free Democrats have adopted a bolder approach to the problem than the

WEST GERMANY

New Era in Europe?

M. S. N. MENON

After nearly forty years of life in the wilderness, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) has come to power again in West Germany.

But the SPD is no more the Marxist revolutionary party it was when it began as the first Marxist party in Europe 106 years ago. It has grown flabby through the years, lost its Marxist fervour and has become a middle class party but still leaning on the support of the workers. There is little to distinguish it from the Christian Democrats who ruled West Germany for the past twenty years.

This of course, is in keeping with the tendency of Social Democrats all over the West to move to the Right. The only unknown element in the situation is how much the new radical consciousness which is sweeping the west has contributed to the rejection of the conservative elements in West Germany. But this cannot be considerable, because the Christian

Democrats have lost only three seats in the Bundestag.

Voting Pattern

However, it is clear that the voting pattern has undergone definite changes. For example, the conservative Catholic areas have shifted their loyalty to some extent to the SPD, while the Protestant areas, which used to vote traditionally for the SPD, have voted for the Christian Democrats.

It is also clear that the neo-Nazi party, the NPD, which obtained as much as 10 per cent of the votes in some of the earlier State elections, got only 4.3 per cent and therefore failed to get into the Bundestag, which needs a minimum five per cent of the popular votes. All the same neo-Nazis have improved their position and it is by no means true to say that the electorate has rejected the Nazi ideology.

The gain of 22 seats by the SPD is not because of a shift in the vote of the Free Democrats,

SPD. The Free Democrats want to establish immediately closer relations with the GDR, leading eventually to recognition and re-unification.

But there are many imponderables which may yet vitiate the atmosphere and thwart all efforts to create normalcy in Central Europe. The SPD is firmly committed to NATO and alliance with America. An agreement between Bonn and London was concluded last year on nuclear cooperation which had the ultimate objective of making Bonn a member of the nuclear club, and it is more likely that London will be more enthusiastic to cooperate with a Social Democratic government in Bonn.

But this very factor may affect Bonn's position in Europe. The growing London-Bonn axis has already made the French look for new friends abroad, particularly to the Soviet Union. London would expect now that Bonn should press its case for entry into the Common Market more vigorously, and this depends on the attitude of the new leaders in Bonn to the French demands. The Common Market summit meet has been proposed for November, but the French Government has not given any indication that it would countenance British entry into the Common Market with less hostility.

In fact, the French have greater reason now to oppose British entry. It is also reported that the Labour leadership in Britain is less enthusiastic now to join the Common Market and, perhaps, this can be explained by the fact that from January next year, according to the treaty of Rome, no bilateral agreements with third countries are to be allowed. All such agreements will come under stricter control by the European Council.

European Future

But the key to the future of Europe lies in Moscow and Washington. There is no doubt that Moscow welcomes the victory of the Social Democrats and it is equally true that Wash-

ington would have liked a victory of the Christian Democrats. Obviously, both the super-powers are confronted with a new situation in Europe.

Moscow must also be happy over the fact that the neo-Nazis have not got into the Bundestag, though the fact that they have almost doubled their vote confirms Moscow's charge that the erstwhile Christian Democratic regime has been partial to the neo-Nazis. The fact that the democratic front of Communists and sympathisers also did not make a good show at the election, leaves Moscow with the necessity to make the best of a bad situation in its dealing with the SPD government.

There is every reason to believe that Moscow will be happy if the SPD leaders carry out their proposed plans—the signing of the non-proliferation treaty, negotiating a non-aggression pact with Moscow, etc.

The concrete formulations of these agreements may not be easy. For example, will Bonn scrap the present agreement with London on nuclear cooperation? And what about the East German question? Moscow's preoccupation for the last over a year has been with the holding of an European security conference. The SPD leaders have not given any indication of flexibility in their current policy with regard to West German security in particular and European security

in general.

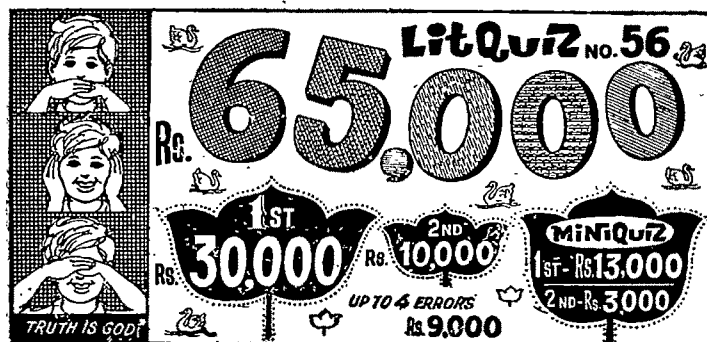
Washington Unhappy

Washington, obviously, is not happy over the results of the West German election. But it also knows that the SPD was more enthusiastic to push forward the "new eastern policy" to subvert the Socialist countries than the Christian Democrats. And Washington can take comfort in the fact that London will be able to exercise greater influence on the SPD now.

The new leaders of Bonn, above all, have to take certain realities of Europe into consideration in framing their future policies. On the one hand, the cold war postures hardly make any impression on the youth. During last year, West Germany has been the centre of huge demonstrations of both the youth and workers. The SPD leaders cannot ignore these developments.

On the other hand, the power and prestige of America have declined in the world and Bonn cannot continue to rely on Washington in an automatic reflexive manner. Bonn must take into account its growing isolation in Europe.

The vistas are wide and opportunities great before the SPD leaders to take their nation towards a new destiny. West Germany need not remain a "political pigmy". But to do this, the SPD must recapture some of its old visions.



Thaelmann and Fight Against Sectarianism

A. REDER

ERNST Thaelmann was born on April 16, 1886, and was assassinated by the Nazis on August 18, 1944, in the Buchenwald concentration camp during an air raid by the allied forces. He was kept in solitary confinement for eleven years in a separate cell in the concentration camp. Despite his isolation by the Nazis, Ernst Thaelmann guided the Communist Party of Germany (KPD)—for many years, being supported by his wife Rosa Thaelmann and many other brave comrades.

It is not my desire to present the extensive life-sketch of Ernst Thaelmann, his brave eleven years during imprisonment in concentration camp, his Marxist-Leninist guidance of the KPD till his arrest, which made him a famous leader of the KPD as well as the international Communist movement.

It is very painful to hear that some intellectuals in Calcutta have

Since last week, the German Democratic Republic has been celebrating the twentieth anniversary of its foundation. Among the pioneers who fought for the establishment of democracy and socialism in Germany was Ernst Thaelmann, the great leader of the German Communists, who was killed in the Nazi concentration camp twenty-five years ago. Recently, in a Bengli Communist journal, some Marxist intellectuals attacked Thaelmann for having taken up a sectarian approach towards Socialists in Germany in the late twenties and early thirties which helped the advent of Hitler fascism. This allegation was based on ignorance of historical facts, as effectively shown in the following contribution. The writer, who is the head of the GDR Trade Representation in Calcutta, presented this contribution before a meeting of the Indo-GDR Friendship Society in Calcutta in August last to honour Thaelmann's memory.

recently taken much trouble to convince the people that directly or indirectly the KPD and its then Chairman, Ernst Thaelmann, were responsible for the rise of fascism and the barbarous misdeeds committed by the Brown Tyranny in Germany and the world over.

Thaelmann has also been accused of under-estimating the role of the SPD in the struggle against fascism. Though not a historian, I may be permitted to clarify certain points regarding the role of Ernst Thaelmann and the KPD during the years before Hitler came to power.

As a leading member of the USPD, Thaelmann was responsible for the merger of this party with the KPD in December 1920. In January 1921, the KPD urged in an open letter the unity of the working class despite differences of opinion with the Socialist Democrats.

Hamburg Uprising

In May 1923, Ernst Thaelmann became a member of the Central Committee of the KPD, and proved, during the glorious uprising of the Hamburg proletariat in 1923, his theoretical, strategic, and tactical ability of leading the working class. During that period he pleaded for unity of action and alignment with the peasantry.

It is an accepted historical fact that a number of serious mistakes were committed by the Communist International (CI) in its assessment of social democracy. It was Thaelmann, Dimitrov, Ulbricht, Manuilski and others who fought these mistakes ideologically. It is very easy to

comment on mistakes of the CI which were committed almost 40 years ago and which were admitted as well as corrected later on.

But how does it help us today to dwell on them at length? Not only does it not help us, it harms the revolutionary movement today if, in addition to it, historical facts are misrepresented. That is what is happening often in the case of Ernst Thaelmann.

To understand his role and that of the KPD—one of the most significant units of the CI—one has to take note of not only the treacherous and anti-Communist role of the SPD, but also the continuous hard inner-party struggle within the KPD—the struggle between the left sectarian and the Marxist-Leninist lines of the KPD under Ernst Thaelmann.

Thaelmann, Pieck, Heckert, Ulbricht and others were fighting for implementation of the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress of the KPD which took place in April 1924, against the ultra-left group headed by Ruth Fischer (unity from below—not with SPD leaders). After discussions between the KPD and the Executive Committee of the CI, the central organ of the KPD, *Die Rote Fahne* published on September 1, 1925, an open letter of the Executive of the CI which was signed by Dimitrov, Kolarov, Manuilski, Dengel, Neumann, Schehr, Thaelmann, Schneller and also by Ruth Fischer. The letter stated: "The problem of winning over the masses, and especially the masses of the Socialist Democratic workers, is the most important task of the KPD."

Central Point

In his speech at the Tenth Party Congress of the KPD in July 1925 in Berlin, Ernst Thaelmann said: "The trade union question becomes the central point of all political question. The trade union question is the basis of our tactics. The relationship between the Party and the class, that is, the relationship of our Party with the German working class, will be decided by this relationship. The realisation of the working

class unity in the trade unions would be possible only if one succeeds in brotherly cooperation with the 600,000 Social Democrats organised in the trade unions."

At the same Party Congress of the KPD, Manuïlski criticised the ultra-left attitude towards the SPD within the KPD. In August 1925, Ruth Fischer and Arkadi Maslov were dismissed from the Party leadership and Ernst Thaelmann became the Chairman of the Party.

In July 1928, the Sixth World Congress of the CI took place. Unfortunately, among many important decisions, some mistakes also crept in them. For instance, it was stated that the Social Democrats had become part of the bourgeois State and that social democracy was in the process of fascistisation. This wrong assessment practically rejected the theme of unity with Social Democrats against reaction.

The right opportunistic forces in the KPD, under Heinrich Brandler, succeeded through anti-party activities to temporarily remove Ernst Thaelmann in September 1928 from his Party post. On December 30, 1928, these forces formed the KPD (opposition).

It is true that tens of thousands of the Social Democrats at that time were connected with the State—684 were Reichstag and Landtag members; 4,800 were members of provincial bodies; 2,400 were burgomasters; nearly 47,000 were in the rural and urban municipalities. Many Communists failed to understand how SPD members could tolerate the reactionary, anti-Communist Hermann Mueller Government. As a result, the left sectarianism within the KPD grew.

At the Twelfth Party Congress of the KPD in June 1929, Ernst Thaelmann warned the German people that the big bourgeoisie was planning to establish a Fascist regime. The anti-working-class policy of the Social Democrat Heinrich Mueller Government (on May 1, 1929, 31 workers were shot dead and *Die Rote Fahne* banned) strengthened the attitude that social democracy had developed into social fascism, and was preparing grounds for fascism in Germany.

This was obviously wrong. Thaelmann declared at the Twelfth Party Congress that "we must widen, increase and deepen the revolutionary work in the trade unions". The Twelfth Party Congress of the KPD interpreted the unity of the working class as connected with the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, immediate seizure of power, in accordance with the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the CI.

In March 1930, at the CC meeting of the KPD, Ernst Thaelmann was against equating the rank and file and the lower cadres of the SPD, on the one hand, and the top leaders like Carl Severing and Karl Zoerngiebel, on the other. He said that the Party should not allow itself to get isolated from the majority of the proletariat.

Despite this correct stand of Ernst Thaelmann, it became impossible to overcome all shortcomings and mistakes, one of them being the assessment that the big bourgeoisie was relying mainly on social democracy and the reformistic trade unions, and that both were in the process of fascistisation.

Main Danger

On June 4, 1930, the politbureau of the KPD adopted a document, "Struggle against Fascism" and stressed that fascism was the main danger. On August 8, 1930 Thaelmann characterised the Nazi Party as the most dangerous and dirtiest tool of the German financial capital. *Die Rote Fahne* published, on August 24, 1930, a KPD declaration which stated that the Nazi Party was anti-people, anti-worker, and anti-Socialist party of utmost reaction, a party of the murderous Fascist dictatorship. It criticised the dangerous policy of the SPD leadership.

At the end of 1930, Heinz Neumann Hermann and Remmele of the KPD were of the opinion that Fascist dictatorship had already been established in Germany. The slogan, "Down with the Fascist dictatorship" meant, under the circumstances, to under-estimate the real danger of fascism.

The Executive of the CI accepted in March-April 1931 a speech of Ernst Thaelmann at its meeting. In his speech, Ernst Thaelmann underlined that while settling accounts with the Social Democratic leaders, the central task of the KPD was the struggle against Fascist forces. D.S. Manuïlski rejected at the same meeting the opinion that fascism in Germany would shortly break down.

In 1931, the inner-party struggle in the KPD had intensified. Heinz Neumann, PB candidate member and Editor-in-Chief of *Die Rote Fahne*, fought against the general line of the Party. He pleaded, for instance, in favour of a plebiscite against the SPD-led coalition in Prussia in order to defeat social democracy. Thaelmann fought against this line. Nevertheless, Neumann secretly convinced the Executive of the CI that the plebiscite would be victorious, and the CI requested the KPD leadership to revise its earlier correct stand towards the plebiscite in Prussia.

The Social Democrats used this mistake by the KPD and propagated the idea that the KPD was together with the Nazis who were also in favour of a plebiscite. This was a serious set-back to the KPD efforts to build front with the SPD.

National Task

In February 1932, the CC of the KPD came to the conclusion that the liquidation of Hitler fascism was a national task. Whereas the Social Democrats were in favour of Hindenburg in the Presidential elections in March 1932, saying that he would never allow Nazis to rule Germany, the KPD gave the call: "To Vote for Hindenburg means to Vote for Hitler and to Vote for Hitler means to Vote for War."

At the May plenum of the CC of the KPD Ernst Thaelmann suggested a compromise with the Social Democrats against fascism. He demanded that Social Democrats should be made aware of the common points with the Communists in

the struggle against fascism, and criticized the sectarian line within the KPD. As a result of the activities of the KPD, the "Antifaschistische Aktion" movement came into existence on May 25, 1932.

Thaelmann clearly stated that it was not an organisation but was a mass movement against fascism. On July 8, 1932, he declared that different membership cards of the SPD and KPD should not divide them in their fight against fascism. The KPD grew under Thaelmann's leadership into a party of a new Leninist type. In a few years, its membership rose to over half a million.

Because of the comprehensive influence of the Social Democrats and their reformist and revisionist theories and treacherous practices, certain mistakes of the CI and their repercussions upon the KPD, the left and right divisions within the KPD, the political ignorance of the middle strata of the German population and the peasantry, and the potential

strength of the ruling forces and the alignment of the big business with the Junkers, and may be due to a number of other reasons, fascism nevertheless came to power in Germany.

Rectified Errors

The discussion whether the Second World War was avoidable or not, in my opinion, does not even have an academic value. Communists and all progressive-minded people know that mistakes are unavoidable in general and in a complicated socio-political development, in particular. The main thing is not to commit a mistake, but to realize and to rectify it. And this was done long ago by the CI and the KPD.

Please note what Ernst Thaelmann wrote in a letter from the concentration camp in January 1944: "Of course, we are not pure and innocent angels either, without any fault whatsoever. We, too, in the past, committed serious and sometimes great

political mistakes, overlooked and failed to do many things which, in the complicated tangle of historical events, we ought to have done in order to bar the way of fascism to State power. We recognised our mistakes, by self-criticism openly acknowledged them, rectified them and entered upon new paths in the spheres of policy, propaganda and the mass struggle....."

Ernst Thaelmann, whose twenty-fifth death anniversary was commemorated on August 18, 1969, was one of those German Communists who was never afraid to admit a mistake. He was one of those who always kept in mind the class interest of the proletariat, who realised the main danger to it, namely fascism.

The Fascists feared him and kept him for eleven years in concentration camp, not because he committed mistakes and thus enabled the Fascists to gain power, but because he was a consistent fighter against this regime.

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Can Hindi Replace English?

SALEEM KIDWAI

Should it be Hindi, or Hindustani as propagated by Mahatma Gandhi, that should replace English? Sri Saleem Kidwai has raised a number of points in favour of Hindustani. There have also been some nostalgic references to Hindustani, which was dear to the Mahatma, during his birth centenary celebrations. **MAINSTREAM** invites short, 300 to 500 word comments from its readers.

INDIA is a babel of tongues. According to the 1961 census, about 1,500 dialects are spoken throughout the country. It is said that here popular vocabulary and manner of speech undergo a change every twelve miles.

The Constitution of India has recognised fifteen languages and refers to them as national languages of the country. Although India is not the only multi-lingual country in the world, nowhere has the language controversy generated so much heat and harmed public life to such an extent. The linguistic problem in India has actually become the part of the political game and poses a serious threat to Indian democracy and national solidarity.

Let us consider the situation as it exists today and is likely to develop in the near future. We find many people who expect to make eventually Hindi the language of all Indians. There are some leaders who declare that those who do not know Hindi are traitors to the country and they are impatient to militantly impose Hindi in non-Hindi-speaking States.

Before partition, Hindi and Urdu together constituted the language of the majority. What Mahatma Gandhi meant by Hindi was Hindustani, which connoted both Hindi and Urdu. In 1921 census in UP, there were no separate figures for people speaking Hindi and Urdu because they merged in a common category called Hindustani. This was the practice followed in 1931 census too.

The Constitution of free India has recognised Hindi as the

official language of India. The circumstances in which Hindi in Devnagari script came to be accepted as India's sole official language are relevant to a discussion on the language issue. The language provisions were deliberately omitted from the 1947 Draft Constitution, presumably due to differences inside the congress party. It did not figure in any subsequent version, except in the last one.

Congress Controversy

Dr Ambedkar, the chief architect of the Constitution, has recorded the Congress controversy over language when the Draft Constitution was discussed by the party:

"There was no article which proved more controversial than article 115, which dealt with the Hindi question. No Article produced more opposition. No article more heat. After a prolonged discussion, when the question was put, the vote was 78 against 78. The tie could not be resolved. After a long time, when the question was put to the meeting once again, the result was 77 against 78 for Hindi, Hindi won its place by one single vote." (Ambedkar, *Thoughts on Linguistic States*, 1955, p.14)

This decision of the Constituent Assembly amounted to an open repudiation of Mahatma Gandhi's concept of national language, because he was for Hindustani which allowed the use of either Nagari or Persian script. The Hindi issue no doubt threatened the Congress unity. The dream of making Hindi the national language or language of all India, is not likely to be easily

realised because of a number of reasons, the most important being that the elementary education in non-Hindi region does not and is not likely to include Hindi as a subject of study. Secondly, many of the regional languages have a long tradition of scholarly and creative writing, and speakers of these languages are passionately attached to them. There is, therefore, no possibility of Hindi displacing the regional languages.

In spite of the very clear and specific directive embodied in the Article 351 that "it is the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India", there is a tendency to weed out from Hindi all popular words of Arabic, Persian and English, and replace them with difficult and jaw-breaking Sanskrit words.

Artificial Language

Instead of making it easy and commonly understood language as spoken in the holy prayer meetings of the "father of the Indian nation", instead of Hindi as spoken by Jawaharlal Nehru which inspired millions to fight against imperialism, a new artificial language has been created. The non-Hindi speaking people, therefore, feel apprehensive about their position and role in the future development of the Indian polity, no less than about the future of their languages and cultures.

As far as the question of making Hindi the link language of the country is concerned, it,

too, is not likely to be realised. Between one language and another, only a third language can be a link. Hindi cannot be a link between say, Tamil and Hindi. Between two well-developed Dravidian languages, like Tamil and Telugu, an Indo-Aryan language like Hindi cannot provide the link.

The opponents of Hindi who are necessarily the opponents of English, have put forward some propositions. Let us analyse them one by one.

National Unity

The Hindi chauvinists argue that if Hindi becomes the official language of the Union, it will promote a feeling of national unity among Indians. However, the most important factor that promotes cohesion among the units of a federation, is the feeling that all citizens are being treated with justice, fairness and impartiality.

When one of the fifteen languages of India is made the sole official language of the Union, then it is inevitable that the Hindi-speaking people will get an advantage over the people from non-Hindi speaking regions. It will give rise to a feeling of jealousy and resentment and may lead to strengthening of separatist tendencies and movements. The recent anti-Hindi riots in South India clearly indicated this.

Many supporters of Hindi, who accept slogans as substitutes for arguments and facts, say that the self-respect of the nation demands the adoption of an Indian language as the official language of the Union. They further say that if countries like Italy, Japan, Finland etc can use their own languages for all their requirements, why should we not use an Indian language? The answer is that there is no Indian language. If there had been, the problem would have never arisen. Like other countries with a single language, we could have adopted "Indian" for all our needs.

Hindi which is spoken by the largest number is, after all, one of the fifteen national languages, and, as its percentage indicates,

has no special claims to prevail over other Indian languages mentioned in Schedule VIII. Hindi is spoken by 133.4 millions (30.4 per cent) of the whole population. (This data is based on the *Census of India, 1961, Language Tables, Government of India, New Delhi 1964.*)

Thus, spoken by only 30.4 per cent of the people, Hindi is a minority language. In relation to the rest of India, the Hindi-speaking people are a minority in the country. One must also confess that there is no possibility of an Indian language emerging in the near future in the sense that every Indian would know that language.

The Hindi supporters generally assume that if people know the same language and are able to communicate to each other, they develop a friendly feeling towards each other. This is not always true. The facts contradict this supposition. For instance, we have before us the different nations in the Middle East and North Africa, which speak the same language but are at loggerheads with each other most of the time.

Wrong Supposition

The Hindi enthusiasts try to make capital of the fact that only about two per cent of the population know English. They assert that only when an Indian language is used at the Centre, the people at large would feel that it is their government. This would have been true in a country with a high proportion of literacy. In a multi-lingual country, such a statement cannot be true. Communication with the people by the Government has got to be in all the regional languages if it is to reach them.

The champions of Hindi claim that due to English, a gulf has been created between the educated classes and the ordinary citizens. It is mere propaganda. Even in the most democratic countries like UK and USA there is bound to be a certain distance between, say, a university don and a street sweeper. In India, too, the same phenomenon is observed, but it cannot be attributed to the use of English.

While dealing with the language issue in India it should be noted that a language has nothing to do with the faith or ideology of a people, it is only a means of communicating one's thoughts and feelings and of acquiring knowledge, and as such is a treasured possession not of a particular group or community but of all mankind.

The Government of India has failed to define the nature and standard of Hindi language, its scope and place in education and cultural activities, and allowed the official language of the Union to be confused with the unnatural and artificial Sanskritised Hindi of UP and Bihar.

Main Controversy

Instead of adopting the language as preached by the Father of the Nation, and the language as spoken by the great leaders, a new artificial language has been created. This is the main reason which has converted the controversy over the official language into almost a battle of the North versus the South.

It should also be remembered that no language—English, Hindi, Tamil or any other—is an end in itself but merely a means to an end, which is the strength and integrity of the country. A language whether it be an Indian or a foreign language, if it unites us, is certainly preferable to that Indian language which divides us.

We may sum up our discussion by saying that Hindi has no special claim for being made an all-India language. It has neither a richer vocabulary nor any modern scientific or technical literature. As already stated above, it is spoken by only 30.4 per cent of the whole population. It is at best the largest among the languages. In relation to the rest of India, the Hindi-speaking people are in a minority.

Under the circumstances, attempts to give Hindi an all-India status and special advantage has produced and will continue to produce disunity and disintegration rather than a feeling of oneness. Thus, the repeated slogan that English should be

(Continued on page 36)

Rabat Summit and India's Options

ANEES CHISHTI

THE recent Indian fiasco at Rabat has raised certain basic questions about the fundamentals of our foreign policy and the appropriateness of its style of conduct. The manner in which the Government showed its desire to be present at the "Islamic summit" without any clear perspective about its actual role in the conclave, could have hardly resulted in anything better than what was witnessed during the three dramatic days in Rabat and New Delhi last month.

What should have been the attitude of our foreign office to a highly tendentious congregation of leaders of predominantly Muslim countries at Rabat, on the pretext of considering the future of Jerusalem and questions arising out of the desecration of the Al-Aqsa mosque? The question deserves a little bit of pondering over and a patient probe purely from the point of view of India's self-interest and the options before our external policy formulators.

Sincere Concern

No one can question India's sincere concern for the worsening situation in West Asia and the predicament of the Arabs in the region. The Government has made its stand on the subject crystal clear and there can be no room for ambiguity of any type in this regard.

As India has considerable Muslim population, her desire to give vent to the feelings of a large section of countrymen about the sordid Al-Aqsa episode is in the fitness of things. There was no harm, therefore, in attending the conference if the invitation

came; or even in a bit of lobbying for it if obvious anti-India interests had stopped one from coming.

The basic objection to our lobbying should be regarding the style in which it was conducted. Behind-the-scenes mobilisation of friendly Arab Governments should have been sufficient if unnecessary publicity was not given to India's initial exclusion, and the subsequent pathetic craving for an invitation, even if it was for a day, as it ultimately turned out to be.

India has always rightly opposed any international gang up on the pretext of religion or any such sentiment. It goes against the very secular principles enshrined in our Constitution. At the broader foreign policy level, India has taken care to counter the moves for such a grouping by countries like Saudi Arabia, Iran, Turkey and Pakistan, with the help of forward looking Arabs—and with considerable success.

Persistent official clarifications that the Rabat conclave was not an "Islamic conference", or that it was no beginning of an "Islamic Pact" on the lines we have envisaged it all these years, hardly cuts any ice. The emphasis in Rabat was consistently on the assembly's "Islamic character". It can now be said with considerable confidence that efforts were made in the Moroccan capital to convert this conclave into a permanent body to meet frequently and consider purely communal questions in times of adversity. What is this, if not an "Islamic Pact"?

India's eagerness to participate in the conference could stem from any one of the two attitudes: (a) to make serious efforts to wreck

the conference, or, (b) to protect her own interests in view of the ever present Pakistani hostility for India and the former's desire to humiliate this country in every possible way. Considering the craving for an invitation last month, none of the two alternatives could be assigned any probability.

The question of wrecking the conference could hardly be relevant in the prevailing atmosphere of Islamic sentiment, as some dirty politicking by our adversaries had almost isolated India. No amount of protection to our self-interest could either be possible as the most that our delegates could do in any awkward situation was to walk out of the conference; and this, after persistent begging for an invitation would have been greatly embarrassing.

India's Role

What should be the correct policy to meet the anti-India challenges present in the Islamic world? one may ask. The question can be answered after an assessment of the Indian role, so far, in the *unofficially* convened meetings of Muslims from all over the world occasionally held in the Arab countries and elsewhere.

In this regard, it should be said to the credit of even some of the orthodox Muslim leaders that they have gone out of their way to protect Indian interests even though no official patronage is given to their visits abroad and, normally, there is no check on their joining international conspiracies to malign India at world forums.

Few people know about the existence of a world-wide Muslim organisation called Moatamir-e-Islami which normally holds its sessions in Saudi Arabia. An Indian, Syed Abul Hasan Ali Nadavi of Lucknow, is on its permanent panel of office-bearers and acts by rotation as its General Secretary or Vice President or something equally important. The Maulana is highly revered for his knowledge of the Arabic language and religion even by the Arabs themselves and that is why he is

honoured with his permanent association with the Moatamir.

While he himself is not vocal about his activities in the Arab world, sources close to him and knowledgeable Arabs claim that when Sheikh Abdullah raised the question of Kashmir at the Moatamir's historic Haj session at Mecca, after which the Sheikh was arrested at Delhi airport, Nadvi used his influence to tone down the Kashmir resolution in India's interest. On several other occasions, it is stressed, he and his associates have done the same to avert considerable Indian embarrassment.

This may seem surprising for an *Aalim* who is known for his Islamic conservatism and has the reputation of being the mentor of fire-brand politicians like Dr A.J. Faridi. (Without Ali Mian, as he is universally known, it is generally believed, no Muslim movement can get whole-hearted support in northern India.)

Rational Support

It should not be impossible for the External Affairs Ministry

to mobilise rational Muslim support from distinguished leaders to give more credibility to her delegations in such conferences. The example of Nadvi was given simply to demonstrate that commitment to secular Indian causes is not impossible to get even among the most rigid of the minority leaders.

Positive Stand

Why, then, should it be difficult to choose committed, forward-looking and enlightened Muslims to man the Government's delegations of high level diplomatic nature? Why, for instance, the External Affairs Ministry could not invite for the Rabat summit people like Professor M. Mujeeb, Sri Azim Husain, Dr-Rasheeduddin Khan, Professor S.A.H. Haqqi, Sri Jalil Abbasi or even Sri Badruddin Tyabji to avoid the unnecessary embarrassment to the Indian delegation's Sikh and Hindu members and to the rest of the country?

What needs emphasising in brief is the fact that the Govern-

ment should aim more at non-official behind-the-scene moves to convince the Muslims from all over the world of our positive stands on important issues, instead of making unworthy appeals for an all important invitation.

The question is asked as to who, in the absence of active participation of the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister, was responsible for the awkward Indian decisions on the eve of the summit? That Sri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed showed keen interest in the whole affair is asserted by knowledgeable observers of the Capital's political scene.

Sri Ahmed's press statement after his return from Rabat amply demonstrated his new found love for matters external and gave credence to the theory that he enjoyed complete confidence of the Foreign Minister in the whole sorry affair. What made him so important in matters normally out of his realm of operation? This needs to be probed more seriously than the meagre follow-up of the Rabat fiasco seems to suggest at the moment.

BHARATYA JANA SANGH (Continued from page 11)

miners for the princes, on the one hand, and the bigwigs of the business world, on the other.

Notwithstanding its preten-

tions to serve the cause of the masses, its role is pre-set, and no individual, not even Sri Madhok, can alter its predetermined role. Meanwhile, it will continue to

project itself in the country's political life like an iceberg, which has a small portion to show with its major part dangerously hidden under.

CAN HINDI REPLACE ENGLISH (Continued from page 34)

done away with, only because it is the language of our former rulers, is of no consequence whatsoever. A neglect of English may well throw India back to the slumber of ages.

Imperfect Consensus

Democracy and national solidarity are compatible goals. The problems like North versus South, Hindi versus English or a link language

versus regional languages, are essentially the symptoms of an imperfect democratic consensus. The deepening of the democratic tradition in India will automatically arrest the centrifugal forces of linguistic differences. It is only by understanding and appreciating each other's point of view that linguistic communalism may come to an end.

In my opinion, a common language for all-India may be evolved through a conscious and

gradual evolution, by making Hindi easy and dynamic, which should be easily intelligible to all Indians. It is possible only by assimilating the forms, style and expression used in Hindustani and in other Indian languages specified in the Eight Schedule and by drawing on freely from other languages. In order to make it popular in South India, Hindi may be written in Roman script instead of Nagari script.

Tradition and Progress

Brahmanical Culture and Modernity; A. D. Moddie,
Asia Publishing House, Bombay; 1968; pp. 143.

certain amount of drawing-room gossip and comments on current affairs is possibly inevitable in most societies, but one wonders if any purpose is served by a book that contains only such superficial impressions. Mr Moddie's book, after all gives its readers nothing but non-analytic, non-academic observations in support of a particular thesis of his. The thesis, basically, is as follows:

Two different cultures exist side by side in India: The Brahmanical and the Industrial. The former is the traditional one, that is, basically of Hindu origin, but is shared regardless of caste and religion. It is the result of a class-conscious agrarian society that came into contact with a colonialist power and is characterised by a system that is "traditional, caste-dominated, hierarchical, authoritarian, village and land-based" (p. 11). This status-oriented culture, apparently, "shuns change, social and technological, except as ordained by the slow, time-honoured hierarchical ways of the society" (p. 11).

The Industrial or modern culture, on the other hand, is international in its approach, pays more attention to achievement and success, is specially distinct from the traditional culture by acknowledging "not a hard hierarchy but a mobile elite of intellect, skills, and wealth" (p. 11). It is "modern" in the sense that it does not refrain from making money, nor does it mind going "the way the rest of the world has gone" (p. 11).

But even this group is held back to a certain degree because of the traditional roots that are inborn among Indians.

In short, one group is "status-oriented" and the other "achievement-oriented". Why one should be completely exclusive of the other, that is, why a status-oriented society, much as one may dislike it, should be unwilling to achieve "achievement" is difficult to understand. But this is where the author has left it.

Mr Moddie claims that there is such a sharp cleavage between these two culture groups that there is hardly any communication between them. The administration, local or central, is ruled by the traditional group that has neither any understanding of nor any interest in the modern group led by professional management people. And it is this lack of communication that is responsible for the stagnancy of India in all fields, despite the fact that the country does not suffer from lack of talent. One gets the impression that he would really like to leave things to professional management for they can go a long way in lifting our society from its caste and class-ridden morass.

So far so good. As a thesis one may or may not agree with it. The present reviewer has often felt that part of our ills were due to the dissociation of the people at top administrative levels from grass-roots and values that the masses in India hold sacred, rather than their being steeped in traditional attitudes. Since research on this has not been carried out either by the author or by the reviewer, it becomes a matter of opinion.

What has to be assessed here is how well Mr Moddie has defended his thesis. In this, unfortunately, turning the pages, one cannot help feeling that he

unsuccessfully. The rest of the book unnecessarily elaborates on different aspects of values Indians have, with comments and instances that have no bearings on either logic or facts. The irrelevance of these trite observations can best be brought out by reproducing a few of his more emphatic pronouncements.

The author believes that Brahmanical culture regards traders as inferior, unreliable and petty—an attitude that results in the general distrust of the private sector by the officials of the Government of India. In a country where major sectors like agriculture, banking and various important industries are in private hands, where is the distrust of private enterprise? If in certain stray cases the businessman is found unscrupulous, could it not be for specific acts of dishonesty?

At least Mr Moddie does not give any convincing argument that the attitude is derived from the fact that the businessman, however, progressive and modern, is considered essentially a "larger version of the petty shopkeeper" (p. 14).

The book also has long paragraphs on how money-making is despised in our traditional culture and "profit" is still considered a "dirty word". Wealth motive is a basic human motive that has existed in India as long as the society has existed. And since part of the economy has been monetized since a long time, profit, even in Mr Moddie's "modern" sense, has been a part of our economic system for a long time. Why should it have arrived in India only after Marx wrote about it and that, too, via the London School of Economics?

In all fairness, one must mention that Mr Moddie does find certain qualities in traditional Hindu culture. One such is "tolerance" when used in a constructive way. With science and modernity developing in India, what the author would like to see is that the people involved in economic planning, industrial relations etc have 'a combination of the Buddha's compassion and science's objectivity" (p. 21).

Compassionate objectivity

may even be true that much of the Indian elite does not possess this virtue, but by what criteria does he single out Homi Bhabha, Vikram Sarabhai, and M.S. Randhawa, apart from Pandit Nehru, as the only ones fitting the bill? No reflection meant on the personalities mentioned, but one would like to know the basis of judgement.

The author also seems disheartened that "our older engineers have remained 'civil', 'mechanical' and 'electrical', and it is left to our younger engineers and scientists to virtually start and run the new enterprises of electronics, atomic energy, organic chemicals and metallurgical engineering" (p. 91). But surely these latter fields are relatively younger branches of science, the application of which in India is even more of a recent phenomenon. If anything, should we not be happy that the younger generation has taken to it so promptly?

It is bad enough when Mr Moddie writes about Indian attitudes and behaviour; but is worse when he dabbles in economics. The combination of jargon and apparent vendetta against perspective planning results in decrying the planners' love for "macro-economics" and upholding the need for "micro-economics". One wishes he were a bit more explicit.

He also seems to believe that the emphasis on heavy industries in the plans is because consumption, according to Brahmanical values "smacked of wickedness and consumer industries were associated with the Vaish" (p. 97), while heavy industry was immune from contamination by consumption. Public funds, therefore, could be used only for such pure pursuits as heavy industries. Does the author think that heavy industries are built for their own sake, as a kind of national monument? In fact, the heavy industries form the foundation on which the superstructure of consumer industries can be eventually built.

One could multiply instances of such rapid comments, but even examples of pointless observations beyond a stage, cease to be amusing.

is concerned, the I. S. B. is from far too many quotations. This the author defends, by asserting that exact quotations lend authenticity. Lest the author rebukes the reviewer of misinterpreting his wisdom, the latter has quoted him more often than necessary.

While there may be some merit in what Mr Moddie says about authenticity, does he really require to quote W.W. Rostow to show the importance of marketing and mass communications as economic activities, or Kamla Chaudhry to tell us that talents at top organizational levels are neces-

Moddie gets a little more diligence for a better part of the last chapter on an Aesthetic Environment. he muses on art and even pleasant reading remains, however, to wonder why the written at all.

This is the first book in the Current Affairs Series of one can only hope that the to follow will be better, which neither too much to hope for nor too difficult to achieve.

S. M. M.

DISGUISED UNEMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (Continued from page 25)

rural areas. They are initially most likely to be of the type of social-overhead-capital including public utilities, transfer facilities, training schemes and various basic services. They are important also as they form an essential basis for small-scale private investments in miscellaneous industries.

It should be remembered that by far the greater part of a country's real capital structure consists of objects that require local labour and local materials for their construction. Things like buildings, roads, dams, water-works and land improvements come in this category. They may be constructed by "shramdan". There is great enthusiasm among the rural people. If their enthusiasm is properly harnessed in terms of labour, no villager will refuse to contribute a few hours of labour for a work which is likely to benefit him in one way or the other. During the period 1951 to 1953, most of the roads in villages were constructed by "shramdan".

To conclude, it may be said, disguised unemployment poses a very serious problem to densely populated peasant economies. There is a tremendous waste of

labour and labour is the source of all wealth. The redeeming feature is that, given proper organisation in saving potential concealed in the form of disguised unemployment can be mobilised for capital formation in underdeveloped countries.

There is no shadow of a doubt that the difficulties are enormous, but they are not insurmountable. If some complementary savings can be made available outside the system, the vast saving-potential hidden in the form of disguised unemployment can be used for economic development in the country under the fourth and the successive Five-Year Plans.

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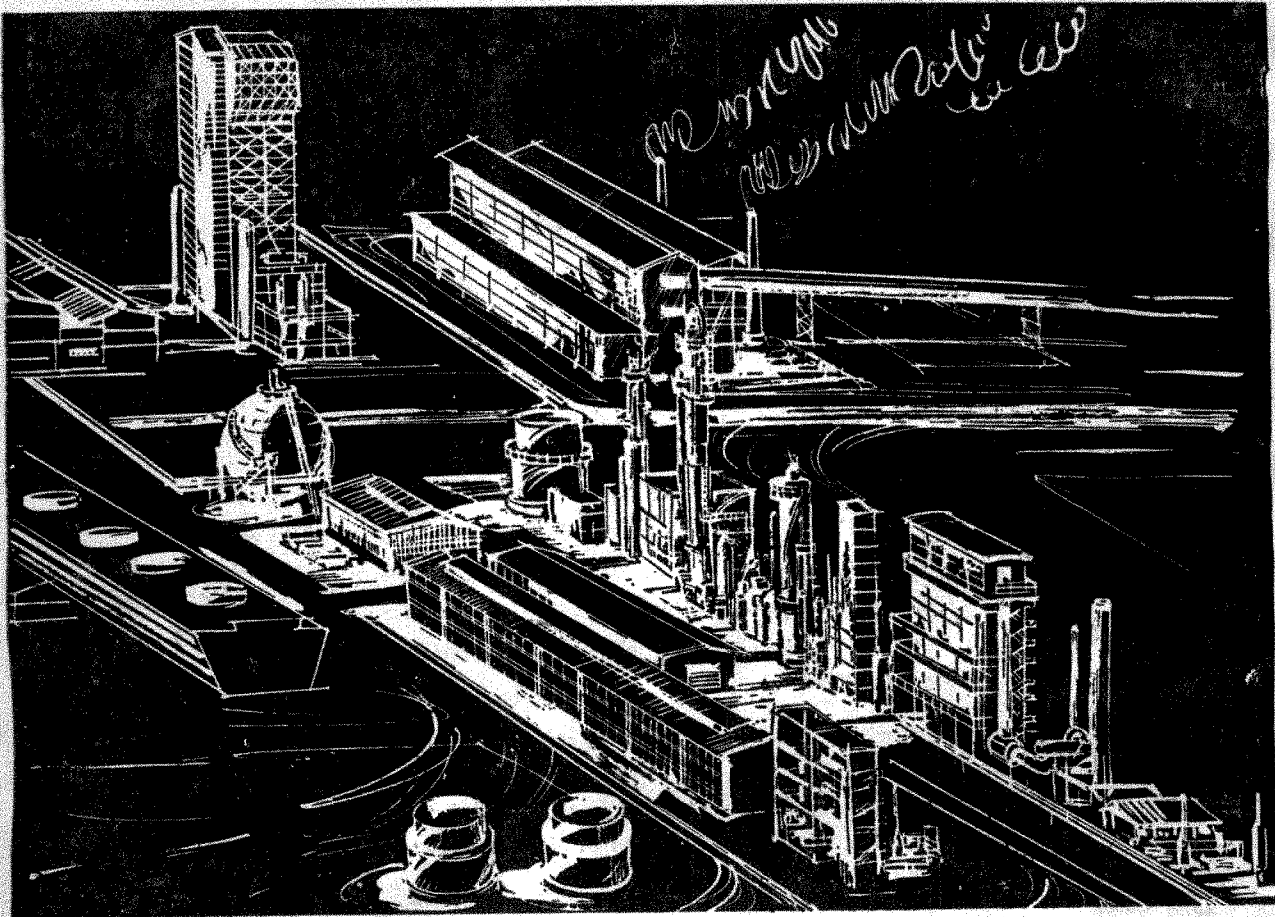
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